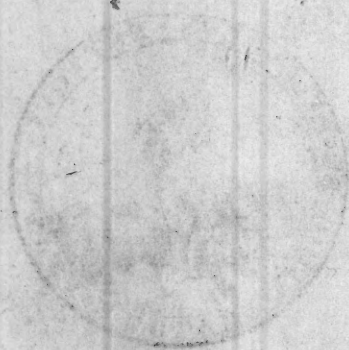


THE
WORKS
OF THE
LORD BACON,
In Four Volumes.



THE
WORKS

OF THE
LORD







FRANCISCVS BACON
Vice-Comes S^{ta} Albani Baro Verulamii
Magnus Angliae Cancellarius.

Geo. Vertue Sculpsit 1728

Bacon (Fr.) Baron Verulam, etc

FRANCISCI BACONI

BARONIS de VERULAMIO,

Vicecomitis Sancti *Albani*,

Magni Angliae Cancellarii,

OPERA OMNIA,

Quatuor Voluminibus

COMPREHNSA:

Haftenus Edita, ad Autographorum maxime fidem, emendantur; Nonnulla etiam, ex MSS Codicibus deprompta, nunc primum prodeunt.

VOL. I.

In quo continentur

- | | |
|--|--|
| I. Dr RAWLEY's Life of the Author. | IV. INSTAURATIO MAGNA:
Pars I. five de Augmentis Scientiarum. |
| II. COLLECTIONS relating to our Author's Life. | V. Pars II. five NOVUM ORGANUM. |
| III. AN ACCOUNT of this Present Edition. | |

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Impensis R. GOSLING ad Insigne Mitrae & Coronae in Vico vulgo vocato *Fleet-street*. MDCCXXX.

1511-32

FRANCISCI BACONI

Baronis de VERULAMNI

Vicomitis Sancti Albani

Magistri Angliæ Cancellarii

OPERA OMNIA

Quæ sunt Voluminibus

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I. D. Bacon's life of the Abbe - IV. Instructio Magna:
I. et II. live de veritate sci-
entiarum.
V. Pars II. live Novum Organum.
III. An Account of the Person
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MDCCLXXX.



To the HONOUR'D
Dr *RICHARD MEAD.*



GIVE me Leave, Sir, to address to You a Work, to which You have the best Title of any Man now living. The corrected Copies of the several Pieces which You have been so kind to give to the Press, ought to be considered as so much Bullion sent to the Mint, which is always return'd to the Owner with a new Stamp, but of the same Weight and Value. It has therefore been my Business to take Care, that these should lose nothing of their standard Worth and Purity by their fresh Form, but should be made current with more Advantage to the Publick, as well as additional Beauty: And You have contributed to my doing this in the best Manner, by permitting me, from time to time, to ask your Advice in digesting the several Books, according to their different Subjects, in their proper Places, and most convenient Order.

A

I MIGHT

DEDICATION.

I MIGHT add to this, without being allow'd to run into the common Style of Dedications, that You are a great Admirer of my Lord *BACON*, that no Man understands the Value of his Works better than Your self, and that by cultivating the Study of Philosophy in the way which he has chalk'd out, and making it subservient to the Knowledge of *PHYSICK*, You are arriv'd to that degree of Eminence You hold in your Profession, in which (a Happiness not common, and owing to your singular Humanity and Goodness) You have conquer'd even Envy it self.

BUT I may not proceed on this Subject: What I and every Man else would think was doing Justice to your Character, would, I am perswaded, meet with a cool Reception from You. I shall therefore conclude with assuring You, that the Favours of several kinds, which, through a Series of many Years Acquaintance, You have continually done me, have oblig'd me to be, as I am, with very great Respect,

29 MR 64

S I R,

Your most obedient

April 12. 1729.

and most humble Servant,

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THE
LIFE
OF THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE
FRANCIS BACON,

Baron of VERULAM, Viscount St ALBAN;

By Dr RAWLEY:

With Insertions from Sir *William Dugdale's* BARONAGE,
and Dr *Tenison's* BACONIANA.

FRANCIS BACON, the glory of his age and nation, the adorning and ornament of learning, was born in *Tork-houfe*, or *Tork-Place* in the *Strand*, on the two and twentieth day of *January*, in the year of our Lord 1560. His father was that famous counsellor to queen *Elizabeth*, the second prop of the kingdom in his time, sir *Nicolas Bacon*, knight, lord-keeper of the great-seal of *England*; a lord of known prudence, sufficiency, moderation and integrity. His mother was *Anne*, one of the daughters of sir *Anthony Cook*, unto whom the erudition of king *Edward* the sixth had been committed; a choice lady, and eminent for piety, virtue and learning, being exquisitely skill'd, for a Woman, in the Greek and Latin tongues. These being the parents, you may easily imagine what the issue was like to be, having had whatsoever nature or breeding could put into him.

SIR *William Dugdale* is something more particular on this subject, observing, 'as to his parentage, that he was *a* the youngest of those two male children, which sir *Nicolas Bacon* of *Redgrave*, in *Com. Suff.* knight, had by *Anne* his wife, one of the six daughters of sir *Anthony Cook*, of *Giddy-Hall*, in *Com. Essex*, knight, (a person much honoured for his learning, and being tutor to king *Edward* the sixth) all those daughters being exquisitely skilled *b* in the Greek and Latin tongues:

'Which *Nicolas*, having been a diligent student of the laws in *Grays-Inn*, was made *c* the king's attorney in the court of wards, in 38 *Hen. VIII.*

VOL. I.

a Dugdale's
Baronage,
p. 437.

b *Annal.*
Eliz. per
Camd. in
an. 1576.

c *Pat.* 38.
and *H. 8.* p. 6.

and upon the death of that king, (which soon after happened) had his patent, for the same trust, renewed *a* by his son and successor, king Edward the sixth. In the sixth year of whose reign, he was constituted *b* treasurer for that noble society of *Grays-Inn*, whereof he had been so long a member. And being grown famous for his knowledge, was shortly after, viz. in 1 *Eliz.* made *c* lord-keeper of the great-seal of *England*, and knighted *d*; which office in his time, was by act of parliament made equal in authority with the chancellors.

WHAT I have otherwise observed of this Sir *Nicolas Bacon*, is, *e* that being no friend to the queen of *Scots*, (then prisoner in *England*) he was *f* privy, and assenting to what *Hales* had published, in derogation to her title, as next and lawful successor to queen *Elizabeth*; asserting that of the house of *Suffolk* before it, for which, *Hales* suffered *g* imprisonment, and had not *Cecil* stood his faithful friend, *h* so might he; nothing being more distastful to queen *Elizabeth*, than a dispute upon that point. Next, that in 14 *Eliz.* upon those proposals made by the nobility of *Scotland*, for her enlargement, he opposed *i* it; alleging, *k* that no security could balance the danger thereof. Lastly, That upon his death, which happened in *April, Anno 1579.* (21 *Eliz.*) this character *l* is given of him by the learned *Camden*, viz. that he was *Vir praeceps, ingenio acerrimo, singulari prudentia, summa eloquentia, tenaci memoria, & sacris consiliis alterum columen*: Of person very corpulent, most quick wit, singular prudence, admirable eloquence, special memory, and another pillar to the privy-council.

OF his death, *Dr Tenison* gives this account from a paper of the lord *Bacon*: 'He had his barber rubbing and combing his head. And, because it was very hot, the window was open to let in a fresh wind. He fell asleep, and awaked all distemper'd, and in a great sweat, said he to the barber, why did you let me sleep? Why, my lord, said he, I durst not wake your lordship. Why then, faith my lord-keeper, you have killed me with kindness. So he removed into his bed-chamber, and within a few days died.

WHEREUPON, being interr'd on the south-side of the choir in *St Paul's* cathedral, within the city of *London*, he had a noble monument, *m* there erected to his memory, with this epitaph:

*Hic Nicolaum ne Baconum conditum existima illum, tam diu Britannici regni secundum columen; exitium malis, bonis asyllum; caeca quem non extulit ad hunc honorem fors; sed aequitas, fides, doctrina, pietas, unica & prudentia: Neu forte raptum crede, qui unica brevi vita * perenni emerit duas: Agit vitam secundam coelites inter animas: Fama implet orbem, vita quae illi tertia est. Hac positum in ara est corpus, olim animi domus, ara dicata sempiternae memoriae.*

RAWLEY. HIS first and childish years were not without some mark of eminency; at which time he was endued with that pregnancy and towardliness of wit, as they were presages of that deep and universal apprehension which was manifest in him afterward, and caused him to be taken notice of by several persons of worth and place, and especially by the queen; who (as I have been inform'd) delighted much then to confer with him, and to prove

prove him with questions; unto whom he delivered himself with that gravity and maturity above his years, that her majesty would often term him, *The young lord-keeper*. Being asked by the queen how old he was, he answered with much discretion, being then but a boy, *That he was two years younger than her majesty's happy reign*; with which answer the queen was much taken.

AT the ordinary years of ripeness for the university, or rather something earlier, he was sent by his father to *Trinity-college* in *Cambridge*, to be educated and bred under the tuition of doctor *John Whitgift*, then master of the college; afterwards the renowned archbishop of *Canterbury*; a prelate of the first magnitude for sanctity, learning, patience, and humility: Under whom he was observed to have been more than an ordinary proficient in the several arts and sciences. Whilst he was commorant in the university, about sixteen years of age, as his lordship hath been pleased to impart unto my self, he first fell into the dislike of the philosophy of *Aristotle*; not for the worthlessness of the author, to whom he would ever ascribe all high attributes, but for the unfruitfulness of the way, being a philosophy (as his lordship used to say) only strong for disputations and contentions, but barren of the production of works, for the benefit of the life of man; in which mind he continued to his dying day.

AFTER he had passed the circle of the liberal arts, his father thought fit to frame and mould him for the arts of state; and for that end sent him over into *France* with sir *Amyas Paulet*, then employed ambassador leiger into *France*; by whom he was, after a while, held fit to be intrusted with some message or advertisement to the queen; which having performed with great approbation, he returned back into *France* again, with intention to continue for some years there. In his absence in *France* his father the lord-keeper died, having collected (as I have heard of knowing persons) a considerable sum of money, which he had separated with intention to have made a competent purchase of land, for the livelihood of this his youngest son, who was only unprovided for; and though he was the youngest in years, yet he was not the lowest in his father's affection: but the said purchase being unaccomplished at his father's death, there came no greater share to him, than his single part and proportion of the money, dividable amongst five brethren; by which means he lived in some straits and necessities in his younger years. For as for that pleasant site and mannor of *Gorbambury*, he came not to it till many years after, by the death of his dearest brother, Mr *Anthony Bacon*: a gentleman equal to him in height of wit, though inferior to him in the endowments of learning and knowledge; unto whom he was most nearly conjoin'd in affection, they two being the sole male-issuë of a second venter.

BEING return'd from travel, he applied himself to the study of the common-law, which he took upon him to be his profession. In which he attain'd to great excellency, though he made that (as himself said) but as an accessory, and not his principal study. He wrote several tractates upon that subject: wherein, though some great masters of the law did out-go him in bulk, and particularities of cases, yet in the science of the grounds and mysteries of the law he was exceeded by none. In this way he was, after a while, sworn of the queen's council learned extraordinary, a grace (if I err not) scarce known before. He seated himself for the commodity of his studies and practice, amongst the honourable

ble society of *Gray's-Inn*, of which house he was a member ; where he erected that elegant pile, or structure, commonly known by the name of, *The lord Bacon's lodgings*, which he inhabited by turns the most part of his life (some few years only excepted) unto his dying day. In which house he carried himself with such sweetness, comity, and generosity, that he was much revered and beloved by the readers and gentlemen of the house.

NOTWITHSTANDING that he professed the law for his livelihood and subsistence, yet his heart and affection was more carried after the affairs and places of state ; for which, if the majesty royal then had been pleased, he was most fit. In his younger years he studied the service and fortune (as they call them) of that noble, but unfortunate earl, the earl of *Essex* ; unto whom he was in a sort a private and free counsellor, and gave him safe and honourable advice, 'till in the end the earl inclined too much to the violent and precipitate counsel of others, his adherents and followers, which was his fate and ruin.

HIS birth and other capacities qualified him above others of his profession, to have ordinary accesses at court, and to come frequently into the queen's eye ; who would often grace him with private and free communication, not only about matters of his profession, or business in law, but also about the arduous affairs of state ; from whom she received from time to time great satisfaction. Nevertheless, though she cheared him much with the bounty of her countenance, yet she never cheared him with the bounty of her hand, having never conferr'd upon him any ordinary place, or means of honour and profit, save only one dry reversion of the *registers-office* in the *Star-chamber*, worth about 1600 *l. per ann.* for which he waited in expectation, either fully, or near twenty years ; of which his lordship would say in queen *Elizabeth's* time, *That it was like another man's ground buttalling upon his house, which might mend his prospect, but it did not fill his barn* ; nevertheless, in the time of king *James* it fell unto him : Which might be imputed, not so much to her majesty's averfeness and disaffection towards him, as the arts and policy of a great statesman then, who laboured by all industrious and secret means to suppress and keep him down, lest if he had risen, he might have obscured his glory.

BUT though he stood long at a stay in the days of his mistress queen *Elizabeth*, yet after the change, and coming in of his new master king *James*, he made a great progress ; by whom he was much comforted in places of trust, honour, and revenue. I have seen a letter of his lordship to king *James*, wherein he makes acknowledgment, *a* That he was that master to him, that had raised and advanced him nine times ; thrice in dignity, and six times in office. His offices (as I conceive) were Council learned extraordinary to his majesty, as he had been to queen *Elizabeth* ; king's solicitor-general ; his majesty's attorney-general ; counsellor of state, being yet but attorney ; lord-keeper of the great-seal of *England* ; lastly, lord-chancellor : which two last places, though they be the same in authority and power, yet they differ in patent, height, and favour of the prince. Since whose time none of his successors, until this *b* present honourable lord, did ever bear the title of lord-chancellor. His dignities were first knight, then baron of *Verulam* ; lastly, viscount *St Alban*. Besides other good gifts and bounties of the hand which his

a See Letter
cxlix. Vol. ii.
p. 690.

b Earl of
Clarendon.

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his majesty gave him, both out of the broad-seal, and out of the alienation-office, to the value in both of eighteen hundred pounds *per annum*; which with his mannor of *Gorbambury*, and other lands and possessions near thereunto adjoining, amounting to a third part more, he retain'd to his dying day.

TOWARDS his rising years, not before, he entred into a married estate, and took to wife *Alice*, one of the daughters and co-heirs of *Benedict Barnham*, Esq; and alderman of *London*; with whom he received a sufficiently ample and liberal portion in marriage. Children he had none; which though they be the means to perpetuate our names after our deaths, yet he had other issues to perpetuate his name, the issues of his brain; in which he was ever happy and admired, as *Jupiter* was in the production of *Pallas*. Neither did the want of children detract from the good usage of his consort during the intermarriage, whom he prosecuted with much conjugal love and respect, with many rich gifts and endowments; besides a robe of honour which he invested her withal, which she wore unto her dying day, being twenty years and more after his death.

' *a* AFTER this, coming from travel, and applying himself to the study ^{*a* Dugdale.} of the common law, he was seated in *Grays-inn*. Where in short time, he became so highly esteemed for his abilities, as that in 30 *Eliz.* (being then but 28 years of age) that honourable society, chose *b* him for ^{*b* Orig. Jurid. p. 295. 4.} their *Lent* reader: And in 32 *Eliz.* was made *c* one of the clerks of ^{*c* Pat. 32. Eliz. p. 11.} the council.

' IN 42 *Eliz.* being *d* double reader in that house, and affecting much ^{*d* Orig. Jurid. p. 295. b.} the ornament thereof, he caused *e* that beautiful grove of elms, to be ^{*e* lb. 272. b.} planted in the walks, which yet remain. And upon the 23 of *July*, 1 *Jac.* was knighted *f* at *White-hall*. Shortly after which, *viz.* in ^{*f* MS. in offic. Arm. g. h Pat. 2. Jac. p. 12.} 2 *Jac.* he was made *g* one of the King's council learned, having there- with a grant *h* of forty pounds *per annum* fee; and in 5 *Jac.* constitut- ^{*i* Pat. 5. Jac. p. 14. k Pat. 9. Jac. p.} ed *i* his majesty's solicitor general. In 9 *Jac.* he was made *k* joint judge with sir *Thomas Vavasor*, then knight-marshal, of the knight- marshal's court, then newly erected within the verge of the king's ^{*l* Pat. 11. Jac. p. 5. m Annal. R. Jac. per Camd. n lb. in an. 1617.} house, and in 11 *Jac.* (27 *Octob.*) being made *l* attorney-general, was ^{*o* Tenison. p The Court of King James, p. 115, 116.} sworn *m* of the Privy-council.

' IN 14 *Jac.* he was constituted *n* lord-keeper of the great-seal, (7 *Martii*) being then fifty four years of age.

' *o* IT is said in a *p* libel, (in which are many other notorious slanders,) that the duke of *Buckingham*, to vex the very soul of the lord chan- cellor *Egerton*, in his last agony, did send sir *Francis Bacon* to him ^{*o* Tenison. p The Court of King James, p. 115, 116.} for the seals; and likewise that the dying chancellor did hate that *Ba- con* should be his successor, and that his spirit not brooking this usage, he sent the seals by his servant to the king, and shortly after, yielded his soul to his Maker. In which few words there are two palpable un- truths.

' FOR first, The king himself sent for the seal, not the duke of *Buck- ingham*: And he sent for it, not by sir *Francis Bacon*, *q* but by secre- ^{*q* Aulicus Co- quinariae, p. 171.} tary *Winwood*, with this message; that himself would be his under- keeper, and not dispose of the place of chancellor while he lived: Nor did any receive the seal out of the king's sight, 'till the lord *Egerton* died; which soon fell out.

Tenison.

' NEXT, the lord chancellor *Egerton* was willing that master attorney *Bacon*, should be his successor; and ready to forward his succession: So far was he from conceiving hatred against him, either upon that, or any other account.

' THE lord *Egerton* was his friend in the queen's time; and I find Mr *Bacon* making his acknowledgments in a letter to him, in these words, which I once transcribed from the unpublish'd original. For my placing, your lordship best knoweth, that when I was most dejected with her majesty's strange dealing towards me, it pleased you of your singular favour, so far to comfort and encourage me, as to hold me worthy to be excited, to think of succeeding your lordship in your second place: Signifying, in your plainness, that no man should better content your self. Which your exceeding favour you have not since varied from; both in pleading the like signification into the hands of some of my best friends; and also in an honourable and answerable commendation of me to her majesty. Wherein, I hope, your lordship (if it please you to call to mind) did find me, neither overweening, in presuming too much upon it, nor much deceived in my opinion of the event, for the continuing of it still in your self; nor sleepy in doing some good Offices to the same purpose.

a Collect. of
Letters, Vol.
iv. N. lxxv.
p. 605.

b Ibid. li.
p. 591.

c Court of
K. James,
p. 119.

' THIS favour of the lord *Egerton's*, which began so early, continued to the last. And thus much sir *Francis Bacon* testified in his letter to sir *George Villiers*, a My lord chancellor told me, yesterday, in plain terms, that if the king would ask his opinion, touching the person that he would commend to succeed him, upon death, or disability; he would name me, for the fittest man. You may advise, whether use may not be made of this offer. And the like appears by what master attorney wrote to king *James*, during the sickness of my lord chancellor. Amongst other things he wrote this to the king. b It pleased my lord chancellor, out of his antient and great love to me, which many times in sickness appeareth most; to admit me to a great deal of speech with him this afternoon; which, during these three days, he hath scarcely done to any.

' IN the same c libel, my lord *Bacon* is reproach'd as a very necessitous man, and one, for that reason, made keeper by the duke to serve such turns as men of better fortunes would never condescend to. And this also is a groundless and uncharitable insinuation. He had now enjoy'd a good while, many profitable places, which preserved him from indigence, though his great mind did not permit him to swell his purse by them to any extraordinary bigness. And in the queen's time, when he was in meaner circumstances, he did not look upon himself as in that estate of necessity, which tempteth generous minds to vile things. Hear himself representing his condition; no man knew it better, or could better express it. Thus he states his case in the aforefaid unpublished letter to the lord chancellor *Egerton*; of the whole of which I sometime had the perusal, though now much of it is lost, and, as I believe, beyond all recovery. My estate (said he) I confess a truth to your lordship, is weak and indebted, and needeth comfort. For both my father (though I think I had greatest part in his love of all his children) in his wisdom served me in as a last comer: And my self, in mine own industry have rather referred and aspired to virtue than to gain; whereof I am not yet wise enough to repent me. But the while, whereas *Solomon* speaketh,

That

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‘ That want cometh first as a wayfaring man, and after as an armed Prov. vi. 11.
 ‘ man; I must acknowledge my self to be in *primo gradu*; for it stealeth
 ‘ upon me: But for the second, that it should not be resisted; *I hope in*
 ‘ God *I am not in that case*. For the preventing whereof, as I do de-
 ‘ pend upon God’s providence all in all; so in the same, his providence, I
 ‘ see opened unto me, three not unlikely expectations of help. The one
 ‘ my practice; the other, some proceeding in the queen’s service; the
 ‘ third, the place I have in reversion; which as it standeth now unto me,
 ‘ is but like another man’s ground buttalling upon my house, which may
 ‘ mend my prospect, but it doth not fill my barn.

‘ THIS place he meaneth, was the registers-office in the star-chamber,
 ‘ which fell to him in the time of king *James*, and was worth about 1600 *l.*
 ‘ by the year.

‘ BUT to return from this digression. When sir *Francis Bacon* was con- See Vol. III. p. 328.
 ‘ stituted lord-keeper, the king admonished him, that he should seal no-
 ‘ thing rashly; as also that he should judge uprightly, and not extend the
 ‘ royal prerogative too high. After which, *viz.* upon the seventh day
 ‘ of *May*, (which was the first day of *Easter-term* next ensuing) he made
 ‘ his solemn proceeding *a* to *Westminster-hall*, in this order. First, The *a* The Court of King James, &c.
 ‘ writing clerks and inferior officers belonging to the court of chancery.
 ‘ Next the students of the law. Then the gentlemen of his own family. Af-
 ‘ ter them the serjeant at arms, and bearer of the great-seal, on foot. Then
 ‘ himself on horseback, in a gown of purple satin, riding betwixt the lord-
 ‘ treasurer and lord privy-seal. Next divers earls, barons, and privy-
 ‘ counsellors. Then the judges of the courts at *Westminster*, whose place in
 ‘ that proceeding was assign’d after the privy-counsellors. And when he
 ‘ came into the court, the lord-treasurer and lord privy-seal, gave him
 ‘ his oath, the clerk of the crown reading it.

‘ UPON the fourth of *January*, 16 *Jac.* he was made lord chancellor Dugdale.
 ‘ *b* of *England*. On the eleventh of *July* next ensuing, created *c* lord *b* Claus. 16 Jac. in dorso. p. 15.
 ‘ *Verulam*, and on the twenty seventh of *January*, 18 *Jac.* advanced *d* to *c* Pat. 16 Jac. p. 11. f Pat. 18. Jac. p. 4.
 ‘ the dignity of viscount St *Alban*; his solemn investiture *e* being then per-
 ‘ formed at *Theobalds*; his robe carried before him by the lord *Carew*, *e, f* Annals. R. Jac. in an. 1621.
 ‘ and his coronet by the lord *Wentworth*. Whereupon he gave the king
 ‘ sevenfold thanks; *f* first, for making him his solicitor; secondly, his
 ‘ attorney; thirdly, one of his privy-council; fourthly, lord-keeper of
 ‘ the great-seal; fifthly, lord-chancellor; sixthly, baron *Verulam*; and
 ‘ lastly, viscount St *Alban*.

‘ BUT long he enjoyed not that great office of lord-chancellor, for in
 ‘ *Lent*, 18 *Jac.* corruption in the exercise thereof being objected g against Orig. Jurid. in Chr. p. 102.
 ‘ him, (of which ’tis believed, his servants were most guilty, and he him-
 ‘ self not much accessory) the great-seal was taken from him.

‘ *h* THIS fall he foresaw, yet he made no shew of that base and mean *h* Tenison.
 ‘ spirit, with which the libel before remembred, does unworthily charge
 ‘ him *i*. King *Charles I.* of blessed memory, (then prince) made a very *i* Court of K. James, p. 122, 123. k Aulicus Ca- quinarius. p. 174.
 ‘ different observation upon him. Returning from hunting, *k* he espied *a*
 ‘ coach attended with a goodly troop of horsemen, who, it seems, were
 ‘ gathered together to wait upon the chancellor to his house at *Gorham*
 ‘ *bury*, at the time of his declension. The prince smiling said, *Well! do*
 ‘ *we what we can, this man scorns to go out like a snuff*. And he com-
 ‘ mended his undaunted spirit, and excellent parts, not without some re-
 ‘ gret that such a man should be falling off.

It is true, that after the seal was taken from him, he became a great example of penitence and submission. But it was a submission which both manifested his just sense of his fault, and the more venial nature of it, as arising from negligence, rather than avarice and malice.

He shewed by it, that there was not in his heart that stiffness of pride, which openly denies or justifies those crimes of which it felt is secretly convinced: But it appeared not by any thing, during all the time of his eclipse of fortune, that there was any abjectness of spirit in him. The many and great works which he wrote shew a mind in him not distracted with anxiety, nor depressed with shame, nor slow for want of encouragement, nor broken with discontent. Such a temper is inconsistent with such noble thoughts and designs, such strict attention, such vigour of conceit, such a masculine style, such quickness in composition, as appeared in his learned labours.

When the great-seal was taken from him, it was committed to the custody of Henry, viscount Mandevil, (at that time president of the council) and certain other lords commissioners: And upon the tenth of July after, to a doctor John Williams, dean of Westminster, afterwards bishop of Lincoln." a lb. p. 104.

THE last five years of his life being withdrawn from civil affairs, and from an active life, he employed wholly in contemplation and studies: A thing whereof his lordship would often speak during his active life, as if he affected to die in the shadow and not in the light; which also may be found in several passages of his works. In which time he composed the greatest part of his books and writings, both in english and latin, which I will enumerate as near as I can in the just order wherein they were written. *The history of the reign of king Henry the seventh; Abecedarium Naturae; A metaphysical piece*, a fragment of which is printed vol. II. p. 14. *Historia Ventorum; Historia Vitae & Mortis; Historia Dens & rari*, printed vol. II. p. 67. *Historia gravis & levis*, which is lost; *A discourse of a war with Spain; A dialogue touching an Holy War; The fable of the new Atlantis; A preface to a digest of the laws of England; The beginning of the history of the reign of king Henry the eighth; De Augmentis Scientiarum*, or, *The advancement of learning*, put into Latin, with several enrichments and enlargements; *Counsels civil and moral*, or his book of *Essays*, likewise enriched and enlarged; *The Conversion of certain psalms into English verse: The translation into Latin of the history of king Henry the seventh; of the counsels civil and moral; of the dialogue of the holy war; of the fable of the new Atlantis*, for the benefit of other nations; His revising of his book *De Sapientia Veterum; Inquisitio de Magnete, Topica Inquisitionis, de Luce & Lumine*, printed vol. II. p. 208. Lastly, *Sylva Sylvarum*, or, *The natural history*. These were the fruits and productions of his last five years. His lordship also design'd, upon the motion and invitation of his late majesty, to have written the reign of king Henry the eighth; but that work perish'd in the designation merely, God not lending him life to proceed farther upon it, than only in one mornings work; whereof there is extant an *ex ungue leonem*, now printed vol. III. p. 507.

THERE is a commemoration due as well to his abilities and virtues, as to the course of his life. Those abilities which commonly go single in o-
ther

ther men, though of prime and observable parts, were all conjoin'd and met in him ; those are, sharpness of wit, memory, judgment and elocution : For the former three, his books do abundantly speak them ; which with what sufficiency he wrote, let the world judge ; but with what celerity he wrote them I can best testify : But for the fourth, his elocution, I will only set down what I heard sir *Walter Rawleigh* once speak of him by way of comparison (whose judgment may well be trusted,) *That the earl of Salisbury was an excellent speaker, but no good pen-man ; That the earl of Northampton (the lord Henry Howard) was an excellent pen-man, but no good speaker ; but that sir Francis Bacon was eminent in both.*

I HAVE been induced to think, That if there were a beam of knowledge derived from God upon any man in these modern times, it was upon him : For though he was a great reader of books, yet he had not his knowledge from books, but from some grounds and notions from within himself : Which notwithstanding he vented with great caution and circumspection. His book *De Instauratione Magna* (which in his own account was the chiefest of his works,) was no flight imagination, or fancy of his brain, but a settled and concocted notion, the production of many years labour and travel. I my self have seen at the least twelve copies of the *Instauration*, revised year by year one after another, and every year altered and amended in the frame thereof, till at last it came to that model in which it was committed to the press, as many living creatures do lick their young ones, till they bring them to their strength of limbs.

IN the composing of his books he did rather drive at a masculine and clear expression, than at fineness, or affectation of phrases, and would often ask if the meaning were expressed plainly enough, as being one that accounted words to be but subservient or ministerial to matter, and not the principal : And if his style were polite, it was because he could do no otherwise. Neither was he given to any light conceits, or descanting upon words, but did ever purposely and industriously avoid them ; for he held such things to be but digressions, or diversions from the scope intended, and to derogate from the weight and dignity of the style.

HE was no plodder upon books, though he read much, and that with great judgment, and rejection of impertinencies, incident to many authors : for he would ever interlace a moderate relaxation of his mind with his studies, as walking, or taking the air abroad in his coach, or some other befitting recreation ; and yet he would lose no time, inasmuch as upon his first and immediate return, he would fall to reading again, and so suffer no moment of time to slip from him without some present improvement.

HIS meals were refectations of the ear as well as of the stomach, like the *Noëtes Atticae*, or *Convivia Deipno-Sophistarum* ; wherein a man might be refreshed in his mind and understanding no less than in his body. And I have known some of no mean parts that have professed to make use of their note-books when they have risen from his table. In which conversations, and otherwise, he was no dashing man, as some men are, but ever a countenancer and fosterer of another man's parts. Neither was he one that would appropriate the speech wholly to himself, or delight to out-vie others, but leave a liberty to the co-assessors to take their turns : Wherein he would draw a man on, and allure him, to speak upon such a subject, as wherein he was peculiarly skilful, and would delight to speak.

And

And for himself, he contemned no man's observations, but would light his torch at every man's candle.

HIS opinions and Assertions were for the most part binding, and not contradicted by any, rather like oracles than discourses; which may be imputed either to the well-weighing of his sentence by the scales of truth and reason, or else to the reverence and estimation wherein he was commonly had, that no man would contest with him; so that there was no argumentation, or *Pro* and *Con* (as they term it) at his table; or if there chanced to be any, it was carried with much submission and moderation.

I HAVE often observed, and so have other men of great account, that if he had occasion to repeat another man's words after him, he had an use and faculty to dress them in better vestments and apparel than they had before; so that the author should find his own speech much amended, and yet the substance of it still retained, as if it had been natural to him to use good forms; as *Ovid* spake of his faculty of versifying:

Et quod tentabam scribere, Versus erat.

WHEN his office called him, as he was of the king's counsel learned, to charge any offenders, either in criminals or capitals; he was never of an insulting and domineering nature over them, but always tender-hearted, and carrying himself decently towards the parties (though it was his duty to charge them home,) but yet as one that look'd upon the example with the eye of severity, but upon the person with the eye of pity and compassion. And in civil business, as he was councillor of state, he had the best way of advising, not engaging his master in any precipitate or grievous courses, but in moderate and fair proceeding: The king whom he served giving him this testimony, *That he ever dealt in business (a) Suavis Modis; which was the way that was most according to his own heart.*

^a See *Letters*
Vol. IV. N.
cxlvii, p. 687.

Ibid.

NEITHER was he in his time less gracious with the subject than with his sovereign. He was ever acceptable to the house of commons when he was a member thereof. Being the king's attorney, and chosen to a place in parliament, he was allowed and dispensed with to sit in the house; which was not permitted to other attorneys.

AND as he was a good servant to his master, being never in nineteen years service (as he himself averred) rebuked by the king for any thing relating to his majesty, so he was a good master to his servants, and rewarded their long attendance with good places freely when they fell into his power: which was the cause that so many young gentlemen of blood and quality sought to lift themselves in his retinue. And if he were abused by any of them in their places, it was only the error of the goodness of his nature, but the badges of their indiscretions and intemperances.

THIS lord was religious; for though the world be apt to suspect and prejudice great wits and politicians to have somewhat of the athiest, yet he was conversant with God, as appeareth by several passages throughout the whole current of his writings; otherwise he should have crossed his own principles, which were, *b That a little philosophy maketh men apt to forget God, as attributing too much to second causes; but depth*

^b *Essay* XVII.
Vol. III.
p. 323.

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of philosophy bringeth men back to God again: Now I am sure there is no man that will deny him, or account otherwise of him, but to have been a deep philosopher. And not only so, but he was able to render a reason of the hope which was in him, which that writing of his, of the a confession of the faith doth abundantly testify. He repaired frequently (when his health would permit him) to the service of the church, to hear sermons, to the administration of the sacrament of the blessed body and blood of Christ; and he died in the true faith established in the church of *England*.

^a See Vol. IV. p. 413.

THIS is most true, he was free from malice, which (as he said himself) he never bred nor fed. He was no revenger of injuries; which if he had minded, he had both opportunity and place high enough to have done it. He was no heaver of men out of their places, as delighting in their ruin and undoing. He was no defamer of any man to his prince. One day, when a great statesman was newly dead, that had not been his friend, the king asked him, *What he thought of that lord which was gone?* He answered, *That he would never have made his majesty's estate better; but he was sure he would have kept it from being worse:* Which was the worst he would say of him; which I reckon not among his moral, but his christian virtues.

HIS fame is greater, and sounds louder in foreign parts abroad, than at home in his own nation, thereby verifying that divine sentence, *A prophet is not without honour save in his own country, and in his own house.* Concerning which I will give you a taste only, out of a letter written from *Italy* (the store-house of refined wits) to the late earl of *Devonshire*, then the lord *Cavendish*: *I will expect the new essays of my lord chancellor Bacon, as also his history, with a great deal of desire, and whatsoever else he shall compose: But in particular of his history, I promise my self a thing perfect and singular, especially in Henry the seventh, where he may exercise the talent of his divine understanding. This lord is more and more known, and his books here more and more delighted in; and those men that have more than ordinary knowledge in human affairs, esteem him one of the most capable spirits of this age; and he is truly such.* Now his fame doth not decrease with days since, but rather encrease. Divers of his works have been antiently, and yet lately translated into other tongues, both learned and modern, by foreign pens. Several persons of quality, during his lordship's life, crossed the seas on purpose to gain an opportunity of seeing him, and discoursing with him; whereof one carried his lordship's picture from head to foot over with him into *France*, as a thing which he foresaw would be much desired there, that so they might enjoy the image of his person, as well as the images of his brain, his books. Among the rest marquis *Fiat*, a French nobleman, who came ambassador into *England* in the beginning of queen *Mary*, wife to king *Charles*, was taken with an extraordinary desire of seeing him; for which he made way by a friend: And when he came to him, being then through weakness confin'd to his bed, the marquis saluted him with this high expression, *That his lordship had been ever to him like the angels, of whom he had often heard, and read much of them in books, but he never saw them.* After which they contracted an intimate acquaintance; and the marquis did so much revere him, that besides his frequent visits, they wrote letters one to the other, under the titles and

^a See Letters,
Vol. IV.
N. clix.

appellations of a father and son. As for his many salutations by letters from foreign worthies, devoted to learning, I forbear to mention them, because that is a thing common to other men of learning or note together with him.

BUT yet, in this matter of his fame, I speak in the comparative only, and not in the exclusive: for his reputation is great in his own nation also, especially amongst those that are of a more acute and sharper judgment; which I will exemplify but with two testimonies and no more. The former when his history of king *Henry* the seventh was to come forth; it was delivered to the old lord *Brook*, to be perused by him: who when he had dispatched it, returned it to the author with this eulogy, *Commend me to my lord, and bid him take care to get good paper and ink, for the work is incomparable.* The other shall be that of doctor *Samuel Collins*, late provost of *King's-college* in *Cambridge*, a man of no vulgar wit, who affirmed unto me, *That when he had read the book of the Advancement of Learning, he found himself in a case to begin his studies anew, and that he had lost all the time of his studying before.*

It hath been desired, That something should be signified touching his diet, and the regimen of his health; of which, in regard of his universal insight into nature, he may perhaps be to some an example. For his diet, it was rather a plentiful and liberal diet, as his stomach would bear it, than a restrained; which he also commended in his book of the *History of Life and Death*. In his younger years he was much given to the finer and lighter sorts of meats, as of fowls, and such like; but afterward, when he grew more judicious, he preferred the stronger meats, such as the shambles afforded, as those meats which bred the more firm and substantial juices of the body, and less dissipable; upon which he would often make his meal, though he had other meats upon the table. You may be sure he would not neglect that himself, which he so much extolled in his writings, and that was the use of *Nitre*, whereof he took in the quantity of about three grains in thin warm broth every morning, for thirty years together next before his death. And for physick, he did indeed live physically, but not miserably; for he took only a maceration of rhubarb, infused into a draught of white-wine and beer mingled together for the space of half an hour, once in six or seven days, immediately before his meal, whether dinner or supper, that it might dry the body less, which (as he said) did carry away frequently the grosser humours of the body, and not diminish or carry away any of the spirits, as sweating doth; and this was no grievous thing to take. As for other physick in an ordinary way (whatsoever hath been vulgarly spoken) he took not. His receipt for the gout, which did constantly ease him of his pain within two hours, is set down in the end of the natural history, vol. III. p. 233.

It may seem the moon had some principal place in the figure of his nativity; for the moon was never in her passion, or eclipsed, but he was surprized with a sudden fit of fainting; and that, though he observed not, nor took any previous knowledge of the eclipse thereof: And as soon as the eclipse ceased, he was restored to his former strength again.

He died on the ninth day of *April* in the year 1626. in the early morning of the day then celebrated for our Saviour's resurrection, in the sixty sixth year of his age, at the earl of *Arundel's* house in *Highbate*, near *London*, to which place he casually repaired about a week before;

^b See Vol.
IV. p. 697.
Letter clix.

God

FRANCIS, VISCOUNT ST ALBAN.

15

God so ordaining that he should die there of a gentle fever, accidentally accompanied with a great cold, whereby the defluxion of rheum fell so plentifully upon his breast, that he died by suffocation, and was buried in St *Michael's* church at St *Albans*, being the place designed for his burial by his last will and testament; both because the body of his mother was interred there, and because it was the only church then remaining within the precincts of old *Verulam*: where he hath a monument erected for him of white marble, by the care and gratitude of sir *Thomas Meautys*, knight, formerly his lordships secretary, afterwards clerk of the king's most honourable privy-council under two kings, representing his full portraiture in the posture of studying, with an inscription composed by that accomplish'd gentleman, and rare wit, sir *Henry Wotton*.

BUT howsoever his body was mortal, yet no doubt his memory and works will live, and will in all probability last as long as the world lasteth. In order to which I have endeavour'd (after my poor ability) to do this honour to his lordship, by way of conducing to the same.



COL

FRANCIS & CO. (16)

COLLECTIONS
RELATING TO THE
LIFE
OF OUR NOBLE
AUTHOR:
Together with an
ACCOUNT
OF THIS PRESENT
EDITION.

AT my first entrance on this work I resolved not to act the pænegyrist, nor to attempt a character of our noble author in full length, nor yet to descend to disabling apologies for undertaking the publication of his writings.

FOR, since our author's works have surmounted all envy, and by their bright influence have scatter'd all those mists which were raised against him by prejudice and dulness, it would amount to a wantonness of imagination to prove what every body asserts; and besides posterity has been so just to his memory, that we can, without difficulty, collect such testimonies of his real superior excellency from the best writers, as will abundantly satisfy even a prejudiced reader, that he had few, if any, equals among the antients or moderns.

IT may nevertheless on this occasion be expected, that I should draw a parallel between our noble author, and some of the great names who have bless'd mankind with their most beneficial and important discoveries; and to shew how he out-stripped all the great sages of old, as *Aristotle, Plato, &c.* and that the most celebrated moderns have been proud to fight under his standard, as *Grotius, Boyle, Lock, &c.* yet, as this would be a task rather pompous than useful, and as I affect not to assume to my self an imaginary

inary applause of diligence or penetration by retailing of indexes and contents; I wave such an undertaking as impertinent and useless.

THE province therefore which is left me, for the discharge whereof I think my self strictly accountable to the reader, will contain these particulars.

I. To make some collections, consisting of private papers and publick instruments, illustrating the life and writings of our noble author.

II. To give some account of the order or method of digesting our author's works, with the addition of new treatises, and the improvements of those published before, to the world; which will occasionally represent the whole that is perform'd in this edition.

I. It has indeed been suggested by several persons during the progress of this work, that the subject required an intire new life: But every one will be persuaded that a great deal of leisure and application, together with a masterly hand, are absolutely necessary for such an undertaking. Besides the life wrote by doctor *Rawley* is so authentic and considerable, that it would have been both an injury to the publick and to his memory, to have thrown it aside; he having used so much diligence, accuracy and judgment in publishing the lord *Bacon's* works, as well as in writing his life; and even had the post of honour assigned him while our noble author was alive, to be the editor of his learned labours. On these accounts nothing should take place which can obscure or detract from his merit in this way, since it would be in some measure a declaring against the author himself, to controul the appointment which he at first so justly made, and which was afterwards applauded in the performance. And again, every reader at first glance will be able to observe, that many of these collections could not possibly be inserted into the text of doctor *Rawley's* life, without mangling it, nor yet could they conveniently be added as notes by reason of their running out into so great length.

I SHALL begin these collections with some paragraphs taken from the introduction of doctor *Tenison*, published before the lord *Bacon's* remains, 1679. And as the world is much indebted to that editor of the lord *Bacon's* genuine remains, for the elaborate critique upon his works, as well as for retrieving several valuable fragments of our noble author, which had otherwise perished or been dispers'd, I shall need no apology for producing his sentiments, and for delivering them in his own words. He observes, p. 4.

'FOR any praise upon the account of this small performance, it is not worth the while to be solicitous about it. Yet sometimes, mean men get a stock of reputation, by gathering up the *fragments of the learned*; as beggars (they say) have gotten estates by saving together the *alms of the rich*. If that falls not out here where it is not expected, it will be abundantly enough to me if the inferiour reader may have benefit, and any honour may be done to the memory of his lordship, whose more *general encomium* I shall first set down, and then annex a *particular narrative* of those designs and labours of his, which may be said, not only to merit, but even to exceed all my commendations.

I BEGIN

I BEGIN (as I said) with his lordship's praise, in a more general way. And here I affirm, with good assurance (for truth is bold) that amongst those few, who by the strength of their private reason, have resisted popular errors, and advanced real and useful learning; there has not arisen a more eminent person, than the *lord high chancellor Bacon*. Such great wits, are not the common births of time: And they, surely, intended to signify so much who said of the *phoenix* (though in *hyperbole* as well as metaphor) that nature gives the world that *individual species*, but once in five hundred years.

It is true, there lived in part of the last, and this, [seventeenth] century, many memorable advancers of philosophical knowledge. I mean not here such as *Patricius*, or *Telesius*, *Brunus*, *Severinus* the *Dane*, or *Campanella*. These, indeed, departed from some errors of the ancients, but they did not frame any solid *hypothesis* of their own: They only spun new cobwebs, where they had brushed down the old. Nay, I intend not, in this place, either *de Chart*, or *Gassendi*. They were, certainly, great men, but they appeared somewhat later, and descended into the depths of philosophy, after the ice had been broken by others. And those I take to have been chiefly *Copernicus*, *father Paul* the *Venetian*, *Galileo*, *Harvey*, *Gilbert*, and the philosopher before-remembered, sir *Francis Bacon*; who, if all his circumstances be duly weighed, may seem to excel them all. He was by *profession*, a common-lawyer; by *office*, in the *queen's* time, one of the *clerks* of the council; in the reign of king *James*, one of the *king's counsel* learned, then *solicitor* general, and one of the *judges* in the knight-marshals court; then *attorney* general, and one of the *king's privy-council*; then *lord-keeper* of the great seal, and during the king's absence in *Scotland*, *lord protector*: And last of all, *lord high chancellor of England*. So that in such a life as his, so thickly set with business of such height, it is a miracle that all seeds of philosophy were not daily overdropped, and in a short time, quite choaked; and that any one of them sprung up to maturity. And yet his prospered beyond those of the philosophers before-mentioned, though they were not pressed on with such a crowd of secular business.

FOR *Copernicus*, he concern'd himself especially in the revolutions of the heavenly bodies, in reviving and perfecting the obsolete doctrine of *Philolaus*, touching the motion of the earth, and in setting free the planets from those many epicycles, eccentrics, and concentrics, in which *Ptolemy*, and others had entangled them: And he well understood the course of the stars, though he did not much study that natural motive power which carries them about in their several *elliptics*. The like remark may be made concerning Mr *Gilbert*, who applied himself particularly to the consideration of magnetic powers; as also concerning doctor *Harvey*, who inquired principally into the generation of animals, and the motion of the heart: Subjects in which he made great progress, though into the former, the help of microscopes, would have given him farther insight *a*; and in both, he rather pursued the proofs of his *hypotheses*, than the nature of the mechanic force, which produced those great effects.

FATHER *Paul*, was a more general philosopher, and the head of a meeting of *vertuosi* in *Venice*. He excelled in *mechanics*, in *mathe-*
matics

(a) See Dr. Highmore, of Generation, p. 70, 71.

• matics of all kinds, in *philological* learning, in *anatomy*. In his ana-
 • tomical studies, he exercised such sagacity, that he made farther disco-
 • veries in the fabrick of the eye, and taught *Aqua-pendente*; those new
 • speculations which he publish'd on that subject; he found out (saith
 • *Fulgentio*) the *valvulae* in the veins, and began the doctrine of the circ-
 • lation of the blood: Though there is reason to Believe, that he received
 • the hints of it from *Henry Wotton*, who himself had taken them
 • from *Dr Harvey* (a). But, the present state of the affairs of *Venice*
 • so requiring, *Father Paul* bent his studies to ecclesiastical polity, and
 • chiefly employ'd his pen in detecting the usurpations and corruptions
 • of the papacy: Endeavouring (so far as books could do it) to pre-
 • serve the neck of that republick, from the bondage of *Paul* the fifth,
 • who attempted to set his foot upon it.

• *GALILEO* farther improv'd the doctrine of *Copernicus*; discover'd
 • by telescopes, new stars in the heavens; wrote dialogues concerning the
 • system of the world, and touching local motion; which later is the Key
 • that openeth nature. But he descended not to the several classes
 • of bodies in nature, and the particulars contained in them, and
 • their respective motions and uses. Neither did he publish any thing
 • till many years had pass'd, since Mr *Bacon* had formed and mo-
 • delled in his thoughts, his larger idea of experimental knowledge.
 • His *Sidereus Nuncius*, came not forth till towards the midst of
 • the reign of king *James*. And king *Charles* had sat some years on
 • his throne, ere he publish'd his dialogue of the system of the
 • world. Whereas Mr *Bacon* had not only publish'd two books of his
 • advancement, in the beginning of king *James's* reign, but early in the
 • queen's time, (as from his letter to *Fulgentio*, plainly appeareth) he had
 • written his *Temporis partus maximus*. That book (pompos in its
 • title, but solid in its matter; like a great feather put sometimes on a
 • good head-piece) contained in it, though in imperfect manner, and so
 • far as the greenness of his years permitted, the principal rudiments of
 • his Instauration. The work therefore of the Instauration, was an ori-
 • ginal; and a work so vast and comprehensive in its design, that though
 • others in that age, might hew out this, or the other pillar; yet of him
 • alone it seemeth true, that he framed the whole model of the house
 • of wisdom.

• In those days in which he began his studies, *Aristotle* was, in effect,
 • the pope in philosophy. The lectures, both in his private college, and
 • in the publick schools, were generally expositions upon *Aristotle's* text:
 • And every opinion, wrote by him as his own, was esteemed as authen-
 • tic, as if it had been given under the seal of the father. It was, there-
 • fore, a very singular felicity in a young gentleman to see farther into
 • nature than that celebrated philosopher, at whose feet he was placed:
 • And it was as happy as it was extraordinary, that he took distaste be-
 • times at the vulgar physics. Use and custom in that way, might have
 • reconciled it to him, as it had done to others of great learning. For a
 • philosopher is like a vine, of which they say, It must be set of a plant,
 • and not of a tree.

(a) Cartes *diff. de Methodo*, p. 46. *Harveo laus hanc tribuenda est quod primus in ista materia gla-
 cium fraserit, &c.*

‘ BUT, though there was bred in Mr *Bacon* so early a dislike of the
 ‘ physiology of *Aristotle*, yet he did not despise him with that pride and
 ‘ haughtiness, with which youth is wonted to be puffed up: He had a
 ‘ just esteem of that great master in learning (a), and greater than that
 ‘ which *Aristotle* himself expressed towards the philosophers that went
 ‘ before him: For he endeavoured (some say) to stifle all their labours;
 ‘ designing to himself an universal monarchy over opinions, as his patron
 ‘ *Alexander* did over men. Our hero owned what was excellent in him;
 ‘ but, in his inquiries into nature, he proceeded not upon his principles.
 ‘ He began the work a-new, and laid the foundation of philosophic the-
 ‘ ory in numerous experiments.

‘ BY this theory is not (as I conceive) so much to be understood, that
 ‘ most abstracted, and more narrow one, of the mere nature and definition
 ‘ of matter, motion, place, figure, site, quantity, and the like, which a
 ‘ man’s reason may find out, by a few common and daily appearances in
 ‘ nature, or operations of art: But we are to understand by it, a truer
 ‘ and fuller knowledge, of the system of the world, of the several actions
 ‘ and passions of bodies in it, and of the divers ways whereby, in them-
 ‘ selves or by the application of art to them, they may be made service-
 ‘ able to human life.

‘ NOW this was a work for a man of a thousand hands, and as many
 ‘ eyes, and depended upon a distinct and comprehensive history of na-
 ‘ ture. It was a way laborious and tedious, yet useful and honourable,
 ‘ and in this, like the way of the snail, which shineth though it is slow.

‘ SUCH an useful and noble philosophy did our author design, instead
 ‘ of the art of disputation, which then generally prevail’d, and which
 ‘ he compared to the condition of children, who are apt for talk, but not
 ‘ for generation. And certainly, that character was most due unto him-
 ‘ self which he gave to *Xenophanes*, of whom he said, that he was a man
 ‘ of a vast conceit, and that minded nothing but *Infinitum* b.

b *Hist. Vitae
 & Mortis.*
 Vol. II.
 p. 130.

‘ EASY it is to add to things already invented; but to invent, and to
 ‘ do it under discouragement, when the world is prejudiced against the in-
 ‘ vention, and with loud clamour hooteth at the projector; this is not an
 ‘ undertaking for dulness, or cowardize. To do this, argues an inquisi-
 ‘ tive and sagacious wit; a mind free from slavish prepossession; a piercing
 ‘ judgment, able to see through the mists of authority; a great power in
 ‘ the understanding, giving to a man sufficient courage to bear up the head
 ‘ against the common current of philosophical doctrines, and force to beat
 ‘ out its own way in untravelled places.

‘ WITH such intellectual ability was the lord *Verulam* endow’d: And
 ‘ he stood on the old paths, and perceived the unsoundness of their bot-
 ‘ tom; their intricate windings; their tendency to an useless end, or ra-
 ‘ ther to endless disputation; and the daily justlings and rencounters of
 ‘ those who travelled in them. He looked attentively round about him,
 ‘ he espied a new, and better, and larger, and safer way; and he jour-
 ‘ ney’d far in it himself; and he left a map of it for posterity, who might
 ‘ farther pursue it: And he has been happy in being follow’d by
 ‘ men of the ablest understandings, with singular success; and the so-

(a) *De Augm. Scient.* l. 3. c. 4. Vol. I. p. 98. *Ceteram, de viro tam eximio certe, & ob acumen
 ingenii, mirabili, Aristotele, &c.*

cieties for improving of natural knowledge, do not at this day depart from his directions, though they travel farther than death would suffer him to adventure.

I CAN, at present, call to remembrance but one man, who hath undervalued his lordship's method; and it is the same man who hath libelled the holy scriptures themselves; the infidel *Spinoza* (a). This man objecteth against his way, that it faileth in the very entrance of it, through a mistake about the *original of error*.

HIS lordship's opinion is the same with that which *de Chart* insists on, in his later philosophy. Both shew that therefore man deceives himself, because his will (being larger in its desires than the understanding is in its comprehensions; and hastning its opinion of such objects as it covets to know, before it hath sufficiently attended to them, and obtain'd a clear and distinct perception of them) does cause it to yield a blind and rash, and therefore groundless assent to insufficient evidence.

HIS lordship hath expressed it thus, after his better way of saying things, *b* "The understanding is not only made up of dry light, but it receives an infusion from the will and affections: And that begets such sciences as the heart desireth. For a man soonest believes that which he would have to be true. Wherefore he rejects difficult truths, through impatience in enquiring; and sober truths, because they restrain his hope [or desire;] and the deeper natural truths, by reason of superstition; and the light of experiments, by reason of arrogance and pride, lest the mind should seem to be conversant in mean and transitory things; and paradoxes, out of respect to the opinion of the vulgar. In sum, the will seasons and infects the mind, by innumerable ways, and by such as are, sometimes, not at all perceived.

Now, how, think you, doth *Spinoza* shew this opinion, to be a gross and fundamental mistake? Why, by denying that there is any such thing in man as a will: (as if that general name was ever used to signify a particular act, and not rather to express the general notion of that power:) By telling us that all volitions are particular acts, and as fatally determined by a chain of physical causes, as any effects whatsoever of natural bodies. So that we are like to learn well, from his philosophy, how to amend our erroneous assent, whilst it teacheth us that it is necessary, and not to be mended, unless men could have other bodies, and there were another scheme of nature.

It must be confess'd, that the lord I write of was not without Infirmities, intellectual or moral: And the latter of these have made the greater noise from the greatness of his fall. I do not here pretend to speak of an angel, but of a man: And no man, great in wit and high in office, can live free from suspicion of both kinds of errors. For that heat which is instrumental in making a great wit, is apt to disorder the attention of the mind and the stability of the temper. And high place, because it giveth power and opportunity, though no authority to offend, is ever look'd on with a jealous eye: And corrupt men who mete by their own measures, think no man can be great and innocent too.

HIS lordship own'd it under his hand, *c* that, he was frail, and did *c* *see* Vol. partake of the abuses of the times: And surely he was a partaker of *IV. p. 637.*

(a) F. D. Spinoza in Ep. 2. ad H. Oldenburg, *inter op. Posth.* p. 398, 399.

a See Mr Bushell's Extract, p. 19.

their severities also; though they proved, by accident, happy crosses and misfortunes. Methinks they are resembled by those of sir *George Sommers*, who being bound, by his employment, for another coast, was by tempest cast upon the *Bermudas*: And there a shipwreck'd man made full discovery of a new temperate fruitful region, which none had before inhabited; and which mariners, who had only seen its rocks, had esteem'd an inaccessible and enchanted place. The great cause of his suffering is to some a secret. I leave them to find it out, by his words to king *James* a: I wish (said he) that as I am the first, so I may be the last of sacrifices in your times. And when from private appetite, it is resolv'd, that a creature shall be sacrificed; it is easy to pick up sticks enough, from any thicket whither it hath strayed, to make a fire to offer it with.

b Epist. to Bishop Andrews, Vol. III. p. 534.

BUT whatsoever his errors were, or the causes of his misfortunes, they are over-balanced by his virtues, and will die with him. His errors were but as some excrescencies, which grow on those trees that are fit to build the palaces of kings: For though they are not proper and natural parts, yet they do not very much deprive the body of its use and value. And farther (to express my self by a more decent image, a comparison of his own;) "His fall will be to posterity, but as a little picture of night-work, remaining among the fair and excellent tables of his acts and works b.

THESE I distinguish, into two kinds,

His Mechanical Inventions, and his Writings.

I DOUBT not but his mechanical inventions were many: Tho' I can call to mind but three, at this time; and of them I can give but a very broken account: And for his instruments and ways in recovering deserted mines, I can give no account at all; though certainly, without new tools and peculiar inventions, he would never have undertaken that new and hazardous work. Of the three inventions which come now to my memory: The

FIRST was an engine representing the motion of the planets. Of this I can say no more than what I find in his own words, in one of his miscellany papers in manuscript. The words are these: "I did once cause to be represented to me, by wires, the motion of some planets, in fact as it is, without theories of orbs, &c. And it seem'd a strange and extravagant motion. One while they moved in spires forwards; another while they did unwind themselves in spires backwards: One while they made larger circles, and higher; another while smaller circles, and lower: One while they moved to the north, in their spires, another while to the south, &c.

c See his Extract, p. 17.

His second invention was a secret curiosity of nature, whereby to know the season of every hour of the year, by a philosophical glass, placed (with a small proportion of water) in a chamber. This invention I describe in the words of him, from whom I had the notice of it, Mr *Thomas Busbell*, c one of his lordship's menial servants; a man skilful in discovering and opening of mines, and famous for his curious

water-

THE LIFE OF THE AUTHOR

13

water-works in *Oxfordshire*, by which he imitated rain, hail, the rain-bow, thunder and lightning.

THIS secret cannot be that instrument which we call *Vitrum Calendare*, or the weather-glass; the lord *Bacon* in his writings ^a, speaking of that as a thing in ordinary use, and commending not water * but rectified spirit of wine, in the use of it: Nor (being an instrument made with water) is it likely to have shewed changes of the air with so much exactness, as the later baroscope made with mercury. And yet it should seem to be a secret of high value by the reward it is said to have procured. For the earl of *Essex* (as Mr *Bushe* in his *Extract*. pag. 17. reporteth) when Mr *Bacon* had made a present of it to him, was pleased to be very bountiful in his thanks, and bestow upon him *Twickenham-Park*, and its garden of paradise, as a place for his studies. I confess, I have not faith enough to believe the whole of this relation: And yet I believe the earl of *Essex* was extremely liberal, and free even to profuseness; that he was a great lover of learned men, being, in some sort, one of them himself ^b; and that with single patronage, he cherish'd the hopeful parts of Mr *Bacon*, who also studied his fortunes and service. Yet Mr *Bacon* himself, where he professeth his unwillingness to be short in the commemoration of the favours of that earl; is, in this great one, perfectly silent ^c. But there is in his apology another story, which may seem to have given to Mr *Bushe*, the occasion of his mistake. "After the queen had deny'd to Mr *Bacon*, the solicitor's place, for the which the earl of *Essex* had been a long and earnest suitor on his behalf, it pleased that earl to come to him from *Richmond* to *Twickenham-Park*; and thus to break with him: Mr *Bacon*, the queen hath deny'd me the place for you.—you fare ill, because you have chosen me for your mean and dependance: You have spent your thoughts and time in my matters; I die—if I do not do somewhat towards your fortune. You shall not deny to accept a piece of land which I will bestow upon you. And it was, it seems, so large a piece, that he understood it for no less than eighteen hundred pounds.

HIS third invention was a kind of mechanical index of the mind. And of this, Mr *Bushe* hath given us the following narrative and description. "His lordship presented to prince *Henry*, two triangular stones (as the first-fruits of his philosophy) to imitate the sympathetical motion of the load-stone and iron, although made up by the compounds of meteors (as star-shot jelly) and other like magical ingredients, with the reflected beams of the sun; on purpose that the warmth, distilled into them through the moist heat of the hand, might discover the affection of the heart, by a visible sign of their attraction and appetite to each other, like the hand of a watch, within ten minutes after they are laid on a marble table, or the theatre of a great looking glass. I write not this as a feigned story, but as a real truth; for I was never quiet in my mind, till I had procured these jewels of my lord's philosophy from Mr *Archy Primrose*, the prince's page.

OF this I find nothing, either in his lordship's experiments touching emission or immateriate virtues from the mind and spirits of men; or in those concerning the secret virtue of sympathy and antipathy. Wherefore I forbear to speak farther in an argument about which I am so much in the dark.

^a *Hist. Vitae & Mortis.*

Vol. II.

P. 118.

^{*} *In forma*

Calidi, §. 24.

Vol. I. p.

339. *Organ.*

^b *MSS. Hist. of Q. Eliz.*

P. 39.

^c *Bacon's Apol. cont. the Earl of Essex, Vol. IV. p. 390, 391.*

^d *In his Extract. p. 17, 18.*

^e *Nat. Hist. cent. x. Exp. 939. Vol. III.*

P. 196.

f. ibid. Exp. 960, &c. p.

I HAVING

HAVING transcribed this general account I could not forbear to reflect a little on that passage in doctor *Rawley's* life of our noble author, p. 5. [' After he had passed the circle of the liberal arts, his father thought fit to frame and mould him for the arts of state; and for that end sent him over into *France* with sir *Amyas Paulet*, then employ'd ambassador leiger into *France*, &c.] And I was very solicitous to cast some light upon so remarkable an event. In the sixth book *de augmentis scientiarum*, Vol. I. p. 162. speaking of the invention of his cipher, he says, *quod certe, cum adolescentuli essemus Parisiis, excogitavimus*: Which makes an approximation to the time of our authors travails, and yet appears defective. I presently recollected that his attending upon sir *Amyas Powlet* was a key to open this difficulty, and to ascertain the time: But consulting *Camden*, and all the *English* histories my slender stock afforded, to my great mortification, I could not trace the slightest print or footstep of any such embassy. The reason of all this diligence in a matter which may be reckoned inconsiderable, must be resolved into a single point of curiosity: The lord-keeper, sir *Nicolas Bacon*, our author's father, was at that time as high in fame as station; and as he was one of those great luminaries which then ruled this our orb, I indulged the thought to learn what age was most suitable to form the mind by travail, or at least what were the sentiments of those who then sat at the helm. In this perplexity *Richard Rawlinson* L.L.D. put into my hands a collection of letters in *MS.* which at first sight related to those times; and if any thing occurs in consequence, which will be acceptable, it is intirely owing to his friendship. I had not advanced many pages in this treasure before I found it contained a number of the original letters of sir *Amyas Powlet*, during his embassy in *France*, and particularly several to the lord-keeper *Bacon*, mentioning our author, with dates and all other marks of being genuine. I should be unpardonable in passing by those which relate to our author; and I hope to be excused for selecting one or two more, which cast a stronger light upon some transactions in those days than any thing I have been so fortunate to meet with. I shall give the letters according to their dates, and add a very few remarks about their importance.

I. To Mr *NICOLAS WADHAM*.

My good Brother,

June 22, 1577. fol. 23. p. 2.

I Do not doubt but that my letters will be always welcome unto you; and surely it is not for want of good will that you do not receive them more often: but I do not think you to be curious of our *French* news, and this country yieldeth no other matter: you must believe that I will be always ready and willing to do in all things the offices of a good friend towards you; and you shall not be deceived. The constant hope which I have conceived of our meeting again is strong enough in me, not only to nourish our former friendship, but also to increase it if it were possible. One year is already spent since my departure from you, and yet one year more, and then I will begin to harken for a successor. Our meeting will be with the greater joy because we have been thus long divided, and our long absence will be recompensed with our long continuance together hereafter; which God grant, if it be his good pleasure. I repose my trust especially in you for the leasing of my Park of *Marsh-wood*; and am not ignorant that this matter will

be

be troublesome and painful unto you : But I am persuaded that your travels for *Amyas Powlet* will not be grievous unto you. And like, as I know you will deal for me, as well herein, as in all other things, as for your self: So I pray you to think that I will allow of all your doings as if I had done them my self. I pray you commend me most heartily to my good father *Wadham*, and tell him, I trust to be so happy to see him again in *Meryfield*. My like commendations may not be forgotten to my good sister your wife, with as many thanks as I can give unto you and her both, for your friendly care of the young *Mrs Houfwell*. I have no great hope to be able as long as I live to do you the like pleasure ; but you may be sure to use me to the utmost of my little power : My sister must look to hear many strange stories from my wife if God give her leave to see *England* again. And in this mean time she desireth to be most heartily commended to her father, brother and sister at *Meryfield*. And thus I commit you my good brother to the merciful tuition of the Almighty : from *Tours*, &c.

II. To my LORD KEEPER.

My very good Lord,

Begin. August, 1577. fol. 39 p. 2.

UNLESS it shall please your lordship to deal better with me than I have deserved, I shall hardly excuse my self towards you, that I have not troubled you more often of late with my letters : and because your lordship shall know the great hope which I have conceived of your good opinion of me, leaving all matter of excuse, I will presume to assure my self that you will not impute this fault to want of good will : and upon this assurance I am bold to present your lordship with these few lines, and by the same, to advertise you that your son, thanks be to God is in good health : And other good news your lordship may not look to hear out of these parts ; where there is no end of all kinds of mischief and miseries. Nothing is remitted that may serve for the recovery of *Brouage* ; neither is there any other great action in hand at this present in this part of *France* : And some men think that the success of this siege will not be very happy for those of the king's party. The duke *Montpensier* and the other commissioners are yet with the king of *Navarr* ; where they treat of peace : And here it is given out that this peace cometh this day, and to morrow, and I cannot tell when : And indeed some think *France* will not be so happy this year. The duke of *Guise* is gone towards *Champaine* to provide for the *Reistres*, and some say the king will not be long from *Paris*. *Dampvill* doth no great thing in *Languedoc* ; and the army which *Monsieur* had in *Auvergne* is now idle. And thus leaving to trouble your lordship, I commit you to the merciful protection of the Almighty : from *Poitiers*.

MONEY defraied by sir *Amyas Powlet* knight, ambassador resident for her Majesty in *France*, as well in procuring intelligence, as otherwise for her majesty's service, from the last of *May*, 1577, to the last of *September* in the said year.

		<i>l.</i>	<i>s.</i>	<i>d.</i>
June,	To <i>John Dory</i> , sent for fifteen days, &c.	—	4	3 10
July,	To <i>John Tupper</i> , sent for eighteen days	—	7	0 0
				Reward

	Reward for Intelligences	_____	_____	_____	9	0	0
	For my servants attending at court	_____	_____	_____	8	0	0
August,	To Mr. _____ by express commandment	_____	_____	_____	10	0	0
September,	To <i>John Tupper's</i> expences for fifteen days sent	}	5	6	8		
	by express:						
	Reward for intelligences	_____	_____	_____	16	0	0
	For copies of sundry writings	_____	_____	_____	3	0	0
	To <i>William Wade</i> , for the service committed to	}	19	0	0		
	him by secr. <i>Walsingham</i> .						
					81	10	6

III. To my LORD-KEEPER.

My very good lord,

September 24. 1577. f. 64.

I TRUST your lordship will think no lewdness in me, that I have not troubled you more often with my letters, wherein I would have used greater diligence, if I had not presumed of your lordship's good opinion of me; which, I trust, to be so well grounded, that you will not condemn me for this negligence: and shall most humbly pray your lordship to think, that when I write I am wholly at your lordship's commandment, and when I do not write I am the same. Your lordship's absence from the court, and *London*, during this time of vacation, hath been the principal cause of my slackness. The actions of hostility in these parts are utterly ceased, the peace being concluded between the king and his subjects; God grant it be done with such sincerity as becometh the word, promise and oath of an anointed king. This peace is received with great joy, and great hope is conceived of continuance thereof. The king will have the honour of this peace, and saith it is a peace, of his own making, and he will keep it. And now the eyes of this country are all turned upon the troubles of the low countries; but what course the *French* will take in this matter is not yet certainly known. This quiet time doth give me no occasion to trouble your lordship with long letters; only I must tell you, that I rejoice much to see that your son, my companion, hath, by the grace of God, passed the brunt and peril of this journey: Whereof I am the more glad, because, in the beginning of these last troubles, it pleased your lordship to refer his continuance with me to my consideration. I thank God these dangers are past, and your son is safe, sound, and in good health, and worthy of your fatherly favour. And thus, &c.

IV. To my LORD-KEEPER.

My very good lord,

October 30, 1577. fol. 81.

ALTHOUGH I know no new matter worthy of advertisement; yet this bearer, Mr *Duncumbe*, repaireing into *England*, I would not fail to trouble your lordship with these few lines, to signify by the same my dutiful good-will towards you. The low-countries are the subject of the counsels deliberations and actions of the *French* at this time: M. de *Vaux* being here from *don John*, and the baron *Dobigny* from the *Estates*. Companies of *French* soldiers are levied daily, with outward pretence

pretence to serve *don John*, who expects great forces out of *Italy*, and prepareth for a sharp and deadly war. I may not omit to commend unto your lordship the honest, diligent, discreet and faithful service of this bearer, which deserveth very good acceptation; thinking him worthy of the government of your lordship's son, or of any gentleman in *England*, of what degree soever. I cannot tell if your lordship be more indebted unto him for his carefulness in your service, than I am for his good and quiet behaviour in my house. And thus, &c.

V. To my lord of LEICESTER.

My very good lord,

Nov. 7. 1577. f. 87. p. 2.

TO avoid new repetitions, and because your lordship may be fully advertised from all that passeth from me, I have thought good to trouble you with this copy enclosed of my letters to Mr *Walsingham*; which it may please your lordship, instead of longer letters to your self, having referred some matters of importance, touching the low-countries, to the report of this bearer, whom it may please your lordship to credit. I have heard say, that it is, for the most part, one years work to provide a successor for this place; and therefore having now served here one year and more, I would think my self much bound unto your lordship, if it would please you to enter into consideration for the supply of this charge by some other: Wherein I have none other hope than in your lordship's favour. It may therefore please your lordship to move her majesty herein in convenient time: wherein I would be sorry to be so importunate to deserve her highness's displeasure; and indeed will be a suitor herein no otherwise than as the same may be agreeable to your lordship. And thus, &c.

VI. To Mr WALSINGHAM.

Nov. 10. 1577. fol. 91. p. 2.

IT may please your honour to be advertised, that the baron *Dobigny*, and his associate M. *Mansart*, came to my lodging the eighth of this present: and after some short speeches of other matters, declared unto me, that they trusted to depart very shortly: that they had that morning been with the king: that both he and queen mother had given their faithful promise, not to permit any of his nobility, or captains, to take arms against them: that they would write to the count *Mansfield*, to withdraw him from *don John*: that there was no mean to stay the common soldiers: that the late wars in the low-countries had given good experience thereof: that they would likewise take order for the restraint of all kind of victuals and munitions; as also that no exchange of money should pass by the hands of *French* subjects: that they esteemed of them, as of their good neighbours and friends, and would do nothing to their prejudice. I answered, that at the departure of my last messenger out of *England*, her majesty knew nothing of their being here: that I had no express commandment to say any thing unto them: that they knew the duty of ambassadors would not permit them to deal rashly in matters of estate, without warrant and commission: that I had considered of the old and ancient intel-

intelligence between the crown of *England* and the house of *Burgundy*: that this strait league of amity was grounded upon honour, profit and surety: that this mutual friendship could not be forborn without dishonour, loss and peril to their party, as their case now stood: that I was not ignorant of her majesty's good affection towards the prince of *Orange*, and the *Estates*: that I doubted not they would acknowledge her friendly favour towards them in all their necessities; and therefore I thought good to offer my self unto them, to do them any pleasure that might lie in my little power: that I wished her majesty were made acquainted with their doings abroad: that I would not fail to advertise her of so much of their proceedings here with the *French* king, as they had signified unto me: that the news would be very acceptable unto her: that this promise made by the king, and his mother, was very honourable: that in my simple opinion, it was not enough to restrain the nobility, unless the common soldiers were also stayed: that *don John* wanted no captains: that he desired only *French* harquebussers: that many were said to be gone already: that by this account many others might follow: that the power of a king, in his own country was great: that he might stay all sorts: if he would require me to signify any other thing to her majesty, that I would perform their desire. They replied, that they had propounded nothing to the *French* king that might be prejudicial to her majesty: that they had only signified the equity of their cause, and dissuaded the enterprise of the duke of *Guise*, and his associates: that they made singular and special account of her highness's favour towards them: that they were not yet forced, by necessity, to shake off their yoke of obedience to their king and sovereign; that indeed they had said, if their king did persevere in his cruelties and persecutions, they should be constrained to seek the aid of some foreign prince: that notwithstanding these fair promises, the *French* soldiers resorted daily to *don John*: that they would move the king again to take better order, as well for the present, as for the time to come: that they prayed her majesty to consider of them, that this war was chargeable unto them: that a good beginning would assure a good ending: that they prayed her majesty to enlarge her offers, and desired me to recommend their cause. I told them, that, as I would not fail to advertise her majesty of their request, so I did not doubt of their wise proceedings; wherein they had this singular advantage to negotiate with such as were no strangers unto them: that they had felt the cruelty and rapine of the *Spaniards*; that likewise they knew the humour and complexions of the *French*: and that, thanks be to God, her majesty had the reputation to deal plainly and sincerely with all men. Then I asked them what they heard of the archduke *Matthias*. They said, that they understood by letters written to *Montmorency*, that he was yet at *Lira*. I told them, I was of opinion to speak plainly unto them, that no prince in *Europe* had been, to all respects, so fit and convenient for them as the king of *Spain*, if he had been content to entreat them as his good subjects, and govern them in mercy and justice; but considering his infidelity, cruelty, and tyranny, and the present state of their matters, I cannot hope that any good can come unto them by any of the house of *Austria*; and that in reason and judgment they ought to hold them as suspected. They said, they were of the same opinion. And thus, after some ordinary ceremonies, they took their leave of me.

THE original of this copy inclosed, was brought unto me the ninth of this present at noon; the contents of the same being confirmed by the messenger, saying, that he thinketh that all the *English* ships, except those two belonging to Mr *Sackford*, which remain yet at *Blay*, finding the wind large, are gone into *England*, and were pursued by the young *Lausack's* ships, but in vain. And now your honour may see what truth is in these great fellows, and how cunningly the young *Lausack's* secretary was sent to confirm the release of these ships; trusting by this subtilty, to procure the discharge of their ships in *England*, and then they would have talked with you at leisure for the rest: and therefore hearing that the *French* ambassador is very importunate for the release of the *French* ships, and doubting lest his fair words, and the great affirmation made from hence of the discharge of our ships, might move you to condescend to their desire, I thought good to use all diligence that this copy inclosed might come to your hands; and therefore have sent these letters to *Roan*, by one of my servants, with speed, not doubting but that *John de Vignes* is yet there, who shall bring this paquet unto your honour. In this mean time I will deal with some of the king's council, and with the king himself, as occasion shall serve, whereof you shall be advertised. Great suit hath been made unto me, of late, by several *Scotishmen*, for my passport to go to the court of *England*, where they trust to obtain licence to repair to the queen of *Scots*; and every of these fellows bringeth his several reason. It may seem that some here have great haste to hear from her; I excuse my self upon the great brute which hath been of late in this town of troubles in *Scotland*, and tell them that I will grant no passport until I hear farther of their proceedings. It may please your honour touching these passports. And thus, &c.

From *Paris* the tenth of *November*, 1577.

VII. To my LORD-KEEPER.

My very good lord, Dec. 25, 1577. fol. 121. p. 2.

HAVING so convenient a messenger as this bearer is, (a) Mr *Dannet*, I would not fail to acknowledge my dutiful good will towards your lordship by these few lines, although, indeed, this quiet time doth yield no matter worthy of advertisement. We are contented here to harken to our neighbour's harms, and to keep our selves in store for our better advantage; and I am much deceived if we lose any good opportunity that shall be proffered. Our actions are changed by necessity; but our will remaineth firm and constant, and will appear in time convenient. But the hearts of princes are in the hands of God; and he disposeth of them at his good pleasure, and he only knoweth what will become of this peace. Our estate and country is threaten'd on every side, and her majesty cannot be ignorant of the malicious practices of her dissembling neighbours.

Our harm cometh by leisure, and will be the heavier if it be not avoided. God grant her majesty to be rightly counselled, and to execute speedily her good resolutions: I fear we shall not be so diligent to provide for our defence, as our enemies will be ready to annoy us. I leave this matter

(a) Secretary to the embassy of Sir *Amyas Powell*; and preferred to the same station under Mr *Dr Wilson*, Secretary of State.

to your better consideration. I will not trouble your lordship with the discourse of the state of things here, which I refer to the report of this bearer. And, &c.

VIII. To Mr SECRETARY.

January 8, 1577. fol. 124.

IT may please your honour to be advertised, that the twenty-seventh of the last, *M. D.* resorted to my lodging, where he declared unto me, that after many meetings and conferences with *J. B.* the said *J.* had now, at the last, assured him, that he was acquainted with all particularities of the *D. of N [orfolk]* his treason, as also with all that was practised by the pope, and the king of *Spain*, by the negotiation of *Radolpho*; and that upon assurance of consideration worthy of a service of this importance, he would reveal all his knowledge: And farther, whereas *M.* now being in this town, is not ignorant of the bottom of all the later conspiracies between the queen of *Scots*, and her confederates, under pretence to go with the said *M.* to *Rome*, he would deliver him into the hands of such as her majesty would appoint at *Caseluther*, or *Heddeberge*: The said *D.* protesting that he would not be the instrument to effectuate this devise, unless he might receive her majesty's promise that the said *M.* should not be touched in his life; which being saved, he referred him in all other things to the consideration of her highness. He added, that he could be contented that *J. B.* should also be apprehended, and sent into *England* with the other, upon promise that he should not be ill used, as indeed, saith he, being the means of the apprehension of *M.* he doth deserve good entertainment: he concluded, that these things could not be performed unless it would please her majesty, or you Mr *Walsingham*, in her behalf, to assure him by two or three words, that *J.* should be well recompensed, who would do nothing until he might see his letters of warrant for his assurance.

I ASKED him if *J.* could not be persuaded to accept my word and promise for his satisfaction; and to be content to make present declaration of his knowledge in these things, because I could not tell if the same might be such as would abide no delay. He said as before, that *B.* would do nothing unless he had his warrant out of *England*. I told him, I doubted not but that *B.* did already understand all that *M.* did know, and therefore should do well to reveal the same, with his own knowledge in the other things before specified, which might serve to good purpose, although *M.* were [not] apprehended. He answered, that it was not possible to get any thing from *M.* wherein *B.* had done all that he could, but in vain; and that if the said *J.* should press *M.* herein, he would not only repulse him, but also conceive an ill opinion of him, and would write to the friends of the said *J.* in *England* to his discredit. But, quoth I, where will you find that prince in *Christendom*, and specially in *Germany*, where they make great account of their privileges, and dare not do any thing that shall be to the derogation of the same, if for no other cause than to avoid the displeasure of the other princes, their neighbours, that will deliver a stranger into the hand of any prince whatsoever? That is no part, saith he; it is you that must look to that. It is a matter that must be

be considered, quoth I. *D. C.* saith he, will not refuse the queen, your mistress no more than the *P. of S.* hath done already for *J.*: I told [him] *J.* was never delivered. Indeed you say truly, saith he, but it shall be enough for the queen, your mistress, if he be examined upon tortures, or otherwise at her pleasure: (which prince that is a friend to her majesty will deny?) And I dare take it upon me, saith he, that this shall be done at *Sedan*. I concluded, that when a man could not do as he would, he must be content to do as he could; and because *D.* made no mention of any consideration to be used towards himself, I thought good to use such speeches as might serve to assure him, that he should not find her majesty ungrateful.

It may please your honour to be advertised, that the twenty eighth of the last, *M. D.* resorted to my lodging, where he declared unto me, that I could not be ignorant of the estate of the low-countries, and that so long as they should continue in the possession of the king of *Spain*, he would be a dangerous neighbour to the queen, my mistress; as likewise the king, his master, would grow too mighty, if they should be annexed to the crown; and therefore it were to be wished, that these low-countries were possess'd by some third prince, who being erected to this estate, by the help of the queen of *England* and the *French* king, would continue a good neighbour to them both, and could not be otherwise if he would; not doubting but the king, his master, would be contented to join with her majesty herein, and prayed me to tell him my opinion. I answered, I had never heard of this matter before, that the same was of good weight: that it touched many kings and princes, and amongst others, the queen, my mistress: that it required a farther consideration; and therefore prayed him to hold me excused, although I did forbear to utter my opinion herein, which I would reserve for some other time. He replied, that my private opinion in this private conference was no obligation, either to the queen, my mistress; or to me; and therefore did not think that I would deal thus strangely with him, praying me once again to say what I thought: I told him, I knew very well that he would think great lightness in me, if, in a matter of this importance, I should answer him hastily: but because he pretendeth this matter importeth her majesty deeply, I prayed him, as he made already good demonstration of his good will in other things, so in this to do the like, and to acquaint me with the reasons that moved him to be of this opinion. It was easy to see that he was offended, that I would not deal more frankly with him; and yet upon hope, as I take it, to serve his turn, was content to proceed in his discourse; saying, that the king of *Spain* is grown dreadful to all *Christendom*: that if his father had lived in this time, he would have been lord of the better part of all *Europe*: that this man was of no valour: that yet by means of the low-countries, he had great means to annoy *England*: that being removed from thence, her majesty should have no cause to account more of him, than of a gentleman of five thousand franks by the year: (I use his own words:) that likewise the *French* king could not be assailed by the *Spaniards* by any other way than by the low-countries: that the *Spaniard* being removed from thence, could not assure himself against the king in any his other countries: that therefore *England* and *France* should do well to erect archduke *Matthias* to the estate of the low-countries, by the name of count of the same, or by some such other title. I asked him, if he knew that

Matthias

Matthias would accept this offer, and having accepted it, that he would deal plainly. I know you think, saith he, that he is come thither by the assent of the king of *Spain*, affirming that he took it so, and did believe it: but it was to be considered, that he was a young gentleman of great courage: that he had already entered into quarrels with his brother, the emperor: that he could not forget the injury done to his father by the emperor *Charles*, in his partage: that when it should please God to call the king of *Spain* out of this world, he would not fail to plead his possession of these low-countries, and that being supposed by the prince of *Orange*, he would not fail to entertain him in his honours and dignities, which the said D. took to be a thing that would be agreeable to her majesty. But, quoth I, the king of *Spain* liveth yet, and may perchance live long enough to force *Matthias* to seek another nest; and then this hope to carry away the state, after the death of the king, will prove to be a reckoning without their host. He answered, that *Matthias*, and his friends, were able to defend him against the king of *Spain*, as long as the said king lived, and after his death the matter would be easy enough. I asked him, how he knew that the *French* king would be content of this match: he said, he knew it very well, and that he conferred therein with great personages. Well, quoth I, I will consider of this matter, and at some other time I will tell you what I think of it: it is enough, saith he, that you do allow of this devise as a thing profitable and honourable for her majesty. Nay, quoth I, I said not so yet, and by your leave, will think better of it, before I allow of it, or disallow of it. Then I asked him if he would not advertise his opinion herein unto you, Mr *Walsingham*, by his letters: he answered, that he would consider of it. Thus I have set down unto your honours, plainly and truly all that hath passed between this man and me in this behalf, referring the same to your better consideration. And now it may please you to give me leave to say somewhat unto you of my simple opinion. The first matter hath been handled with great dexterity, these two *honest* men employing all their cunning: that D. is not ignorant of all that J. knoweth; but the prodigality of J. could not be maintained, nor his necessity relieved, if D. should utter his knowledge in this matter without the help of the other. Also it is not for nothing that this matter hath been deferred until this present; wherein he knew as much two months past, as now; and did then put me in great hope that he would reveal his knowledge unto me without delay; and therefore there is some other mystery in this tract of time. I am not ignorant that there is great and straight friendship between J. and M. and am more than half persuaded, that he is acquainted with all that M. knoweth; and therefore this pretty conveyance is also to be considered. These men are not unknown, and therefore it shall be meet to deal warily with them, so as if their coming have a farther reach, the same may fall upon their own pates. Touching the second point, I take it to be most certain, that this man came not unto me of himself, but was sent by great personages; where many things may be divined, which are without the compass of my charge, and therefore leave them to your wisdoms. He is no doubt a faithful servant to the queen mother; and therefore I dealt as warily as I could with him: and it seemeth worthy to be noted, that he shewed himself very ill content that I would not allow his proposition: wherein, no doubt, as in all other of this question, he sheweth great treachery.

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treachery. If this matter shall be followed, it may please your honours to send Mr *Beale*, or some such other sufficient man hither unto me, as well for my assistance herein, as also to serve for a witness of my doings; because these things may touch I cannot tell whom. It is confirmed unto me of every side, that *Strozey*, *la Roch*, *Lausack*, *Landrean*, and others proceed in their preparations of men, ships and munition, with pretence to go to the *West-Indies*, or as some say to ——— in *Africa*. But indeed to make some attempt upon *Ireland*, as others of good judgment do imagine: to which purpose they are said to have secret intelligence, as well with *Fitz-Morris*, as with the earl of *Westmorland*; or else to be in readiness against the opening of the war in this realm, and then to serve to make some exploits against *Rochel*, and the isle of *Rets*. *La Roche* is a *Gusard*, and a man of no hability to bear the charge of any great enterprize; and yet he maketh account to bestow in these preparations two hundred thousand *franks*; which may seem to prove that this journey is furthered by some great personages. They gave out great speeches against the *Spaniards*, and I mislike it the more, because they talk of it so loud: they purpose to carry with them four thousand soldiers. I have sent to a good friend in *Britany* for my better instruction in these things. Although these warnings cannot be unprofitable, and it shall be good to provide for the worst, yet I am not hasty to give credit to these reports; because these bruits of some matter of attempt against her majesty are given out many times of purpose to make us the more unwilling to give aid to our distressed neighbours. Thus am I bold to inform your honour what I hear; and when you hear all that I hear, I am discharged, and you are to consider. But I am much deceived, if you may not be bold to believe these men intend nothing less than to perform their pretended voyage. The king is said to give them of his liberality towards this journey twelve millions of powder, and two thousand shot. It is advertised here, by letters from *Constantinople*, that the *Turk* prepareth three hundred galleys, and sixty galliasses, and many other great ships for transportation of his munition: And having made his peace with the *Sophi*, doth purpose to invade some part of *Christendom*; and that the *Venetians* have already assaied to buy their peace with a present of three hundred thousand ducats; but for their better surety, they have now, of late, procured letters from the *French* king to the *Turk* in their favour. It is said that the *Turk* hath refused the tribute due unto him by the emperor, and doth threaten him with war. The leagues are not only conserved, but also augmented in *Guien*, and all other parts of this realm: the nobility prepareth for a new war: the towns lately rendered to the king are fortified, with garnisons: great plenty of fair words, but nothing performed in deed of these things which are promised: all means are sought to weaken the protestants: all things are done by direct commandment from the king: a general massacre is feared: the execution of these conspiracies is deferred only by occasion of the slow proceedings in the low-countries: great plots are laid for great mischief; and some great change is expected very shortly. Thus much is written unto me by principal personages. *Osborn*, my servant, resorting to the *French* ambassador, at his last being in *England*, to pray his passport for the young *Rouswel*; the said ambassador asked him, how I was treated in *France*? Who answered, very well to his knowledge. The ambassador replied, that he found himself very ill used there, and that

his house was so watched, as well towards the street, as towards the water, that no man durst come to him; and that the bankers, with whom he had to deal for money, could not be suffered to resort unto him; saying, that he would not fail to give advertisement thereof to the king his master; and to pray him to call him from thence, rather than to suffer him to be used there as a slave, or villain; and also to give me like entertainment here: he concludeth, that one *Peter*, a *Frenchman*, who came sometimes to him to beg, or borrow a crown, was threatened to be hanged for his so doing, and thereby constrained to shave his beard, and cut his hair off his head, and in that disguised manner to convey himself away. *Collins*, his footman, hath been here of late, who hath used the like speeches unto me, saying that he saith, that his master desired nothing more than that I should be intreated with all courtesies. One telleth me, that he hath seen the letters written to Monsieur from the *Estates*, and signed by the archduke *Matthias*, and *Wellamans*, secretary of the said *Estates*; by the which they promise to give themselves to his protection, in case the king of *Spain* will not receive them as his subjects. Many shifts are devised to get money; and now, upon the sale of the estate of a new greffier erected in every court, a great sum of money is levied, as also the *Tailles* are increased five sols upon every *frank*, which will amount to a round sum; the same being utterly refused in *Languedoc*, and other parts adjoining, as is reported; who require to be relieved of many other new impositions, affirming, that they can no longer endure this heavy burthen.

I WILL not trouble you with the report of the many several quarrels happened of late in this court, between the gentlemen belonging to the king, of the one part, and others belonging to monsieur, of the other part; whereof the first was between *Rellus* and *Bassy*; and yet I do not think it meet to neglect the observation of these trifles, which may perchance breed some dangerous consequence. It is told me, that *Moulina* was the messenger, at his coming out of *Scotland*, of a motion of marriage between the king of *Scots* and the princess of *Lorraine*. *Perigueux* hath been in danger to be surprized by the *Catholiques*, the practice whereof was so cleanly conveyed, as it was not known until the very instant of the execution, which was not without the death of many papists, besides many others taken prisoners. Monsieur *de Reffecg*, governour of *Angoulesm*, and monsieur *Bordelles* are said to be the principal authors of this seditious practice. It is said, that the marshal *d'Escoffe* shall be sent thither to take order therein. The king seemeth to be highly offended, and threatneth extream punishment to the offenders; and yet I am credibly informed, that a gentleman was willed to assure the king of the good success of this enterprize, more than one month past. This treason doth threaten all the other towns of the religion; and, I think, they will provide for their surety. Upon motion made by my son to monsieur *de Foix*, to procure order and commandment from the king to his ambassador, resident there, to assure her majesty, that her subjects shall traffick safely and quietly, without any molestation within the government of his master; with the other particularities mentioned in the said letters: After conference had with the king, I received answer, that he desired nothing more than to keep good amity with her majesty, and that the treaties passed between them should continue in their force and virtue; promising to write to his ambassador to such effect as I desired; and prayed me also to write to her highness

highness for the release of the *French* ships; and that he would satisfy the *English* merchants, according to their several demands. But as you have well begun, so I trust you will continue in this honourable course; and, indeed, it cannot stand with her majesty's honour, or with the profit of the *English* merchants, to stand to the courtesy of *French* justice. I did forbear to make this motion five or six days, doubting lest the same might hinder your proceedings in *England*; because I was assured that the merchants departed from hence in very good disposition to compound with you at your pleasure, and did conceive, that the said merchants had not yet been with you at the making of this dispatch. And thus, &c.

THE papers from which I have transcribed the foregoing letters, seem to be the *protocols*, or register of sir *Amyas Powlet*, during a considerable part of his embassy in *France*. They commence *May 25. 1577.* and conclude on the tenth of *January* following: and considering the great variety of ciphers made use of for the conveyance of them, as the author occasionally informs us, and that the art of deciphering was then in its infancy, we may be very well assured (as they are wrote in the common hand of queen *Elizabeth's* days) that they could be no other than sir *Amyas's* own copy, or, at least, that of his secretary, Mr *Dannet*.

THE collection consists of more than one hundred and thirty leaves; and the particular letters in it are inscribed to the Queen, the lord admiral, Mr *Argal*, sir *Arthur Bassett*, Mr *Beal* clerk of the council, earl of *Bedford*, Mr *Beton*, sir *Jerome Bowes*, Mr *Brunckar*, sir *John Clifton* his brother, Mr *Dale*, Mr *Richard Drake*, Mr *Edward Dyer*, the *English* merchants at *Roan*, earl of *Hertford*, Mr *Hatton*, Mr *Heneage*, sir *Edward Horsey*, Mr *Horsey*, lord-keeper *Bacon*, sir *Francis Knolles*, earl of *Leicester*, Mr *Leighton*, earl of *Lincoln*, sir *George Speake*, earl of *Suffex*, Mr *Tomson*, lord-treasurer *Burghley*, Mr *Treasurer*, Mr *Tremayn*, Mr *Nicolas Wadham*, the celebrated founder of *Wadham-college* in *Oxford* his brother, secretary *Walsingham*, earl of *Warwick*, Mr *Wilks*, secretary *Wilson*.

THOUGH I have, in a manner, only selected such letters as make to my purpose, yet I can't forbear saying, that I judge the whole would be very entertaining if they were publish'd to the world; and I may be indulged a short digression relating to sir *Amyas Powlet*: (for so his name is constantly wrote wherever it occurs.) He appears throughout the whole to have been under the patronage of the earl of *Leicester*, and so much may be probably collected from N^o. V. here printed. He had the captainship of the isle of *Jersey*, during his absence, fol. 3. p. 2. He frequently inculcates this political doctrine, that 'defence is as just where an offence is expected, as where the offence is given already; so as the defence do not proceed of needless fear, ambition, or malicious covetousness', fol. 16. p. 2. He observes in his letter to my lord-treasurer, from *Poitiers*, September 27. 1577. fol. 70. 'I have not yet received the true articles of the peace [viz. with the *Protestants*] but this is the substance: For their surety, eight towns, whereof three in *Guien*, two in *Languedoc*, one in *Picardy*, two in *Dauphiny*; besides *S. Jean de Angely*, which remaineth in the custody of the prince of *Conde*, until he be in full possession of his government of *Picardy*: One town, or burgh, in every bailiwick for the exercise

exercise of religion, saving that in *Picardy*, the same is granted to two bailiwicks only. Liberty is granted to levy six hundred thousand *Franks* among themselves to pay their debts: These towns to remain in the hands of the *Protestants* during six years, and to be guarded with two thousand soldiers at the king's charges.

THE *Reistres* shall be satisfied, and other things touching matters of justice.

THE date then of this embassy of sir *Amyas Powlet* into *France*, is by the first and fifth letter ascertain'd to be in the year 1576. For the expression to his brother *Wadham*, 'One year is already spent since my departure from you', shews, at least, that he quitted the country in order to his embassy in *June* 1576; and the argument he makes use of to his patron, the earl of *Leicester*, in order to his being recalled, 'Therefore having now served here one year and more', shews, incontestably, that he was upon the duty of his station before *November* in the same year. So that it is manifest our author was sent abroad in the sixteenth year of his age: which was exceeding early, as he is then said by *Dr Rawley* to have passed the circle of the liberal arts.

BUT again, it is plain from the fourth letter, that Mr *Bacon* had a governor, or tutor assign'd him; and the commendation given to Mr *Duncombe* by the ambassador, is a fair testimony that the pupil was under good direction.

AS to the sixth letter, it contains some of the early advances and applications of the *States* to queen *Elizabeth* for her assistance and protection; and as it gives an idea of the views and interests both of the *English* and *French* courts, with a hint about the *Scotch* affairs; I could not wave the intelligence of such memorable transactions, nor apprehend any offence to the reader by inserting it here.

THE eighth letter, I flatter myself, will be doubly welcome, as it treats of a subject which has been much canvas'd, and lays the scene of the queen of *Scots* much deeper than any other intelligence; it likewise gives a specimen of the treachery of the agents of the queen-mother of *France*, and accounts for the reason why the queen of *Scots* was afterwards committed to the custody of sir *Amyas Powlet*: since he seems to have made the first discoveries of her practices, and to have been master of the whole secret.

AS I shall frequently have occasion to make honourable mention of Mr *Stephen's* INTRODUCTION prefix'd to that part of our noble author's letters which he wrote in the reign of king *James*, I beg leave to set down an intire paragraph, containing his character of sir *Francis Walsingham*, *Introd. p. ii. published 1702.*

HER [queen *Elizabeth's*] great council, the parliaments, were so satisfied with her conduct, that they sometimes gave her more than she expected, and once more than she would receive. Her private counsels were wise, and directed by few; yet those so well chosen, as reflected no less honour upon her own judgment, than security on her people. The lord *Burleigh*, sir *Nicolas Bacon*, and sir *Francois Walsingham*, were some of her most faithful and able servants. The first of them seems to have been her chiefest minister for forty years; and they all of them served her with such singular ability and fidelity, that they have appeared as examples, rather admired than imitated: Especially

! fir

‘ *sir Francis Walsingham* ; who, tho’ he was one of the wisest and most sagacious men of the age, who had long undergone the office of principal secretary of state, and often of ambassador, and had surely the opportunity of enriching himself at the publick expence ; yet he wasted both his own health and fortunes for the health and prosperity of the nation ; contenting himself with a true and lasting glory of having maintain’d the cause and interest of his religion, his prince and country ; and with the satisfaction of seeing his only child, by *Ursula*, the daughter of *Henry St Barbe*, Esq; married to *sir Philip Sidney*, and after his untimely and much lamented death, to *Robert d’Evereux*, earl of *Essex*, two of the finest gentlemen of their times’.

IN pag. 6. Dr *Rawley* observes, that our author ‘ In his younger years studied the service and fortune (as they call them) of that noble, but unfortunate earl, the earl of *Essex* ; unto whom he was, in a sort, a private and free counsellor, and gave him safe and honourable advice, till in the end, the earl inclined too much to the violent and precipitate counsel of others, his adherents and followers, which was his fate and ruin.

THO’ the testimony of Dr *Rawley* is of sufficient authority, yet as there are stronger vouchers to ascertain this truth, contained in many valuable letters wrote by our author, mostly to the earl, and partly by his direction, I shall chuse to refer to them, beginning Vol. IV. p. 477. This scene of Mr *Bacon*’s life, Dr *Rawley* places ‘ in his younger years’, and it was indeed prior to his appearing in the world as an author, or, at least, before he had wrote any thing considerable ; so that this subject naturally here presents itself. It is apparent the writing that manifesto, entitled A DECLARATION OF THE TREASONS OF ROBERT, EARL OF ESSEX, Vol. IV. p. 510. was craftily imposed upon Mr *Bacon*, as a penance, by some person, or persons who had reason to have shewed him better treatment ; but yet, as he rose the brighter out of the cloud, having done more to steer the earl’s ambition into the right chanel, than any other man living, (even more than the celebrated and sincere *sir Henry Wotton*, * who attended the earl of *Essex* as secretary during his lieutenancy in *Ireland*) and to keep him within the strict bounds of his allegiance ; we must therefore allow Mr *Bacon*’s younger years were seasoned with strict loyalty, judgment and integrity, and that the honest heart kept pace with the exalted understanding.

IN justice then, the *Declaration* aforesaid could not be omitted, because written by our author ; and tho’ the *Apology* relates to very different transactions and events, yet considering the intercourse and communication between our author and that unfortunate earl, I have thought fit to insert that scarce piece, both because the defence ought to go along with the charge, and because it illustrates the history of the times we are now speaking of.

* See the life of *sir Henry Wotton*, written by the worthy *Isaac Walton*.

A N
A P O L O G Y
O F T H E
E A R L of E S S E X:

Against those which jealously and maliciously tax him to be the Hinderer of the Peace and Quiet of his Country.

Penned by Himself, Anno 1598.

Imprinted at London by Richard Bradocke, 1603.

TO Mr ANTHONY BACON.

HE that either thinketh he hath, or wisheth to have an excellent face, no sooner is told of any spot, or uncomeliness in his countenance, than he hies to shew himself to a glass, that the glass may shew again his true likeness unto him: the same curiosity moves me, that desires to have a fair mind, to shew the true face and state of my mind to my true friend; that he, like a true glass, without injury or flattery, may tell me whether nature, or accident have set so foul a blemish in it as my accusers pretend: I am charged that, either in affection, or opinion, or both, I prefer war before peace; and so consequently, that all my counsels, actions and endeavours do tend to keep the state of *England* in continual wars; especially at this time, when some say peace may be had, and I only impugn it: but both my heart disclaims from so barbarous an affection, and my judgment from so absurd an opinion. The reputation of a most faithful subject and zealous patriot (which, with hazard of my life and decay of my estate, I have sought to purchase) must not suffer this ugly and odious aspersion, that my actions have caused, maintained, or increased the wars, or had ever any such scope or intent.

FIRST, For my affection, in nature, it was indifferent to books and to arms, and was more enflamed with the love of knowledge, than with the love of fame; * witness your rarely qualified brother, and that most learned, and truly honest master *Savill*; yea my contemplative retiredness in *Wales*, and my bookishness from my very childhood. And now, if time, reason, or experience, have taught me to wish that to my self which is best for my self, what should I not wish rather than martial employments?

* Mr Fr.
Bacon.

employments? In which I have impaired my state, lost my dear and only brother, the half arch of my house, buried many of my dearest and nearest friends, and subjected my self to the rage of seas, violence of tempests, infections of general plagues, famine, and all kind of wants, discontentment of undisciplined and unruly multitudes, and acceptance of all events; while I did not only leave my known enemies elbow-room to seek their own, and their friends advancement, but was fain (sometimes) upon trust in their protestation, after new reconcilements, to make them the receivers, censurers, and answerers of all my dispatches. And, as my affection neither in truth is, nor, if I regard my self, in reason ought to be set on these courses of the wars; so, in judgment, I have ever thought wars the diseases and sickness; and peace, the true, natural and healthful temper of all states. I have thought excellent minds should come to the wars as surgeons do to their cauteries, when no other easy, or ordinary remedy will serve; or as men which have no way but the sword to prove the truth of their plea, and obtain their detained right. Yea, I will go one degree farther: I think that prince, or state, offends as much against justice and against reason, that omitteth a fair occasion of making an honourable and safe peace, as that which rashly and causelessly moveth an unjust war.

THESE principles have made me conclude this general *Thesis* common to all states, that peace is to be preferred before war. I will come to an *Hypothesis* proper to the state of *England*; where most part of the wealth of the land, and the revenues of the crown, grows by traffick and intercourse; and where almost all traffick is interrupted by the wars; where the state in largeness of territory and in wealth (which is the sinews of war) is inferior to that of the enemy; where, besides all foreign wars, there is yet a great fire of rebellion unquenched; where associates in war give over the quarrel, neighbours are suspected; neutrals shew ill affection; and the people it self grows weary of the charge and misery of the wars; there, of all places, peace should be embraced (if it be offered) and fought for by fit and honourable means, if it may be compassed. But, though wars be diseases, yet I think it better to endure some sickness, than to venture upon every medicine. I should hold, that an enemy may be trusted if he offer safe conditions, as a physician may if he give an wholesome and tried medicine: But to trust to an enemy's faith, when his perfidy shall undo, or extremely endanger us, and infinitely advantage himself, were *Medicum haeredem facere*. It is no cure to bring a state from a doubtful war to an unsafe treaty: it is no more than to put a feverous body out of a hot fit into a cold. To conclude, as an unskilful physician may, by working a natural body with his medicines, bring it from a *Tertian*, or *Quartan* fever to an *Hectick*; so an unprovident statesman may with conditions, or treaty, so disarm a state of the friends, reputation, and strength it hath, as the cure will prove far worse than the disease. Therefore it is not the name of war or peace, but the circumstances and conditions of either of them, that should make us fly the one and embrace the other. Now, what are the circumstances of the war or peace with *Spain*, it shall appear in his proper place in the treatise following. But ere I pass farther, let this profession of my disposition and affection to peace be challenged to be but a fair pretence, and these rules which I avow to hold in judgment to be compared to the doctrine of some divines of our time,

time, farthest of all from their practice. I must answer some objections of my detractors, who will say, my entering into the actions of the low-countries, ere I was out of my pupillage; my putting my self into the journey for *Portugal*, without charge, or without leave; my procuring my self the conducting of her majesty's succours to the *French* king in the year 91; my sea-journies these two last summers, wherein both my self and my friends ventured deeply of our own private means; my near friendship with the chief men of action, and general affection to the men of war of our nation; and, lastly, my opposing against the treaty of peace at this time when others persuade unto it; that all these, I say, are arguments that I wish not peace, but delight in war. But for my going into the low-countries, if neither the company of my father-in-law, the honourable charge of general of the horse in a fair army when I was but nineteen years old, the taking the start of mine own rank, when I saw the state of *England* not only dispose itself to great actions, but engaged in them; if these reasons were not sufficient to warrant my course, yet consider what choice I had, or what else I could have done with my self. In the court I had small grace and few friends. In my house in the country I had lived a year, till the opinion of the world upbraided me with more retiredness than was fit for my years, or the present time. And to have gone to travel, when my country sent out so great an army, had been as much as to have turned over books only to gaze on the babies and pictures, while others were studying the sense. For to justify my going into *Portugal*, I must plead these circumstances: *first*, of the person with whom I went, a poor distressed exiled king; whom I many times heard repeat the story of his own oppressions: *Secondly*, of the enemies against whom I went; an insolent, cruel, and usurping nation, that disturbed the common peace, aspired to the conquest of my country, and a general enemy to the liberty of *Christendom*: *Thirdly*, of the cause in which I went; to deliver the oppressed out of the hands of the oppressor, and (by giving the *Spaniard* his hands full at home) to free both mine own country, and our confederates, from the fear, or danger of his attempts. And, last of all, the time in which I went; a time when mine eyes, full of disdain, had so lately seen the falsely called, *The Invincible Armado* sail by our shores; when all the brave hearts in the kingdom boiled till they saw that insolent enemy taught both to know himself, and to value us. And when my heart was persuaded by these circumstances, I engaged my means, kinsfolks, friends and followers, else neither the adventure had been made up, nor the journey performed; it being no avowed action of her majesty's, but a mere adventure of private men. And when I was so far in, I confess I was not of their humour that love to wager upon other men's heads, or to sit at home like merchants, whilst their hopes and goods are ventured abroad. For my going without charge and without leave, I must avow the one as out of counsel, and excuse the other as by necessity. I chose to go without charge, that I might be free to execute the less. I commanded not, both that I might not be obnoxious to the success, and because I had overthrown the voyage if I had stood for the commission; and could take no second place, having, at the same time, and in the same army, had place above the general. But though I had no charge, I made my brother general of the horse, my faithful friend Sir *Roger Williams*, colonel of the infantry, chief of my

my fast friends colonels; and twenty, at the least, of my domesticks captains; so as I might have party and authority enough when I would. For my want of leave I must plead necessity; her majesty having resolved to send none of my quality, and many at home shewing envy enough to those poor gentlemen that were named; which made me see with what success I should have sued for leave. For my conducting of her majesty's succours to the *French* king, in the year 91, I must allege, that the sending of the succours was resolved on before my name was in question; and if I had not offered my self to the journey, some other nobleman (that never had place in the wars) might (as the phrase is in the common law) have been *promotus per saltum*: and so I, that never had had her majesty's commission to command in chief, should have seen my punies leap over my head. Also I felt that my fortune bred me envy, and that envy procured me strong and dangerous opposition, which could not have been withstood but by her majesty's great favour; and that the greatness of her majesty's favour must grow out of the greatness of her servants merits: and I saw no way of merit lie so open to me as by service in her wars; the times themselves, and mine own beginnings fitting with it; and at that time no man in my country, of my rank, disposing himself that way. If, besides all this, it be considered, that I went to a king, who, for his admirable valour, and often fighting with his own hands, was not only the most famous, but the most renowned captain of *Christendom*: that the intended service was to free the maritime parts of *Normandy*, from the hands of the league and power of the *Spaniard*; that thereby the common enemy should find less succour, or favour in those seas. If these things be well considered, I doubt not but my *French* journey will be thought sufficiently justified. But perhaps in those actions, where I had no charge at all, or was commanded by others, or offered my self to the service when the employment was before resolved on, I having no part nor interest in the counsel, my apology will be better allowed than in my two last sea-journeys, wherein I am charged to be author of the counsel, and executor of the service.

THEREFORE first to the first. For the counsel of going to *Spain*, I protest I had no more part in it than my lord-treasurer, my lord-admiral, and master secretary; who were all privy from the beginning, and did assent and advise to the journey as much as I did. Her majesty did first arm for the defensive, upon intelligence that the king of *Spain* did both purpose and prepare to assail her, finding that she strengthened the low-countries and *France* against him, infested him in his *Indies*, and choaked him by sea; so as his council resolved it to be the shortest and easiest way to all his ends to begin with *England*. And when her majesty was armed and able to take the start, it was thought both a wise and safe counsel not to lose so great a charge, and so fair an opportunity. For the project of going to *Cadiz*, I have ever confessed it was my lord-admiral, my colleague's. If any man will single me out to charge me alone with any thing, it must be, that when all charge of the preparation was past, the army levied, and marching to the rendezvous, and the low-country fleet (that was to join with us in the way) ready, that then I was as constant to the journey, as I had been all the while before; when (for some private gain to my self) I might have sold the honour of my sovereign, the security of my country, the contentment of our confederates, the hopes, and almost whole

fortunes

* See Vol.
IV. P. 477.

fortunes of hundreds of my friends, whom I had drawn into the journey. If any man will use so base a speech, as that we offended the king of *Spain* so deeply by that journey, as he is more implacable and farther from peace: I answer, *Vana sine viribus ira*: we brought away and burnt his shipping, destroyed his sea-provisions, yea put him to such charge and loss, as he shortly after played bankrupt with all his creditors. Let me ever see his strength decrease, though his malice increase; rather than believe in his faith, or good nature, when his strength is great. If any man will of the other side object, though we had good hap, yet our design was nought, for this drew the war to no end: I must confess, I neither performed what I purposed, nor that which was done was sufficient. I purposed to dwell in a port of the enemy's, and to make a continual diversion: witness my * letter to the lords of the council, dated from *Plymouth* the first of *June*, 1596, and delivered by my secretary *Edward Reynolds* at *Greenwich* the sixteenth of the same month. And when I was possessed of *Cadiz*, I offered to stay there with three or four hundred men, if the whole fleet could furnish us but with three months victuals: witness the whole council of war. And by that means I doubted not but to have brought the wars in those parts to a short end, and have made the king of *Spain* weary of seeking to dislodge me. But my letter was neither answered, nor liked here; nor I, at *Cadiz*, enabled to feed my self, and the men of war, till a supply might have come. So as (except to have been of the same mind that all my fellows were that were called to council, to have joined with my lord admiral, when he offered to take an equal commission of command with me by sea and land, to have fought, as much as I could, to have weakened him that by all means he can seek to destroy and conquer us, and to leave off doing that which I had not warrant nor means to do, be a fault) in my journey, 1596 I committed no fault. For my last journey 1597, let it be remembered how I was brought into it, with what counsel and designs I went out, and what were the true causes of our want of such success as, in our own hopes, we promised to ourselves: and then if I undertook more than duty laid upon me, or advised any thing that reason made not probable, or failed in any thing that any possibility enabled me unto, I will think that the hardest censurers of me do me no wrong. But, first, it is well known, that her majesty had armed and victualled ten of her own ships, and caused the states of the low-countries to prepare the like number, before I was ever spoken of to go to sea. And when my lord *Thomas Howard* and sir *Walter Raleigh*, who should have been sent out with this force, thought the hopes of doing any great service weak and uncertain, and the news of the *Adelantados* preparations at *Farrol* and the *Groyne* daily confirmed, a new council was called, in which her majesty found, that this force prepared was too great for a discovery, and too little for an attempt; that a fleet, inferior to that which the *Adelantado* commanded, might light upon some merchants, or take fishermen to learn news; but should never be in any possibility to take any of the king of *Spain's* treasure, nor should safely lye on the coasts of *Spain*, or enter his ports; being able to command no port, nor daring to fight with the enemy's fleet when it should come out: and, lastly, that a fleet without an army to land, might sail from cape to cape, and return when their victuals were almost eaten, without doing other service. For, the *Adelantado* would not

not come forth if he liked not his match; and the *Indian* fleet might be staid at the islands; or by advices, directed so to alter their course, as they should hardly be intercepted. Then a new consultation was had what might be done with a sufficient force by sea and land: it was resolved, that not only *Farrol*, where the *Adelantado* lay, but any part of *Spain* might be entered, and the force of the king (that should be found in it) beaten or destroyed, or any port or island of the enemy's taken, and fortified, besides the commanding of any fleet of war, or of treasure (that should be met with at sea;) if her majesty's ships, and five thousand land soldiers, with vessels to transport them, were added to the former proportion. All which proportions being agreed unto, and my lord admiral excusing himself from the journey, by the indisposition of his body, I had warning to prepare my self to take the charge. When I went out, my first design was upon *Farrol*, both by her majesty's commandment, and mine own choice. For, when I had defeated that force, I might go after whither I list, and do almost what I list; I mean in any places upon the coast. And of doing what I would upon the fleet and army at *Farrol*, I had little cause to doubt, if God had given me a favourable passage, and a season to land the army, and enter the port; their preparations to resist being all known, and little moving any distrust of the possibility or facility of this kind of enterprize. I think, I have satisfied you in some of my former papers, especially in my discourse written as I came home from *Cadiz*; and I will satisfy any reasonable man that will speak with me of it. The advantages that would have grown by it are manifest. Her majesty's dominions, for a long time, from any invasion from *Spain* had been secured: the king of *Spain's* east and west *Indian* fleets (both going out and coming home) utterly unguarded: the taking of all the *Spanish* or *Portugal* islands made easy: the enterprize of the west *Indies* warranted from two of the greatest dangers, an encounter by sea, and an invasion at home, while her majesty's forces were absent: to conclude, her majesty had been made such an absolute queen of the ocean, and her enemy so disarmed by sea, as she might either enforce him to any conditions of peace, or make war to her infinite advantage, and his utter ruin. I had also thought upon some place which might be held for diversion of the wars. And, if ever the taking of the *Indian* fleets were likely, I knew I should be in a fair way for it; though, I confess, I account those hopes so uncertain, as I reckoned them no better than by-chances. But my first, chiefest, and main design was to assail the *Adelantado* in *Farrol*: *Farrol* was the rendezvous I gave: to *Farrol* I directly shaped my course; and at *Farrol* I had either mastered that fleet, that had a whole year laid threatening my country, and driven their army into the hills, or else sacrificed my self.

THE causes of frustrating this design were; *first*, the violent long tempest, which took us in the height of 46. scattered our fleet, disabled and almost drowned most of our principal ships, and (when we could no longer bear it up against the wind) drove us back upon our own coast. Next, that unseasonable stormy weather which kept us a month (after we were put back) from attempting to go forth again. And, *lastly*, our wants: which forced us to discharge the whole land army, saving one thousand men. For mine own excuse, how long I endured ere I returned back again, and to what desperate case I brought my ship, there be witnesses enough. Also her

majesty

majesty and her council knows, what offer of service I made her when I came up post from *Plymouth*, accompanied with sir *Walter Rawleigh*, if she would have let me go but with half her fleet, and less than half the land army, to such place as my self and the council of war had chosen. This being done, the enemy, and not her majesty, should have been sure to feel the weight and charge of the journey. And when her majesty accepted not of that offer, even a little before my last going forth, I wrote unto her majesty to offer the attempting of the fleet in *Farrol*, if she would give me leave to hazard the thousand old soldiers, with some number of fly-boats and merchant-ships, and the *St Matthew* and *St Andrew* (for my self, and one other commander to go in) as a guard to the rest, and as fit ships to board the greatest of the galleons; leaving all the queen's ships, and the other principal commanders without the bay, till we had tryed our fortune. Of this letter I received answer, tying me to hazard none but these, and yet with some limitations. But I lost the *St Matthew* by her breaking her foremast; and lost company with the *St Andrew* ere I came to the opening of the *Groyne*. And then the same night, while I was fain to lye by the lee for the stopping of a dangerous leak, I lost the company of one of the admirals of the squadrons (by a mischance that fell to his ship) with thirty sail, amongst which were many of the companies of soldiers; so as in effect I wanted all those means which were allotted for my attempt. And then I hovered up and down the coasts in those heights, whither I had directed such as should lose company to seek me in; and sent out pinnaces every way, till the admiral of the squadron that was missing sent me word, when I was in the height of forty five, that the *Adelantado* was forth with his fleet, and gone straight to the *Tercera*, to waite home the *Indian* fleet. Then I resolved, after I had called a council, to go thither to seek him. And though I failed of him, because he never offered to come forth till long after; yet I missed very narrowly and unfortunately of the taking of the west *Indian* fleet. If I had met with them before they had got into the *Tercera*, there would none of them have escaped: and I had met with them, if a false intelligence had not made me stand one night a contrary way. But it was the will of God there should be no blow struck at sea that year: else, when at the same time I returned from the islands, and the *Adelantado* bore for the coast of *England*, we had not so narrowly missed one another as we did.

I HAVE now shewed (worthy master *Bacon*) with what mind I undertook those foreign employments and actions of the wars. A word for my friendship with the chief men of action, and favour generally to the men of war; and then I come to their main objection; which is, my crossing of the treaty in hand. For most of them that are accounted the chief men of action, I do confess I do entirely love them. They have been my companions both abroad and at home: some of them began the wars with me, most have had place under me, and many have had me a witness of their rising from captains, lieutenants, and private men, to those charges, which since (by their virtue) they have obtained. Now that I have tryed them, I would chuse them for friends, if I had them not: before I had tryed them, God and his providence chose them for me. I love them for mine own sake; for I find sweetness in their conversation, strong assistance in their employments with me, and happiness in their friendship. I love them for their virtues sake, and for their greatness of mind, (for little minds,

minds, though never so full of virtue, can be but a little virtuous) and for their great understanding : for to understand little things, or things not of use, is little better than to understand nothing at all. I love them for their affections : for self-loving men love ease, pleasure, and profit ; but they that love pains, danger, and fame, shew that they love publick profit more than themselves. I love them for my countries sake : for they are *England's* best armour of defence, and weapons of offence. If we may have peace, they have purchased it : If we must have war, they must manage it. Yet while we are doubtful and in treaty, we must value ourselves by what may be done ; and the enemy will value us by what hath been done by our chief men of action.

THAT generally I am affected to the men of war, it should not seem strange to any reasonable man. Every man doth love them of his own profession. The grave judges favour the students of the law : the reverend bishops the labourers in the ministry : And I (since her majesty hath yearly used my service in her late actions) must reckon my self in the number of her men of war. Before action, providence makes me cherish them for what they can do : in action, necessity makes me value them for the service they do : and after action, experience and thankfulness makes me love them for the service they have done. I know, that great scandal lies upon the profession of arms, as if it were a school of dissoluteness : but that grows by command and charge given to dissolute chiefs ; and it is a fault in the professors, and not in the profession. For a camp ought to be (and so is, if it be well governed) the best school to make religion truly felt, and piety and honesty daily practised. For my self, I am sure they that love me least, if they know any thing of my government when I am abroad, will rather tax me with being too severe, than charge me for being too remiss, or popular. But I long to leave these disputations that are but skirmishes ; and will come to join with mine adversaries in the encounter, wherein they labour utterly to overthrow my credit both with my sovereign, and with my country. They say, *England* cannot stand without peace, peace cannot grow but by treaty, treaty cannot be had but when the enemy offers it ; and that now, when the enemy offers to treat, the doubts I cast, and arguments I frame, do shew I would not have her majesty's commissioners sent over. I answer, in a word ; that if I saw them build upon any one true principle, I should not so much dissent from them as I do : But if they will promise themselves, that they may have peace without ground, or think that peace shall be good for us without reason, or to leap blindfold into a treaty with undue circumstances ; I say then I do not suspect too much, but they too little. For a ground that we may have peace, it is alleged that a commission is come to the cardinal out of *Spain* ; and that by virtue of this commission, he offers to send his deputies to meet with her majesty's. What is the conclusion ? Therefore the enemy desires and intends peace. Allow this for a good syllogism, and you may put to school all the logicians in *Christendom*. Yet I grant we may conclude thus ; that, therefore he makes shew as if he meant peace. But remember how heretofore the *Spanish* king's lieutenant and other ministers have pretended commission when they had none ; yea, have drawn us to treaty, ere they had received power to conclude. Remember also how that the king hath sent a commission out of *Spain* to be openly shewed, that treaty might be entertained, when it is notorious to

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the world he never meant to conclude any peace. Witness of all this the duke of *Parma*, his want of commission, when by his letters he drew my lord of *Darby*, and my lord *Cobham*, and one other, commissioners to the treaty of *Borborough*; and, afterwards, their coming of a commission when their great navy did presently appear upon our coast for the conquest of *England*. But do they offer to treat, and mean no peace? What is then their meaning? If you will have me interpret, I will tell you. Their first attempt against *England* was in eighty eight. From that time to this present it is full ten years; the just time of the siege of *Troy*. And now that they see open force cannot prevail, they in shew retire and give over arms; but have prepared a *Sinon's* horse, which cannot enter if we cast not down our walls. But because we are thought more credulous than the *Trojans* were, the bare letter of a base beggarly fugitive, assuring us that good faith is meant, as their uttermost stratagem they use to deceive us. But though some believe, yet I say still, *Timeo Danaos & dona ferentes*. If they appeal from my expositions, let their actions expound themselves. Will themselves charge us at *Borborough* with failing to agree to peace? Or, will they have us believe that the duke of *Medina* came with that huge navy and army only to be a witness to the contract? Or, if they had rather their own words should expound their meanings than their actions, hear *Emanuel Lewis*, the *Portugal*, their messenger, that brought *Lopes* and *Stephano Ferrara* assurance for fifty thousand crowns, to be paid as soon as their devilish conspiracy against the life of our precious sovereign should take effect. Hear him I say, who, at his arraignment in *Guild-hall*, confessed at the bar, that in their cipher, or jargon, where they wrote of peace, they intended the death and murder of her majesty. Or, if the peace must not be condemned to be insidious, under two witnesses: hear also *Antonio Raulston* now prisoner in the tower of *London*: who coming hither out of *Spain*, with a pretence of making overture of a peace (and for the better colour bringing letters to her majesty, to yourself, and to me, from *Creswell* the jesuit, to that end) confessed upon his examination, taken by master secretary and my self, that his true errand given by some of the king of *Spain's* chiefest ministers, was to discover the state of our preparations, to assure the papists of *England*, that they might shortly expect their deliverance, to win some counsellors about her majesty, or noblemen of this kingdom to favour their cause, and to offer me, from the king of *Spain*, what title, sum of money, or pension, I would desire; so as I would be won to take their part.

JUDGE now (worthy master *Bacon*) out of the clearness of your own judgment, how I should understand their offer, or speech of peace: and think out of the worthiness of your own heart, what peace my heart could take with them, that have attempted to conquer my country, practised to murder my sovereign, and sought out me as a fit man to be tempted to betray both my queen and country. But, if God had not put me back, and arrested me by contrary winds and tempests this last summer, I should have taught that proud king what effect his offers had wrought in me: And the longer the will of God and my sovereign do restrain me, with the greater interest I hope to pay him in the end.

BUT our peace-makers may allege, that times are changed, and with the times the humours of princes and affairs of state do commonly change: so as, though heretofore there was no trust to be given to the enemy's words,

words, or fair shews; yet now his humour, and the consideration of his own affairs, may dispose him to make peace. For my part, ere I can believe he is of such a peaceable humour, I must know how his ambitious and revengeful humours are satisfied, or quenched. Satisfied they cannot be; for he hath received overthrows in encounters, ill success in his attempts, and loss and scorn in all the wars he hath had with her majesty. Quenched they are not like to be; for if apprehension of death would have quenched them, he would not the last year, when he came newly out of that trance which was thought would have been his last swoon, have asked (the first word that he spake) whether the *Adelantado* were gone for *England*. Or if remorse of conscience would have quenched them, he would not, in his devotions, being at mass, have vowed to be revenged on *England*, though he sold all those candlesticks upon the altar before him. Of the first of these speeches, my self, and some of my fellow-counsellors have seen very credible advertisement out of *Spain*: and the second was delivered both to you and me, by the mouth of a principal jesuit newly come from *Spain*. But we may well conclude, that this humour is not like to change. For he will never think he hath a sufficient part of the earth, till his mouth be full of earth; and some of his ghostly fathers, the jesuits, will as well persuade him, that the invasions of other princes kingdoms is a work of piety, as they do teach desperate conspirators, that to murder princes is the way to heaven. And if he should die to morrow, his son's blood will be hotter, and his humour of ambition like to be greater; as having been bred, in *domo regnatrice*: and his mind shews to be already swoln *Vetere & insita Austriacae familiae superbia*. So as, in his peaceable humours there being no hope, let us see what there is in the present state of their affairs.

PRINCES or states, when they enter into consideration of their own affairs, may dispose themselves to peace, for utility, conveniency, or necessity. For utility, if they can get advantage: for conveniency, if peace be fittest to conserve them in the state they are: for necessity, when they have no longer means to make war. That it is likely the king of *Spain* will make peace with us, because thereby he shall get advantage of us, our peace-makers will not agree; and if they do, it is our own fault if we fall into the pit that they shew us so plainly. That he should not be inclined to peace with *England* for conveniency (if neither advantage entice him, nor necessity force him) I reason thus: All states do stand as much by reputation, as by strength; especially where their dominions are divided, and where a few of one nation give the law to great multitudes of many. Now, let the *Indies*, the low-countries, *Naples*, *Milan* and *Sicily* see, that *Spain*, which hath so long tyrannized over them, is glad (after so many overthrows, disgraces and losses) to make peace with *England* upon equal terms, and they will know that *Spaniards* are but *bombros come los otros*; and that it hath been baseness in them, all this while, *servitutem suam quotidie emere, quotidie pascere*. So that I conclude; by such a peace *Spain* should lose all reputation of his arms, and terror of his greatness; and his countries would not be kept from rebelling by any possibility: And therefore conveniency could not move him to make peace with us. That necessity, or want of means to make war should drive him to it, I think it both improbable and impossible. Improbable that he, who so lately assailed *England*, *France*, and the low-countries, at once, having

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now broken the band of our league, and divided *France* from the other two, should think himself unable to maintain war with us. Impossible that he should lack means; for wants he treasure to pay his army? His *Partulo* to pay his army is made with the *Genoese* for a great time to come. And as his enterprizes are his ebb-tides to make his treasure run low; so, his *Indian* returns are his floods that fill the banks again. Wants he men? Why, besides all his new levies, he hath those forces that were employed in *France* free to be used against us. Wants he victuals? Besides all the helps he was wont to have, he shall now by the peace with *France* have as much as he list. Wants he ships? He builds every day, and may imbar in *Spain* as many as he will; and is now combining both with the *Easterlings*, and conspiring with them against us. So as I conclude, which way soever I turn myself, I see no likelihood of disposing himself to peace with us. And if no peace be to be had, then no treaty to be entred into. For, from him, by entertaining treaty, we can draw nothing, nor succour any body: whereas he may make us and our only confederates so jealous one of the other, as that in striving to take the start, we strive who should lose themselves first. But if I allow our peace-makers their assurance of peace, let us see what is their purchase. If they can make any peace with *Spain* good for us, it must be by including our confederates of the low-countries, or excluding them. But, I suspect neither of these can be good or safe for us; therefore I judge, they can make no good peace at all. To conclude the low-countries in our peace, it is impossible; except they acknowledge the king of *Spain* (or him that shall claim under him, for their sovereign) as duke of *Burgundy*: Which if they do, all things that shall give power to the enemy, shall bring slavery to the *Netherlanders*; and present danger upon us all will necessarily ensue. The reason is manifest. For when the authority of the general states, and the present form of government of the united provinces shall be broken and dissolved, a monarchy set up, and a prince acknowledged, there shall nothing limit the prince's absoluteness but his own will. The strength of a contract cannot limit it; for neither will he keep faith with those he counteth hereticks, and calleth rebels; neither will they make any long delay to betray themselves. For province will strive with province, town with town, and man with man, who shall be most obsequious, and shew themselves most servile; all care of defence neglected by minds bewitched with the name of peace; all memory of former tyranny blotted out of the hearts resolved to accept a sovereign. Some will seek for charge of soldiers: some for magistracy in towns: some for gathering of custom, or handling of money: some for office of justice: some for benefices and spiritual livings: all for trade into *Spain* and the *Indies*. In brief, every man for private gain; and no man for publick safety. The magistrates and governours cannot limit it: For the chief men which now bear rule in martial and civil government, will provide by flight for their own safety. For if the brave count *Egmont* bought the trust and confidence in his majesty with no less than the price of his own head, what may any low-country subject hope for? And when his memorable service, especially in those two famous battles of *Gravelin* and *St Quintin*, and his putting himself into the *Spaniards*' hands, could not overweigh the suspicion of combining himself with the revolvers, what hope of future merit shall weigh down the offence of those, who by counsel or action have maintained

maintained the state of the united-provinces against *Spanish* garrisons? Troops of soldiers cannot limit it; for there will be no means to pay them. When any thing above the king's ordinary rents or duties is demanded of the people; it will be answered, Is he our enemy? Why, do we acknowledge him for our prince? Is he our prince? Why are we armed against him like an enemy? Besides that, allow strangers on both sides, and the enemy will oppress them upon any sudden by force. For his means depend upon himself: the other, (namely the states) upon a people that will be glad to spare their purse when they see no present wars; and the enemy's number will be far greater than the states. Banish strangers on both sides, and the enemy will oppress them suddenly upon every occasion; being strengthened with *Especially* *Netherlanders*, and the states defended by such only as shall take oath to the enemy. Stipulation of other princes cannot limit it; for the states will be oppressed on a sudden, when their helps will come too late. And those princes that were glad to make peace, when the enemy was weak, themselves being united, and the low-countries flourishing, will not begin a new quarrel when the enemy's strength is recovered, themselves divided, and the low-countries lost. Yet these, which I have named, are the best assurances that either our peace-makers can propound, or the united provinces receive. I will add farther, that as it is certain, that no peace is to be had for the united provinces, except a sovereign be acknowledged; so is it without all doubt, they cannot be included, except the *Papist* religion be either universally established, or, at least, freely exercised in the towns and provinces, whence it is now banished.

ALLOW the first, and they banish God's true service to bring in idolatry: they leave the truth to receive falsehood: they refuse the protection of the most merciful Lord of heaven, to win the favour of the most tyrannical prince on earth. Allow but the second (a plurality of religions) which is less: and it is against the policy of all states; because where there is no unity in the church, there can be no unity or order in the state: Yea, it is the manifest ruin of that state. For, as the mingling of poison with wholesome liquor in one vessel, doth not correct that which is lethal, but corrupts that which is wholesome; so the poisoned doctrine of those venifical *Especially* *Jesuits*, once brought in, will quickly leave no one professor in all the united provinces. So that I conclude, it were both folly and impiety for them to make any such peace, or for us to draw them to it; yea, more folly in us, than ever was committed by any state. For what will not the enemy be able to do upon us, when, besides the forces he now hath, he shall have a whole country in his hands able to find him sixty or eighty thousand soldiers, three hundred ships of war, besides infinite number of transporting vessels and commodious ports, that are but a days sailing from the very heart of *England*?

BUT the low-countries shall be given to the *Infanta*, and she married to the archduke *Albert*, and so that state divided from the crown of *Spain*: and in a far safer hand for the disuniting of them. I answer, the *Infanta* is, if the king of *Spain* have no children, to be heir to her brother, and her brother likewise to her; and then are those states united. The only likelihood of their remaining severed is, if they both have children. And yet, since almost none of that house may marry farther than cousin-germans, I see not why we should not suspect their conjunction by

such a match. But allow them severed : Is not *Albert* son-in-law to the present king, and brother-in-law to the future ? Is he not to be backed by the force of *Spain*, and maintained by the purse of *Spain* ? Will he not serve a *Spanish* king's turn, as well to join in war against *England*, as the duke of *Savoy* (that married the other sister) did in a war against *France* ? Nay, hath he not a suspected strength of his own, by being brother to the present emperor, and not unlike to be emperor himself hereafter ? Nay, is not the *Infanta* the same person, whose title to the crown of *England* *Parsons* so laboureth to prove ? Is not the low-countries the rise by which she may leap into *England* ? Is not such a peace as this in hand the only means to assure her of all the low-countries ? Is not the army, which is now under her new husband, the force on which the enemy, for the enterprize of *England*, must set his rest ? Yes, yes, this coherence is manifest, and their design clearly discovered : And it is too plain what is like to be expected of our peace, if we include the low-countries. Let us now examine how good it will be if we abandon them. I have ever thought that such a peace may be good for us, if they that persuade unto it can persuade three things : *first*, that they of the low-countries may have both will and strength to maintain the war, though we make peace : *Secondly*, that, so we leave them, we may have good conditions for ourselves : And *thirdly*, as our affairs now stand, how a neutrality can be possibly kept by us, while the united provinces and the enemy shall be in war together. In the will of the low-countries to continue in war, and to refuse all conditions that the enemy shall offer, I understand the resolution of the council and governours of the state, and the conformity of the people to such a resolution. In their strength, I mean as well the strength of the governours to force the people if they be adverse, as the strength and sufficiency of their means to endure so sharp and great a war as will fall upon them.

OF the chief governour's resolving, there may be these doubts : That they be tempted with the enemy's offers (who, if he can, will purchase them severally, that he may reduce them universally ;) and that they shall be terrified with the danger of the council. For, it both sounds harshly before hand, and it is like to fall out unsuccessfully at the very first ; the enemy being so much master of the field, as some places may easily be carried. I know they do pretend to be resolute on war, and protest against giving ear to treaty : but that may be either to move us by example, or to make us leave pressing of them to treaty, or to seem to hold out to the very last ; that we rather may be thought to have undone them, than they to undo themselves. But if they, upon mature deliberation, should chuse the continuance of the wars, as the less of the two evils : yet, that the people will be like affected, it is not probable. For, when a people, that hath been long tired with the misery of war, shall hear the pleasing name of peace : when they, which had two mighty princes joined with them in a straight offensive and defensive league, shall see themselves abandoned, first by *France*, and then by *England* : when on the one side, for the maintainance of the war, they shall have great and new contributions demanded of them ; and on the other side, they shall be offered all plausible conditions of peace : Nay, when they see that *England*, by making peace, shall get the trade of *Spain* from them ; and they alone, by standing out, shall be barred of that navigation which hath made them

so mighty in shipping, and so increased in riches: what then the multitude is like to chuse, it is easy to judge. And if the people be not conformable of themselves, how by authority of the governors of the states (which are called the general states) they may be enforced, I do not well see. *First*, because it is not an absolute and necessary, but a limited and voluntary obedience which they yield: *Secondly*, because their state hath not (as the state of *Rome* had, or as the state of *Venice* hath) one place, which as the head doth command and direct all the parts of the body; but is compounded of equal parts. *Zealand* is as absolute as *Holland*; and *Friesland* as either of them; yea, not only the least province, but even the least town holds itself to have a kind of sovereignty, and will have as free a voice as the greatest. *Thirdly*, because of their former manner of proceedings; which hath not been to send commandments to bind, but deputies to persuade: not to resolve and conclude in their greatest causes in any one council or assembly, but to sound and feel the disposition of every province, and so to win them to like of that they have devised of. And, because even among themselves they are for the time general states, there is not like to be unanimity in opinion. And then, though they that dissent, being few, will not bear the envy to stand in council against the greater part: yet it is easy for them when they come home, to work in their peculiar provinces and towns such a distaste of that which shall be generally propounded to all, as that the resolution will stick, and the whole business be overthrown; it being unsafe for them to deny liberty of voice to any, since liberty is the true cause of their taking arms, and standing out against the common enemy. But admit, both by the governors and people, it were resolved that the low-countries alone should continue in war, how are their means, or is their strength likely to maintain war? Of all foreign help they are utterly destitute: *France* makes no division: *England* can yield no succours: and in all *Christendom* there is no other prince or state likely or able to back them. Their own means and ability grows either by the fruits of the earth, or by traffick or merchandize. For the fruits of the earth, that means is like to be small: For the enemy being master of the field, and able to divide his forces into divers places, will every day either win from them part of that they now hold; or, at least, so infest those parts that are in the states obedience, as except it be in *Holland* and *Zealand* (which the enemy cannot get) husbandry will be ill followed and yield little profit. And as for their means by traffick, it is unlikely that merchants that may remove their dwellings to peaceable places near hand (where they may have safe and free trade) will remain in the low-countries; which only, of all these parts of *Christendom*, is in war. And if they do keep their dwellings, yet will the *Spaniard*, without all doubt, banish them from trade into *Spain* (when both the *French*, *English* and the *Easterlings* shall supply him,) and will seek to banish and impeach them of all other trades as much as he can; pretending that they now are the only perturbors of the peace of *Christendom*. So as I conclude, when I think with my self, what the governors of the state of the united provinces are like to resolve, what the people in general will be like to desire, how hardly the multitude can be forced against their liking, or the means of the low-countries make them subsist of themselves; I see nothing but danger; and that the enemy will shortly and suddenly be master of all that country: Which how much that importeth us to prevent, it hath before been made plain.

I WILL

I WILL now consider what conditions we are like to have for ourselves, so that we will forsake our confederates. Restitution of places we cannot demand, as *France* did; for the enemy holds none of ours. Reparation of damage we as little seek for; for from him we have sustained no loss. And trade into the *Indies* our zealous peace-makers will not stand for; lest the enemy offended will grant no peace at all. Traffick into *Spain* or *Portugal* we shall have; and that is the only condition that carries any shew of advantage to us. But if we do well consider how greedy our merchants will be of such a trade at the first, and how easy it will be for a faith-breaking king and enemy to confiscate all our countrymen's goods, and to imbar and use *English* shipping against *England*, we would not brag too much of that advantage. But on the other side, he will require alterations in our government, or in the execution of our laws for matter of religion; delivering up the towns her majesty holds in the low-countries, and reparations of all damages sustained by the wars. The first is a condition only fit for a conqueror to impose, and unfit for a brave state (that in all the wars hitherto hath had the better) once to hear mentioned. The second should never be asked of a queen so just, as she will not yield up the keys of a country delivered her by her best confederates, into the hands of her greatest enemy; nor of a prince so wise, as she will not add strength to him whose strength already she holds so much suspected; nor yet enable him to invade, whose ambition and malice thirsteth after both invasion and conquest. The third condition is impossible to be granted. For the loss which the king of *Spain* hath received in these wars amounteth to a greater sum than the treasure of all the kings in *Christendom*. If it be asked, how I know that these conditions will be demanded? I answer, that I learn *Albertus's* mind of *Albertus* himself, and the *Spanish* conditions out of the instructions given to the *Spanish* commissioners. If it be said, that though it appear by the intercepted letters and instructions, that such conditions should be asked; yet it was never meant that they should be insisted upon: I answer, that in the instructions to the *Spanish* commissioners it is expressly set down, in the first and third condition, that the legate shall be pressed to urge the *French* king to stand with them in obtaining them: and for the second, if the *English* commissioners did cut off all hope of delivering the towns, that then the treaty shall instantly break off: Which is as much as if they should say, except the *English* will give us the keys of the low-countries (whereby we may reduce them) and let us have the port of *Vlushing* (in which our gallies may winter, and from which we may set out our fleet for the conquest of *England*, whensoever we will break;) we will have no peace with *England* for a time. But if it be granted, that the low-countries will maintain the wars alone, and that *Spain* will grant us good conditions, so we will abandon the states; how will it then appear, that it is possible for us betwixt these two to hold a neutrality? If we do not the united provinces some favour under-hand, or, at least, by letting them be served by such of our nation as will voluntarily offer themselves to them, their state cannot be maintained, nor they kept our friends, whom we suffer to perish. On the other side, if we do them in this kind, or in any other, any favour which shall keep them from perishing, we give *Spain* and the archduke a just occasion of quarrel, and so make them (of our new friends) become our enemies. Besides, her majesty hath bestowed in the action

of the low-countries at the least four millions of crowns : and she hath in pawn for the debt which the states owe her, the towns of *Vlushing* and the *Brill*. To reimburse that which is due, and maintain the wars, the states are utterly unable. To deliver the towns without reimbursement were utterly to lose all the treasure lent, and the authority and bridle which her majesty hath upon that people ; which is one of the greatest securities of her estate. To keep them, especially *Vlushing*, and to remain in neutrality (to my understanding) seems altogether impossible. For when the enemy shall see, that neither by treaty, nor by the offer of his large conditions, the states will be won, he will assail them by force ; yea, he will take that way which shall be shortest and easiest for the reduction of the whole ; which will be to bring his gallies into their rivers, and to transport his men into the islands. For so, by piercing into *Zealand*, he shall make his way into *Holland* ; and if he have once good footing in these two provinces, he is strait master of all that whole state. If *Vlushing* (which is the only bulwark against islanders) and the castle of *Kympkins* (which commandeth the river of *Slade*) shall not impeach nor offend the enemy, he will carry all the rest of the islands of *Watreven*, and so consequently all *Zealand*. If after he is become her majesty's friend, he be used as an enemy, by the places she holds, the peace is broken.

BUT though it were proved never so fully, that the peace which we may have (if we may have any at all) is full of dangers and inconveniences, yet some are so zealous of it, as they will say, it is the misery of our state, that we can neither have a good peace, nor a good war ; and of two evils it is better to have a patched peace, than an unsupportable war. But injurious are these men to the men of war (that fight for them and defend them) in thinking their arms (which have ever done honour to our nation, and struck terror into the hearts of our enemies) less able to defend our country than their treaties ; which have never been free from scorn and disadvantage. Injurious they are to the country that hath bred them : which being one of the bravest, strongest and happiest states in *Christendom*, is judged by these men to be as weak as their own weak hearts : Injurious they are to her majesty ; who, being so great, so glorious, and so victorious a queen, shall be judged unable to maintain war, when she cannot have peace, but at the pleasure of her enemy. Yea, injurious and most unthankful are they to God himself (who hath hitherto fought for them) in that (for an unsafe peace with an idolatrous and irreligious nation) they would leave an honourable and just war. When they have done all they can, if the enemy will not conclude peace, we must have war : And shall not reasonable men be persuaded, as well by necessity of reason, as by necessity of fortune ? But wherein do they find such insufficiency to maintain the war ? Our navy, as also that of our confederates were never stronger ; nor the enemy in shipping half so weak. Our men, generally, were never so martial, nor ever had so many able leaders : our confederates of the low-countries (who, being firmly knit unto us, are of more use than all the friends in *Christendom* that we ever had, or can have,) they, I say, were never more resolute. *France* hath felt it, and we are eased of many charges, and shall make war in fewer places. *Ireland* is chargeable : that charge may well be born, when it is almost the sole burden that lies upon us. Yet, if there be any weakness in our means to make war, it is in

in our treasure. But if it be considered, how for this present year *Spain* hath no ability to assail us; how the next year the yearly subsidies will begin to be paid; how in *France* we have an end of all charges, and are now to receive reimbursement of all that is due; how in the low-countries her majesty's expences may likewise cease, and she receive some help towards her other charges; yea, and though her majesty's treasure be drawn deep into, and the poor husbandman, by these late hard years past, hath now scant left any means to live: yet if our sumptuous buildings, our surfeiting diet, our prodigality in garments, our infinite plate, and costly furniture of our houses be well considered, *England* cannot be thought poor. Can we exceed all nations in *Christendom* in wastful vanities? And can we not arm ourselves against one nation (which we have ever beaten) for our necessary defence? Was *Rome* so brave a state, as that the very ladies, to supply the common treasure, and to maintain the wars, spoiled themselves of their jewels and rich ornaments? And is *England* so base a state as that the people therein will not bestow some part of their superfluous expences to keep themselves from conquest and slavery? Did the godly kings and religious people, which we read of in the old testament, to maintain the wars against the enemies of God, sell the ornaments of the temple and things consecrated to holy uses? And shall we, that have as holy a war, spare those things which we have dedicated to our idle and sensual pleasures? Could our own nation, in those gallant former ages, when our country was far poorer than now it is, levy armies, maintain wars, achieve great conquests in *France*, and make our powerful arms known as far as the holy land? And is this such a degenerate age, as we shall not be able to defend *England*? No; there is yet left some seed of that antient virtue. Remember with what spirit and alacrity the gentlemen of *England* have put themselves voluntarily into our late actions. There will ever be found some *Valerii*, which (so the state may stand and flourish) care not though they leave not wherewith to bury themselves; though others bury their money, not caring in what case they leave the state.

We, thanks be to God, have a queen who hath never been wasteful in her private expence; yet will she sell her plate and jewels in the tower ere her people shall be undefended. We are a people that will turn our silk coats into iron jackets, and our silver plate into coats of plate, rather than our sovereign shall be unserved. But why should either prince or people be put to that extremity? If her majesty will but be pleased to bestow sixty thousand pounds a year, which the low-countries do cost her, and the twenty thousand pounds a year, which the states do offer her, and twenty thousand pounds a year more, which, I doubt not, may be drawn (by way of reimbursement) from the *French* king; this hundred thousand pounds a year, with half as much more bestowed by the states (who, to engage her majesty in maintenance of the war, will never shrink for their portion) this sum, I say, of one hundred and fifty thousand pounds a year, put into the hands of an honest and sufficient treasurer for the wars, and to be issued by a council of war well chosen, will fully and sufficiently maintain the war with *Spain*. Yea, if this be doubted, it shall be made plain, that with one hundred and fifty thousand pounds a year, such a force shall be maintained, as her majesty having a convenient number of her own ships, and repairing and furnishing them, as yearly she doth, the enemy shall bring no fleet into these seas, for *England*, *Ireland*, or the low-countries,

but

but it shall be beaten ; nor seek to gather one into *Spain* ; but the parts of it shall be defeated before the whole be assembled. Yea, those services shall be done upon the enemy, that the poorest prince or state in *Christendom* shall have little cause to fear his malice. But of this question, whether we should judge the peace good for us which our peace-makers would procure, I have entreated of sufficiently. I now come to the last question and main matter of all ; whether they do enter into the treaty of it, with due circumstances ? And herein my purpose is not to stand upon complemental circumstances, or points of honour, which in their proper time and place are worthy of due consideration : But the material circumstances which any prince or state should weigh before they enter into any treaty, I judge to be these : The time of treating (whether it yield most advantage for peace or war ;) the persons of the treaters (whether the enemy with whom we treat may make advantage or no, by pretence, if nothing be concluded ;) the assurance of the treaty, or strength of the knot that is tied ; and how the state and condition were like to be, whensoever it breaks off and dissolves. The only reason whereby they that would have peace, do use to prove, that this season is fittest, and yields most advantage for peace is, that now the king of *Spain* is so weak and poor, as he will be now brought to that, which he neither would heretofore, nor will hereafter ever agree unto : therefore (say they) now is the only time for peace. But sure, except they were better logicians, and could frame better arguments, I should scarce wish them to be trusted with arguing for a peace. Their conclusion is directly contradictory to their own proposition. For now, of all other times, is he most unable to encounter us in war ; then is this (of all other times) our fittest season to make war. Is this the season he chuseth to recover himself by peace ? then of all other times peace should now be least granted him. Now, now is the fittest time to make war upon the *Spaniard*. His losses are not yet recovered, his coffers not filled, his fleet not made, his sea provisions not supplied, his *Indies* not quiet, and his son-in-law as yet (in his new sovereignty) not fully settled. But her majesty's late victories have made way for her greater and far higher attempts. Terror accompanies the powerfulness of her armies ; fear possesseth the hearts of her enemies ; and God himself, by her success, hath judged her cause. All the world hath seen what hath happened of her late actions past ; and the common conclusion is, *Victoriae causa diis placuit*. On the other side, now (of all times) is the unfittest season to make peace ; when the state of our best confederates is so undermined by practice, threatened with force, and solicited to their own undoing by foreign princes, as that, except we both encourage them and cleave fast to them, their ruin is at hand. Now it is no time to make peace with the chief enemy of our religion, when a conspiracy is in hand against all the professors of it. The news is too rife, and too credible, that this undertaking pope (after victories so glorious in *Tenera*, and his powerful reconciling of two so great kings in the heat of so great a war) will not now leave till he make a general league against all such as do not, or will not, acknowledge the omnipotency of his *Bulls*. Now if we shew ourselves so weak, as that we follow not the advantage we have, we shall hereafter be thought so weak as we may have any conditions imposed upon us. Now if we refuse the conditions, which our friends will offer to purchase our constancy, we must hereafter resolve to take such conditions as the enemy will give, though

though it be to our loss. Now, if we will flatter ourselves, that our agreeing to peace when the enemy desires it, can make a sound and durable league betwixt us, we shall undoubtedly find, when it is too late, that, *Inter victos victoresque nunquam solida fides coalescit*. Add unto the circumstance of time, the circumstance of persons, and it will appear, that the pretence and beginning to treat of peace, without concluding, is like to be very gainful to the enemy, and prejudicial to us. For if he which now is not able to guard his *Indian* fleet, may (while we are talking) have but one or two returns in safety: If he, which now feels the strength of *England* and the low-countries as they are united, can for the present so sever them in counsel and affection, that he may hereafter more easily divide them in parts: If he that never wants malice (but now wants strength) can bring us asleep with the sweet name of peace, till he may rouse us from sleep by a thundering war; his gain and our loss (by this bare pretence) will quickly appear. Then for assurance, we give the enemy as good as he can desire. For in forbearing him when he is weakest, and letting go our advantages when they are greatest, we plainly shew, that nothing can draw us to war if we may have peace. But, on the other side, if a nation that never treated with us but to deceive us (and thinks our religion but heresy, our church schismatical, and our queen excommunicated; so as by their own principles, they are neither to keep faith with us, nor to let us receive any good by them,) shall make a contract with us, what assurance I say can we have of such an enemy, and in such a bargain? Forsooth, first to deceive us and serve their own turn by making a peace: and then breaking it, they hold it no fault: next, if they did, the pope's dispensation will take it away: and *lastly*, though the *Spaniard* bear a face and make a great shew of faith, and will not seem voluntarily to break it; yet, when his turn is served, the pope may so charge him to break with us, as conscience and obedience shall cover his malice and perfidiousness. Last of all, let us consider what our estate and condition is like to be, whensoever this running knot, or unsure contract doth break or dissolve. Are we breakers? then say boldly, that we discover how grossly we have been cozened, and how far the enemy's proud and mischievous designs are advanced. Doth the enemy break? then think that his mines into our state are all made; and that when he makes them play, he will quickly after give the assault. His fleet, that now is weak, shall be supplied both with these galleons he builds, and with all the good ships of *Christendom* that will be either bought or hired: his coffers, that now are empty, will be so full of treasure, as he will be able not only to trouble kingdoms by war, but to purchase them with money: his ministers and best instruments for practice, that dare not now venture themselves to come over, shall then have free access; and our hollow-hearted male-contents (if we have any) that now want traffick, will be then ready and confident to entertain any practice: the low-countries, that are now his strong enemies, either universally by treaty, or in part by conquest, shall be reduced to be his obedient subjects: our victories will be forgotten: these men of war we now have either driven to seek new countries and new fortunes, or consumed in a beggarly and miserable *Irish* war: our nation grown generally unwarlike; in love with the name, and bewitched with the delights of peace: and the *Spaniards* courage recovered, together with his strength; which is the natural root of all true confidence.

THESE

THE LIFE OF THE AUTHOR.

57

THESE, these, (worthy master *Bacon*) are my apprehensions and doubts, that make me afraid to treat. Let these be answered, cleared and resolved; or let any man shew me how we shall have an honourable, safe, and durable peace, and I will embrace both it and him with both mine arms: But till then I say, *Iustum iis bellum quibus necessarium; & pia arma, quibus nulla nisi in armis spes est.*

REMEMBER how *Bernardine Mendoza* spent his time while he was in *England*.

THE following original was collated and given me by *John Anstis*, Esq; garter principal king at arms, whose humanity and communicativeness vye with his other more publick accomplishments; and who, in allusion to a *lemma* in some of his books, may justly write at the entrance of his vast collections, *Archivum Johannis Anstis & amicorum*. In point of time this is the most proper place we can allot it; and as the subject of our author's circumstances has employed the pens of several, an account of them under his own hand may not be uninteresting. Besides there are several remarks to be made on this letter, which I shall not suspect can escape any reader.

To the QUEEN.

Most gracious sovereign,

I THINK I should rest senseless of that, wherein others have sense restless, and that is of my particular estate and fortune; were it not that the overthrow of my fortune includeth in it a cutting off that thread which is so fastly wreathed with the thread of my life, that I know they will end together; I mean the thread of my hopes to do your majesty farther and better service.

WHICH consideration only, or chiefly, constraineth me to make now this motion to your majesty for the help of my estate; a motion wherein nevertheless I will keep this stay, that I will not incur the common president of being suitor to your majesty for a value, whereby the best of your possessions useth to be pucelled and deflowered; but in three parcels only, wherein I am informed, arising to the total of eighty and one pounds; and, in all respects, ordinary land; which if your majesty shall be pleased of your benignity and love towards me to confer upon me, in the richest manner, which is fee simple; I can say no more, but that your majesty shall in one make me a free-man and a bond-man; free to all the world, and only bound to your self. And I will plainly express unto your sacred majesty the three thorns, the compunction whereof instanted me to make this motion at this time; holding otherwise all the services which I have done, or can do more than rewarded in your majesty's only gracious respect: *first*, my love to my mother, whose health being worn, I do infinitely desire she might carry this comfort to the grave, not to leave my estate troubled and engaged: *secondly*, these perpetuities being now overthrown, I have just fear my brother will endeavour to put away *Gorbambury*; which if your majesty enable me by this gift, I know I shall be able to get into mine own hands: where I do figure to my self, that one day I may have the honour

and comfort to bid your majesty welcome, and to trim and dress the grounds for your majesty's solace.

THIRDLY, Your majesty may by this redemption (for so I may truly call it) free me from the contempt of the contemptible, that measure a man by his estate; which I daily find a weakening of me both in courage and mean to do your majesty service.

THUS madam, your majesty seeth, though I am an ill beggar in person, yet I would make no proctor; for I never received so much contentment of any man, as I could find it in my mind to make him an author or mediator of my fortune; only I have used an antient friend, and a man of ordinary access to your majesty for the delivery of these lines. And so most humbly craving pardon, I leave all to your majesty's goodness, and your self to the daily preservation of the divine Majesty.

Your sacred majesty's most humble,

and entirely devoted subject and servant,

From my tub not yet hallowed
by your sacred majesty,
the xiii of March, 1599.

FR. BACON.

Mr Lowndes of Westminster finding the following among a collection of the lord Bacon's letters in MS. very friendly communicated the same: The spirit, style, and sentiments resemble our noble author, and the curiosity of the subject, as well as probability of its extraction, may procure its acceptance. No date appearing, I would not divide it from the former, though I fancy it was written in the full flow of his fortune.

To my dear and noble friend Sir KENELM DIGBY,
Knt. whom God preserve, *Amen.*

Most beloved Sir,

OBJECTS lose of their first proportion if they stand not their right distances; and can that eye judge of the sun that is so dazzled as it cannot behold the bigness of it for the brightness? No more can a grieved or a mournful soul measure the loss that occasioneth these passions, when it suffers under the effects of it. Physicians attend their day of *Crisis*, and chirurgeons give time before they intermeddle with tumors. Sorrow must have leave to sorrow; it is its own best cordial; it must have leave to vent. Expect not, therefore, I should express how sensible I am of the privation of that conversation I must forego; the fruition thereof I shall best value by the loss: yet as dying, not death, is that which is painful, and seemeth justly to challenge sense and pity; so truly when I hoped for a stay, I was tormented with the thought of your departure: but now you have taken the resolution, from which there is no more return than from the grave; I rest only troubled, that a man so wise should yet not make choice of such an end as might justify his course. The *Bracmanni* then sacrificed themselves to oblivion, when grown old they were loathsome to others, and useles to themselves: if you be so, you have done like a philosopher; if not—But I will not pass any censure: for if you offend, you impose the penance on your self, and so prevent the judge; else, as I am your friend, I should be a severe

severe one; for you deserve to be buried in the highway that make away your self. But I discourse unto the sea, you are gone into your silence; and that humanity that forbids rifling a dead man's tomb, surely would deem it sacrilege to detract from the fame of him that lieth buried in it: peace therefore he with you. I will now study, since I cannot have the first, the best, your personal conversation, how I may enjoy the second; a traffick this way may make me rich in that merchandize: And though desires make not thus so quick returns, yet they be as solid, and unto friendship as nutritive and cordial: for those whom in absence we remember are truly present, when oftentimes even those we speak unto are not here: custom, courtship, civility obliges, at all times, to the one; certainly the other cometh from the heart, not the lips. At distance thus we may meet, and eternize our friendships, which under the sun I most covet of any man's. You may believe it, since I profess it: for what by-end can I have, or *cui bono*? To the content of his mind, thus it was, and ever will be with

Your friend, &c.

HAVING no material addition concerning the life of our author, during the reign of queen *Elizabeth*, I need only remind the reader that many fresh particulars may be collected from the former part of his letters, Vol. IV. p. 469. giving a detail of his views and attempts, his dependencies and friendships in busy life: and it would be inconsistent both with candor and justice to swell these papers with a repetition of them.

A NEW scene being now opened, I may be allowed to borrow a few passages from the laboured performance of the present worthy historiographer Mr *Stephens*, p. 6. of his introduction.

FOR, the declaration of a successor, which the queen could not be induced to make in her health, being obtained from her in that sickness which put a period to her life, upon the 24th of *March*, 1603; had drawn the eyes of all those, who expected place and preferment towards the *North*. And the receiving the king into the peaceable possession of the throne, had dissipated those fears, into which many wise men were fallen, through the pretences and titles to the crown, about this time, industriously spread abroad. Yet notwithstanding the subjection of the whole island to one king, the reduction of *Ireland*, which had long given the queen much trouble, effected; there succeeded in the opinion of many, but a feeble and inglorious reign.

THE king was hardly seated in his new throne, when he gave one instance of deviating from the ways of his predecessor; who had been so wary in conferring titles of honour, that its true and ancient path, through the temple of virtue became almost visible again. His majesty, as if he could not bestow enough of graces and favours, for this new and easy acquisition; created several hundred knights, within a few months after he came into *England*: tho' I think it may be affirmed, that this dignity fell much upon persons of estates, families and merit; of which number was (a) Mr *Bacon*, knighted at *White-hall*, upon the 23d of *July*,

(a) He was knighted with the worshipful the judges and others of his profession, by the king in person; though others were generally knighted by commission. MS. *Anstis*.

1603. For what reasons the king, some years after, erected an order, which engaged many of the prime gentry of the nation, as being something superior in honour, and much in duration, and how far it has since varied from, and exceeded the limits and rules of its first institution, would be needless for me to observe.

THE two crowns being thus united in the person of one king, there was nothing that he more earnestly desired and endeavoured; according to the text of scripture, he inscribed upon some of his coin, *Faciam eos in gentem unam*, than a real union of the nations: and that, as far as it might be effected both in point of naturalization with some restrictions, as to enjoying offices, &c. And by an union of the greatest part of the laws. Wherein the king declares, his intention was to conform the laws of *Scotland* to the laws of *England*. For which purpose, upon recommending this affair to the first session of parliament, an act was passed, authorizing certain commissioners to treat with others of *Scotland* for the weal of both kingdoms. In which number, sir *Francis Bacon* writes in one of his letters, that he had the first vote in the house of commons: As in another he saith, that in the business of the union, the labour for men of his profession, lay most upon his hands. The commissioners, after several conferences, resolved upon some preliminaries, but differed in the manner and extent of the naturalization: Insomuch, that the novelty of the argument, and the weight and consequence thereof, which exercised the tongues and pens of the politicians of those times, both within and without the houses of parliament; rendered all the king's applications and speeches to those assemblies in a great measure ineffectual. But what he could not obtain of them, he did in some part of his judges, who in the exchequer-chamber, in the great case of *Calvin*, reported by my lord *Cook*, did almost unanimously resolve, that the *Scots* which were born after the accession of the king to the crown of *England*, were subjects thereof and not aliens.

* 2 Jacobi. De concessione ad vitam pro FRANCISCO BACON*.

Rymer xvi.
p. 596.

REX omnibus ad quos, &c. Salutem.
SCIATIS quod nos,

TAM in consideratione boni fidelis & acceptabilis servitii, per dilectum servientem nostrum *Franciscum Bacon* militem praestiti & impensi, quam pro diversis aliis causis & considerationibus ad hoc nos specialiter moventibus, de gratia nostra speciali, ac ex certa scientia & mero motu nostris, constituimus ordinavimus & appunctuavimus, ac, per praesentes, pro nobis haeredibus & successoribus nostris, constituimus ordinamus & appunctuamus praefatum *Franciscum Bacon*, consiliarium nostrum ad legem sive unum de consilio nostro erudito in lege.

DEDIMUS etiam & concessimus, &, pro nobis haeredibus & successoribus nostris, damus & concedimus, per praesentes, praefato *Francisco* locum & praesidentiam in curiis nostris vel alibi, & praeaudientiam, necnon omnia & singula proficua advantagia emolumenta jura praecedentia, confidentias, seu alia quaecunque, quae ad unum consiliarium nostrum ad legem, ut consiliario hujusmodi, & minime ratione alicujus specialis officii, spectant aut pertinent, aut spectare aut pertinere consueverunt, aut de jure debent.

VOLUMUS

‘ VOLUMUS etiam & concedimus, pro nobis, haeredibus & successoribus nostris, quod praefatus *Franciscus Bacon* habeat plenam & sufficientem potestatem & auctoritatem, ad omnia & singula praestanda exequenda & perimplenda, quae quivis alius de consilio nostro erudito in lege, ut unus de consilio nostro praedicto, & minime ratione specialis alicujus officii, possit exequi & perimplere :

‘ HABENDA & tenenda, gaudenda percipienda & exercenda potestatem auctoritatem proficua, ac omnia & singula praeconcessa sive expressa, praefato *Francisco*, quamdiu ipse se bene gesserit in executione & exercitio muneris auctoritatis & potestatis praedictarum, in tam amplis modo & forma quam aliquis alius de consilio nostro erudito in lege, vel ipse *Franciscus*, ratione verbi regii *Elizabethae*, nuper antecessoris nostri, vel ratione warranti nostri sub signatura nostra regia, habuit tenuit gavifus est vel executus est; nihilominus nolumus quod haec concessio nostra deroget alicui officio antehac, per nos aut antecessores nostros dato, vel concessio.

‘ ET ulterius, de uberiori gratia nostra, pro exercitio servitii praedicti, dedimus & concessimus, ac per praesentes, pro nobis haeredibus & successoribus nostris damus & concedimus praefato *Francisco Bacon* vadium & feodum *quadraginta librarum* bonae & legalis monetae *Angliae* per annum, solvendam annuatim eidem *Francisco Bacon*, ad festa sancti *Michaelis* archangeli & paschae per aequales portiones, de thesauro nostro haeredum & successorum nostrorum, per manus thesaurarii & camerariorum ibidem pro tempore existentium, prima solutione inde incipienda ad festum festorum praedictorum proximo post datam praesentium :

‘ HABENDUM & tenendum, gaudendum & percipiendum vadium & feodum praedictum, durante vita naturali praedicti *Francisci Bacon*. In cujus rei, &c.

‘ TESTE rege apud *Harfield* vicesimo quinto die *Augusti*.

Per breve de privato sigillo.

Pro eodem FRANCISCO BACON, Milite.

REX omnibus ad quos, &c. Salutem.

Ibid.

‘ SCIATIS quod nos,

‘ TAM in consideratione boni fidelis & acceptabilis servitii, per nuper dilectum nostrum *Antonium Bacon*, armigerum, defunctum, fratrem germanum *Francisci Bacon*, militis, fervientis nostri, ac etiam per dilectum fervientem nostrum praedictum *Franciscum Bacon*, militem, praestiti & impensi, quam pro diversis aliis causis & considerationibus ad hoc nos specialiter moventibus, de gratia nostra speciali, ac ex certa scientia & mero motu nostris, dedimus & concessimus, ac per praesentes, pro nobis haeredibus & successoribus nostris, damus & concedimus praefato *Francisco Bacon* quandam annualem pensionem *sexaginta librarum* bonae & legalis monetae *Angliae* per annum, solvendam annuatim eidem *Francisco Bacon*, ad festa sancti *Michaelis* archangeli & paschae per aequales portiones, de thesauro nostro haeredum & successorum nostrorum, per manus thesaurarii & camerariorum ibidem pro tempore existentium, prima solutione inde incipienda ad festum festorum praedictorum proximum post datam praesentium :

‘ HABENDAM & tenendam gaudendam & percipiendam annualem pensionem praedictam, durante vita naturali praedicti *Francisci Bacon*. In cujus rei, &c.

‘ TESTE rege apud *Harfield* vicesimo quinto die *Augusti*.

Per breve de privato sigillo.

THE reader will here observe the honourable regard paid to the memory of Mr *Anthony Bacon*, our author's brother, in the last instrument. Mr *Stephens* having obliged the world with the characters of several of fir *Francis Bacon*'s cotemporaries, observes p. 7.

‘ BEFORE I proceed any farther in this introduction, to the end that no reader may be altogether ignorant of the character of two great men, whose names and actions he will often meet with in the *fourth volume*; I shall give some account of the lord-chancellor *Ellesmere*, and fir *Edward Cook*, lord chief justice of the common-pleas, and after of the king's-bench; both remarkable men in their respective courts of law and equity: And howsoever they disagreed towards the later part of their lives, I hope it will not be improper for me to place them so near together in this.

‘ SIR *Thomas Egerton* descended, though in an oblique line, from an ancient family in *Cheshire*, and from *Brazen-nose-college* in *Oxford* removed to *Lincoln's-Inn*; where he so well improved his time, that queen *Elizabeth* made him her solicitor and attorney-general, and at length keeper of the great seal of *England*, in the year 1596: Which he carried (with the additional honour of lord-chancellor and baron of *Ellesmere*, given by king *James* at his accession to the crown) until the beginning of the year 1617, when sinking under the weight of seventy seven years, though in full possession of the king's favours, notwithstanding what some pamphleteers have reported; he intreated his majesty by two letters extant in the *Cabala*, to be discharged from an office, which even in those days was sufficient to employ the powers of any man in the strength and perfection both of body and mind. Those letters, as well as some others of our author, take notice of his intentions to have before resigned his place, and which he did soon after the king had created him viscount *Brackley*; and at a time, I think, when farther honours were designed for him. His majesty parted with an old and faithful servant with all imaginable tenderness, and upon the seventh of *March*, 1616, committed the seal to the custody of fir *Francis Bacon*, who was the very person his lordship desired might succeed him. But of this, as well as of some other things relating to this lord, I shall have farther occasion to speak; so that I shall only add, that he died at *York-house* in the *Strand*, upon the fifteenth of the same month, and was buried at *Dudleston* in *Cheshire*, without any other pomp or glory than what resulted from the fame of his virtuous actions: Being a person of a ready apprehension, clear and solid judgment, and consummate wisdom. Sometime before he divested himself of the chancellorship of *England*, he parted with that of the university of *Oxford*, where in the gallery over the schools is yet to be seen the picture of his person; which was so venerable, that his presence

and

and carriage gave a grace and ornament to the court in which he presided, as his ability and integrity did a sanction to his decrees.

BUT if his obsequiousness to the king, with which Mr *Osborn* and some others may charge him, does seem to detract from the character I have given, admitting what they say to be true, (which is not always to be done in persons that appear more like satyrists than historians,) yet in that he may be considered as leaning to the disease of the times; and that he was ever touched with corruption, I do not remember it's any where suggested but by the afore said gentleman.

SIR *Edward Cook* was born in *Norfolk*, bred at *Trinity-college* in *Cambridge*, and in the *Inner-Temple*; where by his great practice of the common-law, his profitable places therein, his rich wives, and long life, he raised that vast estate transmitted to his posterity. And as he was esteemed the oracle of the laws in the times he lived, so by the many laborious works he left, he continues still to be the guide and director of all the professors in the conduct of their studies and practice. After he had been once speaker of the house of commons, solicitor and attorney-general for many years; he was made chief justice of the court of common-pleas in 1606, and of the (a) king's-bench in 1613. The chief reasons for which he was removed from the last, will be discovered in these discourses on the (b) year 1616; and some others are glanced at in the speech the lord chancellor made to sir *Henry Montague* his successor; printed in sir *Francis Moor's* reports, pag. 826. The reader will also understand in its proper place, how he again recovered and kept in the king's and the earl of *Buckingham's* favours until the year 1621: when shewing himself an active and zealous patriot in the parliament, he was upon the dissolution thereof imprisoned in the tower, &c. And continuing of the same mind in the other, which was assembled in the later end of king *James's* time, king *Charles* in the first year of his reign, did, in order to prevent his serving again, appoint him to be high-sheriff of *Buckinghamshire*, though he had been lately a privy-counsellor, and not long before lord chief justice; and was then, as his grandson Mr *Roger Coke* observes, seventy seven years of age. It may be presumed that the serving of this office contributed to animate the zeal and activity he expressed in a subsequent parliament; from the which may be conjectured, that he retained his vigour and parts till near the end of his life: Which he concluded in *September*, 1634, at his house at *Stoke* in *Buckinghamshire*: Having this character given him by judge *Croke*, that he was a prudent, grave and learned man in the common laws of this realm, and of a pious and virtuous life. But though he commits a mistake in saying that he died in the eighty second, which ought to be the eighty sixth, year of his age; yet no doubt but his commendation of sir *Edward* is far from exceeding the truth. As he was a man, he was subject to failings and passions; but never more discovered than in his earnest, and if I may say, ungentleman-like car-

(a) *November 4. 1613.* The lord viscount *Rochester* was created earl of *Somerset*, and for a farther honouring and signaling of the day, the lord *Coke* (brought in by the said earl) was sworn a privy-counsellor, to counterpoize the difference of the profit between the common-pleas and king's bench, *Wotton's Remains*, p. 427.

(b) *October 3. 1616.* Sir *Edward Coke*, lord chief justice of the king's bench, being called before the chancellor, is banished *Westminster-hall*, and ordered to answer to some matters contained in his reports, *Camb. Ann.* And *November 10.* The king departed from *London*, after he had pronounced the sentence of turning out sir *Edward Coke*, lord chief justice of the king's bench. *Ibid.*

riage in the prosecution of sir *Walter Raleigh*: Nor does he then seem so great an enemy to the prerogative, whilst he was rising in the king's favour, as when he was fallen from it: which takes off from the uniformity of his character. The differences between him and sir *Francis Bacon* were, as I conceive, personal; my lord *Coke* who had the name of the greatest lawyer, envied the other the reputation of being the greatest scholar of the profession; and while he does sometime endeavour a little unhappily to act that part; sir *Francis* by his arguments then, and by what he has left relating to the law, shews that he was not only an able proficient therein, but that if others had read or writ more in that science than himself; yet few had read to better purpose, or better considered the nature of laws than he had done; as I may have occasion to observe hereafter, and as the reader may something of the disagreements between these two gentlemen from the twenty-fourth letter.

HOWEVER the compleat history of *England*, vol. II. p. 704. under the year 1616, says:

A LITTLE before this time, there was a breach between the lord chief justice *Coke*, and the lord chancellor *Ellesmere*, which made a passage to both their declines. Sir *Edward Coke* had heard and determined a cause at the common-law; and some report there was juggling in the business. The witness that knew, and should have related the truth, was wrought upon to be absent, if any man would undertake to excuse his non-appearance: a pragmatical fellow of the party undertook it; went with the witness to a tavern; called for a gallon pot full of sack; bid him drink; and so leaving him, went into the court. This witness is called for as a prop of the cause; the undertaker answers upon oath, *That he left him in such a condition, that if he continued in it but a quarter of an hour, he is a dead man.* This evidencing the man's incapability to come, deaded the matter so that it lost the cause. The plaintiffs that had the injury, bring the business about in chancery: The defendants (having had judgment at common-law) refuse to obey the orders of that court; whereupon the lord chancellor, for contempt of the court, commits them to prison. They petition against him in the star-chamber; the lord chief justice joins with them, foment the difference, threatening the lord chancellor with a premunire. The chancellor makes the king acquainted with the business, who sent to sir *Francis Bacon* his attorney-general, sir *Henry Montague* and sir *Randolph Crew*, his serjeants at law, and sir *Henry Tolverton*, his solicitor; commanding them to search what precedents there have been of late years, wherein such as complained in *Chancery* were relieved according to equity and conscience after judgment at common-law. These being men well versed in their profession (after canvassing the matter thoroughly) returned answer to the king; that there hath been a strong current of practice and proceeding in *Chancery*, after judgment at common-law, and many times after execution, continued since *Henry VIIIth's* time, to the lord chancellor that now is, both in the reigns (*seriatim*) of the several kings, and the times of the several chancellors, whereof divers were great learned men in the law: It being in cases where there is no remedy for the subject by the strict course of the common-law, unto which the judges are sworn. This satisfied the king, justified the lord chancellor; and the chief justice received the foil; which was a bitter potion to his spirit, but not strong enough to work on him as his enemies wished. Therefore to humble him more, he is brought on

on his knees at the council-table, and three other ingredients added to the dose of a more active operation.

FIRST, He is charged, that when he was the king's attorney in the beginning of his reign, he concealed a statute of twelve thousand pounds due to the king from the late lord chancellor *Hutton*, wherein he deceived the trust reposed in him. Secondly, That he uttered words of very high contempt as he sat in the seat of justice, saying, *The common law of England would be overthrown, and the light of it obscured*: reflecting upon the king. And thirdly, his uncivil and indiscreet carriage before his majesty (being assisted by his privy-council and judges) in the case of *commendams*. The last he confessed, and humbly craved his majesty's pardon. The other two he palliated with some colourable excuses, which were not so well set off; but they left such a tincture behind, that he was commanded to a private life. And to expiate the king's anger, he was enjoined in that leisurely retirement to review his books of reports, which the king was informed had many extravagant opinions, published for positive and good law; which must be corrected, and brought to his majesty to be perused. But the title of the books wherein he styles himself lord chief justice of *England*, was to be expunged, being but lord chief justice of the king's bench. And at his departure from the council-table, (where he humbly acknowledged his majesty's mercy, and their lordship's justice) the lord treasurer gave him a wipe for suffering his coachman to ride bare before him in the streets; which fault he strove to cover, by telling his lordship, his coachman did it for his own ease. But not long after the lord treasurer came under his lash in the star-chamber, and he requited him for it.

WHILE he was under this cloud all his faults were ripped up, either by his enemies or his well-wishers, who advised him to be humbled for this visitation. That affliction only levels the mole-hills of pride in us, ploughs up the heart, and makes it fit for wisdom to sow her seed, and grace to bring forth her increase. That he delighted to speak much, which becomes a pleader, and not a judge; for so his affections were entangled with a liking of his own arguments, and an undervaluing of others, when having a large and fruitful mind, he should not labour so much what to speak, as what to leave unspoken: *Such lusty soils are often to be weeded!* That he was wont to praise and dispraise upon slight grounds the same man; and that sometimes suddenly; so that his reproofs or commendations are neglected and contemned; when as the censure of a judge (coming slowly but surely) should be a brand to the guilty, and a crown to the virtuous. That he will jest at any man in publick, without respect of the person's dignity, or his own; which disgraceth his gravity more than it can advance the opinion of his wit. That he makes the law to lean a little too much to his own opinion, whereby he shews himself a legal tyrant, striking with that weapon whom he pleases, being able to turn the edge any way. That having the living of a thousand, he hath no bowels of compassion to men in want; the hand that hath taken so much can give little, but gets still as if he did try how much he could gather to account for, at the great and general *audit-day*. That in the case of *Overbury* he used too many delays, till delinquents hands were loose and his bound; in which slowness he was a *Fabius*, but the humour of *Marcellus* would have done better; for he stopt the confessions and accusations of some that would have spoken enough to remove more stumbling blocks out of his way; and yet he did not this in favour of any, but out

of a present unadvised humour, supposing enough behind to discover all; which fell not out so; and therefore, though he were to be commended for what he did, yet he is to be reprehended for many circumstances in the doing; and these are now briars in his sides, and thorns in his eyes. Much more to this purpose was written to him, and vented against him.

TRULY he was a man of excellent parts, but not without his frailties; for as he was a store-house and magazine of the common-law for the present times; and laid such a foundation for the future, that posterity may for ever build on; so his passions and pride were so predominant, that boiling over, he lost (by them) much of his own fulness, which extinguished not only the valuation but respect to his merit: *So often is that heat that gives life to noble parts by a circular motion the ruin of them!* Yet to cool his distemper, and to bring him to himself, he is, within a short time, called to the council-table, the king being loth to lose his abilities.

Stephens,
p. 10.

* Vol. IV.
p. 565.

BUT sir Francis Bacon's merits procured him a better esteem and usage from persons in greater place and power than the chief justice; and among others, from the lord chancellor; to whom he addresses the twenty-second * letter with propositions at large, to have the history of *Great-Britain*, now united under one king, represented by some able hand in a manner becoming the dignity of the subject. The succeeding letter was presented to his majesty, together with a specimen of the beginning of a history of his reign; which no person was likely to perform better than himself; since sir *Walter Rawleigh* observes in his preface to the history of the world, "That the laws and kinds of history had been taught by many, but by no man better, and with greater brevity than by that excellent and learned gentleman sir *Francis Bacon*, viz. in his *Advancement of Learning*." And in respect also that he himself saith, he should † write of times, not only since he could remember, but since he could observe. From what he has left, we have reason to wish, that leisure or inclination had permitted him to have continued the same, especially since no hand hath effected it to any satisfaction. But how well he succeeded in relating the history of the reign of one of the wisest of our kings, is sufficiently acknowledged by other nations as well as his own.

† Ibid. p. 567.

† See letter
IX. Vol. IV.
p. 474.

YET the books he was known to read, besides those of his profession, and the learning he was endued withal, which made him so great a benefactor to the world, had been turned to his own disadvantage, and made use of as a reason why the place of solicitor-general should not be conferred upon him. This was a preferment he had had in his eye and his hopes in the year † 1595, through the mediation of no less a favourite than the earl of *Essen*; but missing it then as well as after the king's succession to the crown, he was reserved for better fortunes upon the application he made by several letters in the fourth volume, about the beginning of the year 1607. And was sworn into the place on the 25th of June; upon the removal of sir *John Dodderidge* to be the king's serjeant at law.

THE next year gave the state some trouble, occasioned by the rebellion in the province of *Ulster*, in the north part of *Ireland*, through the great lenity of the king: Which being happily composed in the year 1609; his majesty, to the end that it might be put into a probable way of continuing quiet to posterity, caused the forfeited estates, which amounted to a great quantity of acres, to be sold, and a new plantation to be made; which was carried on with the greatest vigour by the city of *London*,

don, at or near the city of *Derry*, thenceforth called *London-Derry*. Our author writing in the fourteenth letter, p. 561. that he always wished well to that unpolished part of this crown, doth with the thirty fourth letter present to his majesty a little tract containing his opinion, in what manner these new establishments ought to be made. And 'tis probable these plantations in *Ireland*, and those in the *West-Indies* carried on in the beginning of this reign, induced him to enter into farther considerations of this subject, which are published in his essays under that title.

SIR *Francis Bacon* having served the king as his solicitor-general, Stephens, P. 13. from the year 1607, not without expectation from, and application to his majesty to be made his attorney (as appears by several of his letters, viz. XLII, XLIII, XLIV. p. 581.) did upon the 27th of *October*, 1613, obtain that place. His predecessor sir *Henry Hobart* was constituted chief justice of the court of common-pleas, where he continued with much reputation till the year 1625, in which he died upon the 28th of *December*, at his house at *Blickling* in *Norfolk*; and had given him by sir *George Croke* one of the judges of the same court, and at the same time, the character of being a most learned, prudent, grave and religious judge. But there needs no other testimony of the strength and clearness of his reason, as well as knowledge in the law, than the monument he has erected to his own fame in his arguments and reports of cases adjudged in the court wherein he presided.

UPON these preferments there succeeded into the place of solicitor-general, Mr *H. Felborton*, as he had a little before unto the estate of his father. There were many candidates for this office: but whether he obtained it by the means of the viscount of *Rocheſter*, the king's then favourite; and that afterwards in gratitude to him he rather ventured to incur the royal displeasure, than to appear against him, upon his trial for the death of sir *Thomas Overbury*, is more than I can affirm. Only thus much I have observed, that in the management thereof, and of the trials of the other criminals concerned in that affair, the attorney and other council of the king's had their parts, whereas the solicitor is never named. But however that be, it may be very well asserted, that few ever deserved the place better than himself, having been for about ten years in full business and reputation at the king's bench bar, proceeding from his great abilities, which his reports of the cases adjudged in those times, and digested with so great perspicuity and brevity, do very much declare.

BUT the great opinion the king sometime had of him, his falling afterwards under his majesty's frowns, and the censure of the parliament, having subjected his story to the notice of many pens, by some imperfectly, and by others as untruly related; I shall from such informations as I have seen, and may be more depended upon, place it in a better light: And desire pardon if I am longer in my discourses of this gentleman, than of others whose names and actions are also mentioned in our author's letter: Since thereby I design to do but justice to the memory of a very worthy person, whose affections and friendship to some of my ancestors require no less a performance.

HE descended both by father and mother from two ancient and gentle families: That of his own name had long flourished in the county
of

of *Norfolk*, and particularly as sir *Henry Spelman* observes, at *Rouham*, from the time of king *Richard* the second. His father sir *Christopher* being a younger brother, applied himself to the study of the common law, and thereof was made a serjeant, speaker of the house of commons, and one of the judges of the king's bench in the time of queen *Elizabeth*. Marrying *Margaret*, the daughter of *Thomas Catesby* of *Ecton* and *Whiston* in *Northamptonshire*, he had by her his eldest son, Mr *Henry Tolverton*, born the 29th of *June*, in the year 1566. Who after some academical education at *Oxford*, was removed unto *Greys-Inn*, to be under the more immediate care and example of his father.

Soon after that he was made the king's solicitor, his majesty conferred upon him the honour of knighthood; and taking notice of his abilities, took him into a more than ordinary degree of his favour, so that he often required his presence and assistance at the council-table. Upon the calling a parliament in the year 1614, it was resolved by the king and council to have him recommended to be speaker of the house of commons: But upon farther consideration, that his services might be of more use out of the chair, he was sent to Mr serjeant *Crew*, afterwards chief justice of the king's bench, with an account of the king's purpose to have him placed therein; who was accordingly chosen by the commons. And some objections being made in that assembly against the receiving of sir *Francis Bacon*, as one that by his place of attorney was to attend the house of peers, upon a speech made by the solicitor, the house was satisfied, and the attorney admitted. But this parliament being dissolved in a heat, there was little done that sessions, but a great deal after it, tending to a breach of privilege of the commons, by imprisoning some of the most active members.

UPON the 12th of *March*, 1617, sir *Henry Tolverton* was made attorney-general; so that if his majesty was displeased for his refusing to appear against the earl of *Somerset* at his trial, which was but in the *May* before, his anger was not of a long continuance, nor had it any ill effect. But that the king afterwards resented some carriage of the attorney, (and chiefly, as I conceive, through misinformation) I have reason to believe from a letter of his, I remember to have seen, dated the beginning of *October* 1617, and written to his majesty then lately returned from *Scotland*, and whom he had waited upon at *Coventry*, the second of *September* before. "He therein complains of his unhappiness to fall under his majesty's displeasure, who had made him almost the wonder of his favour: that he conceived it to arise from some accident befel in the late business of the marriage of sir *John Villiers*; as also from a report, as if he had uttered some speeches to the dishonour of the earl of *Buckingham*." In both which cases he so far vindicates his innocence, that he soon recovered the king's good graces, though he was for some years looked upon with an evil eye by that powerful lord, for opposing according to the duty of his place some oppressive, if not illegal patents, the projectors of those times were busy in preparing: and nothing being left unattempted to remove him (though he had been long supported by the king) it is no wonder that so great a favourite at last effected his desires.

FOR in the year 1620, Mr attorney being questioned for passing certain clauses in a charter, lately granted to the city of *London*, not agreeable

able to his majesty's warrant, and derogatory to his honour and profit : It was referred to my lord chancellor and some others, to consider of the offence, &c. Whereupon his lordship and secretary *Calvert* delivered him a message from the king, whereby he was offered to submit himself in private, or defend himself openly : Being it seems advised to comply with the first proposition, he answered, the offer was gracious, the choice easy, and mercy free : But this submission signed by his hand, not being thought by the committee of council satisfactory enough, but that the same ought to be upon record, as well as the surrender of the city-charter, as appears by their letter in *the fourth volume*, dated the 16th of *June*, 1620. An information was preferred against the attorney, the mayor, &c. of the city, in the star-chamber ; who taking this prosecution for a trial whether he would rely on the king, although he saith, there was offered unto him and his council such a way of defence, by which he might have escaped ; yet he rather chose to confess the points of the charge, and submit himself in his answer to the king's mercy. After which he received a commandment not to speak, or write to his majesty : So far, a gentleman of his own retinue writes, his potent enemies had prevailed against him.

UPON the 27th of *October* following, this cause was brought to a hearing, before a very great presence and audience. And the information being opened by serjeant *Crew*, and the attorneys answer by Mr *John Finch* ; he first himself desired and obtained liberty to speak. Wherein he said he came to second his submission drawn by the pen of others ; and alleged, that the errors he was guilty of proceeded from ignorance, misprision, and chiefly credulity, and not from any corruption : Which though at first might be suspected, was not now the least laid to his charge ; and concluded his speech, which is printed in the *Cabala*, p. 375. with a request to their lordships ; that since the charter was now given up, his majesty might be acquainted with his submission, before they went on with the cause, himself remaining still a prisoner to his justice. Sir *Edward Coke*, in the first place, opposed the motion, as did the chief justice, and some others : But the duke of *Lenox*, who had been always favourable to the attorney, and the earl of *Pembroke*, who openly promised to move the king on his behalf, carried it against them, by the consent of the rest of the court, to the great satisfaction of the assembly.

NOTWITHSTANDING, the cause was remitted by his majesty upon the eighth of *November* : When the king's solicitor and council learned, insisted upon the several parts of the information ; and that, though there was no corruption of reward laid to his charge, yet there was a corruption in affection, not to be allowed in a man of so eminent a place, and knowledge as he was. But one of the defendant's chief council being taken suddenly ill, the court was adjourned till the *Friday* following, being the tenth of *November* ; at which time his council answered so effectually to the inconveniencies, urged to have arisen from several clauses in the charter, that the chief reason which induced the court to censure him, proceeded from his digression from the king's warrant, which they looked upon as a breach of trust in so principal a ministerial officer as he was, not to be excused by error, ignorance, or credulity. Sir *Edward Coke*, whose place it was to begin, concluded his long and bitter speech, with a

‘ fine of 6000 *l.* and loss of his place; which the rest of the court moderated to 4000 *l.* discharging him of his place by way of opinion, but submitting the same to the king, during whose pleasure, they also sentenced him to imprisonment in the tower.

‘ YET sir *Henry Telverton*, who was sequestered from the execution of his office, upon the 27th of *June*, was not wholly deprived thereof, till the *January* following; when sir *Thomas Coventry*, the king’s solicitor, was made his attorney-general; from whence he was advanced to be lord-keeper of the great-seal, in the first year of king *Charles*, and enjoyed the same full fifteen years, with a general satisfaction, being an ingenious, wise and learned man in his profession. Pursuant to the aforesaid sentence, sir *Henry* was committed to the tower, and while he lay there, he was by some of the zealous townsmen of *Northampton*, chosen one of their burgessees, to represent them in the ensuing parliament.

‘ BUT instead of appearing in the house of commons as a member, he was in the *April* following, accused by them to the lords as a delinquent; being supposed to be guilty of some unjustifiable actions relating to the patents of the inns and osterys, and of gold and silver thread, as also for signing some dormant warrants without sufficient authority. By virtue of these patents, sir *Giles Mompeyson* and sir *Francis Michel*, the chief projectors of them, at least of the first, had exacted several sums of money from the subject, or imprisoned, or prosecuted them for refusal: So that in the succeeding parliament, they were complained of as a very great grievance, and the patents called in, as in the process of our author’s letters may appear.

‘ IT is observed by *Rushworth*, that this accusation rendered sir *Henry* the less offender, and that thereby he had opportunity of speaking that at the bar, which he durst not say in the tower; declaring that he thought himself happy to be sent to that honourable house: yet that since wisdom required time, though innocence hath her present answer, he desired some time for consideration: But added withal, that the chief complaint against him, was concerning the patent of gold, &c. and that of inns and osterys; of which last, if he deserved well of his majesty, it was in that matter, and that the king and the subject were more abused by that patent, than by any other; for the opposing of which, he conceived he suffered at that day. The king being informed of this passage, came to the parliament, and justified his attorney’s moderate behaviour, and opposition to the prosecution of the inn-keepers, and that he himself disliked those proceedings against his subjects: But since *Telverton* had taxed his majesty, that he suffered at that day for his good service therein, he required their lordships to do him justice; and punish the slander.

‘ SIR *Henry Telverton* coming shortly after before the lords, gave in a particular answer to every article of the charge, which he concluded with a speech, printed in the first volume of *Rushworth’s* historical collections, p. 32. representing his misfortune to lie under the displeasure of so great a favourite as *Buckingham*, from whom sir *Giles Mompeyson* brought him a message, that he should not hold his place a month if he did not conform himself better to the patent of inns; for my lord had obtained

obtained it by his favour, and would maintain it by his power. And then sums up all in these words:

"SOON after, I found the message in part made good; for all the profits almost of my place were diverted from me, and turned into an unusual chanel, to one of my lord's worthies, that I retained little more than the name of attorney. It became so fatal and so penal, that it became almost the loss of a suit to come to me: My place was but the seat of winds and tempests.

"HOWBEIT, I dare say, if my lord of *Buckingham* had but read the articles exhibited in this place against *Hugh Spencer*, and had known the danger of placing and displacing officers about a king, he would not have pursued me with such bitterness. But by opposing my lord in this patent of inns, in the patent of ale-houses, &c. these have been my overthrow, and for these I suffer at this day in my estate and fortune, (not meaning to say, I take it, but as I know, and for my humble oppositions to his lordship) above twenty thousand pounds.

"THE king hearing of this speech, acquainted the lords that he intended to do himself justice, and repair the dishonour it reflected upon him, which they besought his majesty to leave to them: Who without taking any notice of the charge, exhibited by the commons, did upon the fixteenth of *May*, 1621, proceed to sentence, and declared, that the said sir *Henry Telverton*, for his speeches uttered here in court, which do touch the king's majesty's honour, shall be fined to the king in ten thousand marks, be imprisoned during pleasure, and make submission to the king: And for those which touched the marquis of *Buckingham*, he should be fined five thousand marks, &c. Upon which his lordship stood up, and did freely remit him his, and the prince and house of peers agreed to move his majesty to mitigate the other.

"WHAT part of these fines to the king were forgiven I know not, but I conjecture he was soon after discharged from his imprisonment, and became again a practiser at the bar: Till upon the first of *May*, 1625, a gentleman from the duke of *Buckingham*, who sometime before was pleased to be reconciled to him, did without his knowledge, bring him a warrant from the king, signifying his pleasure to make him a judge of the court of common-pleas. In order whereunto he was made a serjeant, on the tenth of the same month, inscribing upon his rings this motto, *Stat lege corona*. In this place he remained till his death; though if the reports taken notice of by bishop *Hacket*, in the life of Dr *Williams*, archbishop of *York*, and some other writers be true, he had been made lord-keeper of the great-seal, if the duke of *Buckingham* had not been cut off. The writer of a pamphlet, called, *The court and character of king James*; which delivers all things at random; says, this favour of the duke's was prevented by the judge's death, although he survived the duke above a year and half: But I suspect the truth of the relation in general, not remembring to have seen any thing of it, in some private letters of those times, and written by himself and friends. Nor was it very probable, that a person of his moderation and integrity, who lamented some irregularities of those times, should be far advanced in them.

"BEGINNING to be sensible of the infirmities of age, he concluded a letter, written on the seventeenth of *January*, 1630, to a person he much loved.

‘ loved. And I pray help me now with *David's* prayer, that God will
 ‘ not forsake me in mine old age, but that the weaker I grow, the stron-
 ‘ ger I may be in him. And sickening thereupon, he died at his house in
 ‘ *Aldersgate-street*, upon the twenty fourth of the same month; and
 ‘ from thence his body was carried into *Northamptonshire*, and bu-
 ‘ ried in his parish church of *Easton-Mauduit*; in the *North* isle where-
 ‘ of his son erected a monument, with two effigies, representing him and
 ‘ his lady at full length, and with an inscription declaring his virtues. But
 ‘ I shall only take notice of two characters, which cannot be suspected of
 ‘ the least partiality: The first given by one of his own profession, and
 ‘ of his own times, and which I presume did express the sense of them,
 ‘ and is found in two books of the law, *viz.* in *Hetley's* reports, and the
 ‘ other which bears the name of the lord-keeper, *Littleton's* reports, tho’
 ‘ I conceive it was never composed by him.

“ MEMORANDUM, That upon *Sunday* morning, being the twenty fourth
 “ of *January*, 1677, died sir *Henry Tolverton*, puisne judge of the com-
 “ mon-pleas, who before had been attorney-general to king *James*, and
 “ afterwards incurring his displeasure, was displaced and censured in the
 “ *Star-chamber*. He then became a practiser again at the bar, from which
 “ he was advanced by king *Charles* to be a judge. He was a man of pro-
 “ found knowledge in the common laws, and ingenious and eloquent in
 “ expression; and for his life of great integrity and piety, and his death
 “ universally bewailed.

‘ THE other is part of a short preface to his reports, published by ser-
 ‘ jeant *Wilde*, a little after the restoration of king *Charles II.*

“ TO the restitution of the laws (which this age hath most happily at-
 “ tained) we consecrate these monumental remains of sir *Henry Tolver-*
 “ *ton*; a person of so compleat a judgment and renowned abilities in this
 “ honourable science, advantaged by the times, wherein he both practised
 “ and judged, which were learned and ennobled by many eminent sages
 “ of the law his contemporaries; that we shall not need to direct your ac-
 “ ceptance of these his judicious collections, which his own exquisite pen
 “ hath commended to the world, &c.

‘ I HOPE the mistakes of some authors, relating to this gentleman, and
 ‘ the falsities contained in the court and character of king *James*, will,
 ‘ from what I have said, appear so visible to any one that shall have the
 ‘ inclination to peruse so loose a writer, that I need not trouble the reader
 ‘ with a more particular confutation.

‘ BY *Margaret*, the daughter of *Robert Beale*, Esq; clerk of the
 ‘ council to queen *Elizabeth*, and *Edithe St Barbe*, sister to the lady
 ‘ *Walsingham*; he had among other children, his son and heir *Christopher*,
 ‘ knighted in 1623, and made a baronet in 1641: Who by *Anne*, the youngest
 ‘ daughter of sir *William Twysden* of *East-Peckham* in *Kent*, knight
 ‘ and baronet, left sir *Henry Tolverton*, his only son: Who receiving
 ‘ his academical education, under the care of Dr *Wilkins*, the eminent
 ‘ warden of *Wadham-college* in *Oxford*, did, towards the end of the late
 ‘ times of confusion, receive into the care of himself and family Dr *Mor-*
 ‘ *ton*, bishop of *Durham*; seeing that his extreme age, and great la-
 ‘ bours for the protestant religion, and the church of *England*, could not
 ‘ protect him from the troubles the rest of his order underwent. But sir
 ‘ *Henry* having shewn himself to be a gentleman of great worth, and as
 ‘ great

great learning as most of that rank in the nation, was taken off in *October* 1670, in the prime of his years; yet continues still to live in the person of his son, who in the right of his mother, the daughter and heir of *Charles Longueville*, lord *Grey of Ruthyn*, became intituled to that honour, since created viscount *de Longueville*.

SIR Francis Bacon's letters, written in *January* and *February* 1614, 1615, relate much to the treasons of which one *Peacham* and *Owen* were accused. *Peacham's* crime was for asserting several treasonable passages in a sermon, never preached, nor as Mr justice *Croke* saith, ever intended to be preached; but only set down in writing, and found in his study. His majesty desiring to know the opinions of some of the judges, before he was judicially proceeded against: the chief justice *Coke* was not prevailed upon to give his without much difficulty, (as will appear in *those letters*) as a thing unusual, and which he feared might be of ill consequence. But though *Peacham* was indicted and found guilty, yet he was not executed: Judge *Croke* observing in his reports of the time of king *Charles*, p. 125. that many of the judges were of opinion, that it was not high-treason. How much harder fate, a gentleman of quality and learning suffered, not many years since, in a case not unlike, I need not remember; the legislature of the nation having done it by reversing the judgment.

THE other case was that of *Owen*, of *Godstowe* in *Oxfordshire*, who returning out of *Spain*, did not only affirm, but inforce with reasons, a doctrine, which 'tis probable *Suarez*, and some other jesuits had disseminated in that country, "That if the king were excommunicated and deprived by the pope, it was lawful for any person to kill him". This being a position in direct terms, contrary to the late oath of allegiance, and of dangerous consequence, if believed and propagated; it was thought necessary that he should be made an example. And accordingly in *Easter-term* 1615, he was prosecuted and convicted in the king's bench: My lord *Coke* and the other judges of that court declaring, that it was high-treason, within the statute of the twenty fifth year of *Edward* the III. Great part of the charge sir *Francis Bacon* delivered against him at his trial, is printed Vol. IV. p. 297.

A PARLIAMENT having been convened in the year 1614, and the king's expectation of supplies defeated by the heats of some of the lower-house, which hastened a dissolution; several of the nobility and clergy about *London*, made a voluntary present to the king, which the council taking notice of, and being willing to encourage such an example, and make it more diffusive; they writ letters to the sheriffs and justices of peace of the counties, and magistrates of several corporations, informing them what had been done above, and how acceptable and seasonable the bounty of his subjects would be to the king and his occasions: But without any clauses of compulsion, or requiring or returning of the names of such as should refuse. Among others, one was directed to the mayor of *Marlborough* in *Wiltshire*, where Mr *Oliver St John*, a gentleman of an antient family was then residing: Who being consulted thereupon, he wrote a letter to the mayor, upon the eleventh of *October*, 1614, representing to him, that this benevolence was against the laws, reason and religi-

on

* See Vol.
IV. p. 272,
598.

on : Insinuating, that the king by promoting the same had violated his coronation oath, and that by such means as these king *Richard* the II. had given an opportunity to *Henry* IV. to deprive him of his crown ; desiring, if he thought fit, to communicate his sentiments to the justices, who were to meet about the benevolence. For this action Mr *St John* was * prosecuted in the *Star-chamber*, and upon the twenty ninth of *April*, 1615, the cause was brought to a hearing, as appears by sir *Francis Bacon*'s letter of that date, N^o. LVII. In this court, which was composed of a great many lords of the council, the chief justices and chief baron ; some of them thought, that this offence was of a higher nature than a contempt : But they all agreed, that this benevolence, as it was circumstanced, was not restrained by any of the acts of parliament, which prohibits that sort of taxation, and " that the defendant should be fined " 5000 *l.* imprisoned during the king's pleasure, and make submission in " writing, which he accordingly did." His letter runs in the following terms.

OLIVER ST JOHN, *to the Major of MARLBOROUGH against the Benevolence.*

AS I think, this kind of benevolence is against law, reason and religion.

FIRST, The law is, in the statute called *Magna Charta*, 9 *Hen.* III. cap. 29. That no freeman be any way distrained, but by the laws of the land.

SECONDLY, Besides that the said statute of *Magna Charta* is by all princes since established and confirmed, it is, in the special case of voluntary or free grants, enacted and decreed, 25 *Eliz.* 1. cap. 5. That no such be drawn into custom : and cap. 6. That henceforth be taken no such aids, tasks, free grants, or prizes, but by assent of all the realm, and for the good of the same.

AND in *primo* R. III. cap. 2. That the subjects and commons in this realm from henceforth shall in no wise be charged by any charge or imposition called a benevolence, or any such like charge ; and that such exactions, called a benevolence, shall be damned and annulled for ever.

FIRST, It is not only without, but against reason, that the commons, in their several and particulars, should be made relievers or suppliers of his majesty's wants, who neither know his wants, nor the sums that may be this way raised to supply the same.

SECONDLY, It is against reason, that the particular and several commons, distracted, should oppose their judgment and discretion to the judgment and discretion of the wisdom of the land assembled in parliament, who have there denied any such aid.

It argueth in us want of love and due respect of our sovereign lord and king, which ought to be in every of us towards each other, which is, to stay every one whom we see falling, and reduce the current. What prosperity can be expected to befall either our king or nation, when the king shall haply out of ignorance, or ('tis I hope) out of forgetfulness or headiness commit so great a sin against his God as is the violating of his great and solemn

solemn oath taken at his coronation, for the maintaining of the laws, liberties and customs of this noble realm; and his subjects, some for fear, some in pride, some to please others, shall join hands to forward so unhappy an atchievement? Can he any way more highly offend the divine Majesty (whom he then invocated?) as also, can he then give unto another *Hen.* IV. (if such an one should rise up, which God forbid) a greater advantage? Let those articles put up against *Rich.* II. be looked on, it will appear, that the breach of the laws, infringing the liberties and failing in this his oath, were the main blemishes wherewith he could distain and spot the honour of that good and gentle prince; who, indeed, was rather by others abused, than of himself mischievously any way disposed.

SECONDLY, As very irreligiously and uncharitably we help forward the king's majesty in that grievous sin of perjury; so into what an hellish danger we plunge ourselves, even so many of us as contribute, is to be learned out of the several curses and sentences of excommunication given out against all such givers, and, namely, the two following, *viz.* the great curse given out, the 36 *Hen.* III. against all breakers of the liberties and customs of the realm of *England*, with their abettors, counsellors, and executioners, wherein, by the sentence of *Boniface*, archbishop of *Canterbury*, and the chief part of all the bishops of this land, are *ipso facto*, excommunicated. And that of 24 *Edw.* I. denounced immediately upon the acts made against such benevolence, free grants and impositions, had and taken without common assent; which, because it is not so large as that former, I will set down as our books deliver the same.

IN the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, *Amen.* Whereas our sovereign lord the king, to the honour of God, and of the holy church, and for the common profit of the realm, hath granted for him and his heirs for ever, these articles above-written: *Robert*, archbishop of *Canterbury*, primate of all *England*, admonished all his province, once, twice, and thrice, because that shortness will not suffer so much delay as to give knowledge to all the people of *England*, of these presents in writing. We therefore enjoin all persons, of what estate soever they be, that they, and every of them, as much as in them is, shall uphold and maintain those articles granted by our sovereign lord the king in all points; and all those that, in any point, do resist or break those ordinances, or in any manner hereafter procure, counsel, or in any way assent to, resist, or break those ordinances, or go about it by word or deed, openly or privately, by any manner of pretence or colour; we therefore, the said archbishop, by our authority in this writing expressed, do excommunicate and accurse, and from the body of our lord *Jesus Christ*, and from all the company of heaven, and from all the sacraments of the holy church, do sequester and exclude.

SIR, Hearing that to morrow the justices will be here about this busy work of benevolence, wherein you have both sent unto, and talked with me, and thinking that, it may be, you would deliver up the names of the not-givers: Forasmuch as I think, I shall scarcely be at home to make my farther answer, if I should be called for, I pray you, both hereby to understand my mind your self, and, if cause so require, to let the justices perceive as much. So leaving others to their own consciences, whereby in that

that last and dreadful day they shall stand or fall before him, who will reward every man according to his deeds; I commend you to the grace of the Almighty, and rest,

Your loving neighbour and friend,

OLIVER ST JOHN.

Stephens, p.
24.

‘ IN the succeeding reign this matter was carried on with a much higher hand. For upon commissions which were given out to raise money by a loan according to the valuations of estates: Several gentlemen of quality were imprisoned for refusing to subscribe thereunto, and among others sir *Thomas Wentworth*, afterwards the eminent earl of *Strafford*. And the whole proceeding was so ill resented by the commons, and as it were denounced against by sir *Edward Coke*, that it was condemned and declared illegal in the petition of right, presented to king *Charles*, and established by act of parliament in the third year of his reign.

‘ BUT the entrance of the year 1615, was most remarkable for the declension of the earl of *Somerset*’s favours and fortunes, and the appearance of a new star in court, that was soon after displayed with a much greater lustre. I shall not pretend to determine whether it was * design or chance, that first placed Mr *George Villiers* in the eye and observation of the king; but it’s very evident that he soon became, and long continued an agreeable object. He was the second son of sir *George Villiers* of *Brokesby*, in the county of *Leicester*, by *Mary* his second wife, daughter of *Anthony Beaumont* of *Cole Orton*, Esq; both names of *Norman* extraction, and of great antiquity in the said county; so that one would have thought that his greatest enemies would have allowed him a genteel descent from both his parents. With what swiftness he rose in the king’s affections, it will be easily discovered by observing the times in which honours and offices were conferred upon him: But I shall only touch upon the most considerable. Upon the twenty fourth of *April* this year, he was knighted, and made one of the gentlemen of the bed-chamber, and master of the horse in *January* following; and again upon the same day of *April*, in the next year, elected into the society of knights of the garter, created baron *Blechy*, and viscount *Villiers* in the succeeding *August*; which title was soon concealed by that of earl, given in *January* 1617, of marquis, a year after; and lastly of duke of *Buckingham* in 1623; having some years before been constituted lord chief justice in *Eyre* of all the forests, and lord high admiral of *England*.

‘ IT will not be easy to give any just character of this noble person, to whom very many of *our author*’s letters are addressed, which shall not, even at this distance of time, be liable to much exception. For they who shall consider him as a young gentleman of the most exquisite composition of body, of a beautiful yet manly countenance, of a nature noble and munificent, faithful to his friends, indulgent and bounti-

* Sir H. Wotton has cast the balance of this doubt by ascribing it to the design, advice and assistance of sir *John Graham*. Remains, p. 209, 210.

ful to his servants and followers; who shall consider him not only in the favour of two successive kings, but of the parliament also after his return from *Spain*; when he received the thanks of the house of commons for breaking off a treaty of marriage, so long carried on in delusion of the king, and discontent of the people; will have ideas of him far differing from those who shall only behold him painted out in the colours of the second parliament of king *Charles*. By which he is represented as guilty of accumulating many honours and places of trust and profit, some of them improper for a person of so young an age; others inconvenient in one hand, if not incompatible; of diverting so great a proportion both of lands and money of the crown, from the publick service, to his, or his friends private advantage; and of many other offences particularly set forth in their impeachment. And lastly of miscarrying afterwards in the relief of *Rochelle*, by some attributed to his want of conduct, or to worse principles; whereby so great a blow was given to the interest of the reformed religion in *France*. All which raised so popular an odium upon him, that though he better escaped the zeal of two parliaments by their sudden dissolutions, than probably he would have done by his trial and answers, how effectual soever they might be thought; yet he seems to have fallen upon the twenty third of *August*, 1628, as a victim to the rage of the people, though a single and discontented hand gave the stroke that put a period to his life, when he had just compleated the thirty sixth year of his age.

HAVING thus briefly run over the causes of the fall of this great favourite, I am by the course of many of *our author's* letters written in the latter end of the year 1615, and the beginning of the next, obliged to look into the chief, if not the only cause of the fate and ruin of his predecessor. They relate very much the cautions that were to be observed, and the measures that were to be taken, before the earl of *Somerset*, and his lady, were to be brought to their trials for the poisoning of *sir Thomas Overbury*. This is a story well known in the general, yet perhaps I may not displease the reader to lay before his view a particular account of this tragedy.

FOR which purpose it will be necessary to look back a few years, wherein we shall find *sir Robert Carre*, a young gentleman of *Scotland*, standing in great favour with the king, created viscount *Rochester*, and not long after earl of *Somerset*. But if the king discharged his secrets and cares into the bosom of this lord, his lordship reposed himself to a great degree in the advice and friendship of *sir Thomas Overbury*. He was son to *sir Nicolas Overbury* of *Bourton* upon the hill in *Gloucestershire*; educated at *Queen's-college* in *Oxford*, and in the middle *Temple* in *London*; of which society his father was one of the governours. After some time spent beyond the seas, he was at his return looked upon as endued with excellent parts, both natural and acquired, and with wisdom and knowledge above his years. The lord *Rochester* embraced him with so intire a friendship, that exercising (by his majesty's special favour) the office of secretary provisionally, he not only communicated to *sir Thomas* the secrets, but many times committed to him the packets and letters unopened, before they had been perused by the king or himself; which as it prevailed too much upon his early years, so as to make him in the opinion of some thought haughty and ambitious; yet he was so

far from violating his trust and confidence, that he remains now an example, among others, that have suffered in their persons, or their fortunes, for a freedom of advice, which none but sincere friends will give, and many are such ill friends to themselves, as not to receive. The occasion whereof was this:

My lord of *Essex* having been married very young unto the lady *Frances Howard*, daughter of the earl of *Suffolk*, was sent abroad for some years; and returning about the time he came of full age, to enjoy his plentiful estate and beautiful wife; he found notwithstanding all his kindness to her, her affections alienated from him, and placed in so high a degree upon the person of the lord *Rochester*, that she used all the arts, herself, or wicked assistants could invent, to render *Essex* as cool and impotent towards her, as she was indifferent to him. It was no difficulty for her to obtain the love of the other young lord; but how to remove a husband she hated, and obtain for a husband the man she loved, required the skill and conduct of her uncle the old earl of *Northampton*, a man of great learning, and since the king's accession to the crown, in great favour: which was effected in this manner.

COMPLAINT being made on the behalf of the countess, that though she had been long married, she had not enjoyed the comforts of the conjugal bed: The archbishop of *Canterbury*, with some other bishops and civil lawyers, were delegated to examine into the validity of her proofs and allegation. The earl, whether or no wearied with his wife, or really become by their contrivances, *Imbecillus quoad hanc*, did not much contest the matter; so that by the majority of the commissioners the marriage was declared null, and the parties at liberty to marry again. But the archbishop and some others dissenting, this affair did not pass over without the censure of the times. Herein sir *Thomas Overbury*, who is said to have been averse to the house of the *Howards*, acted the part of a true friend with greater freedom than security to himself; dehorting the lord *Rochester* from marrying this lady, with many reasons; some of them reflecting upon her, all of them tending to frustrate her designs; it turned her rage and anger into fury, not to be satiated but with his death: Though the procuring thereof, cost herself and friends much trouble in the end, and left an ill stain upon the memory of the earl of *Northampton*.

MANY ways were proposed for the removing of *Overbury*, which were not approved: That agreed to, was the king's naming him for ambassador into *Russia*; which whilst he was preparing to undertake, the lord *Rochester* does dissuade him from accepting, and at the same time represents to the king his refusal as so great a contempt, that he was committed to the tower upon the twenty first of *April* 1613. The lieutenant being thereupon removed, and sir *Gervase Elwayes* put into his place, who together with *Weston* a new under-keeper were likely to be more subservient to their ends: The poor gentleman who ought to have been safe under the custody of the law, is kept, as sir *Francis Bacon* observes, in a prison, open to his enemies, and closed to his friends; being denied the comfort of his father, and near relations, or the use of a servant, who desired to perform his duty at the loss of his own liberty. He was not under this constraint above two days, when *Weston*, by direction, gives him poison in his broth, which he repeats from time

to time in his tarts and other meats; so that his table is made a snare unto him. But he being young and of a healthy constitution, by the frequent use of poison began to resist the force of poison; so that *Weston*, who had been an apothecary's man, being upbraided for not doing his work, said he had given him enough to have killed twenty men. At length after he had been deluded with some hopes of deliverance, but really pursued and chased near to death, a glyster compounded of rank poisons, administered under pretence of ease, put an end with much torment to his miserable life upon the next day, being the fifteenth of *September 1613*.

IN this manner fell sir *Thomas Overbury*, worthy of a longer life, and of a better fate. And, if I may compare private men with princes, like *Germanicus Caesar*; both by poison procured by the malice of a woman, and about the thirty third years of their age: Both celebrated for their skill and judgment in poetry, their learning and wisdom. But all appeared with a greater lustre in *Germanicus*, from the height of his birth and valour, and felicity in war; and that singular sweetness of disposition, which drew upon him the love of the *Roman* empire, and even of their enemies. The other a gentleman of an antient family, has had some blemish charged upon his character, through the too great ambition, if not insolence of his temper.

AMONG others of his compositions which are in prose, he writ a little poem concerning the choice of a wife, which I suppose was chiefly designed for the service of his lord. It was printed in his life-time, and several times after his death, with many commendatory verses upon the author and the book, of which number was *Ben. Johnson*; which with the manner of his death, gave occasion to one of his friends, to write the following lines, which I have seen under his picture.

A man's best fortune, or his worst's a wife:

Yet I, who knew nor marriage joys, nor strife,

Liv'd by a good, by a bad one lost my life.

BUT though this work of darkness lay concealed for some time through the management of the parties concerned, and the verdict of the coroner's jury, finding that sir *Thomas* died a natural death; yet the murmur, if not voice of the people, by whom he was generally beloved living, and lamented dead, did still preserve the suspicions that he came to a base and untimely end: Which was fully proved about two years after his death, and almost as much since *Rochester*, now made earl of *Somerset*, was married to the lady; which ceremony was celebrated at court with all imaginable joy and splendor, upon the sixth of *December* in the same year.

THE means of the discovery of this murder being reported various, I shall mention but one, as supposing it the true one, being insisted on by sir *Francis Bacon*, at the trial of the lady *Somerset*, and related in the history written by the earl's countryman archbishop *Spotswood*. The earl of *Shrewsbury* recommending sir *Gervase Elways*, as a gentleman of quality and good sense to the acquaintance of a certain nobleman, was told by him that nothing detracted so much from his reputation as the suspicion of his being concerned in the death of his prisoner; and wished he could clear himself. Upon notice thereof, sir *Gervase* to get the

the start of any other information, acquainted them both, that indeed he had casually discovered *Weston's* intentions to poison sir *Thomas*, but that he had made him so sensible of his crime, as that falling upon his knees, he seriously professed that he would never attempt it more: And that *Weston* being set on by persons in great favour at court, he could not, without great danger to himself, reveal the design. This he also urged at his tryal, as if he was only guilty of a misprision. But all circumstances being weighed, which evinced he went farther than a bare knowledge, and at last a paper produced under his own hand, so confirmed him, that it quickly put an end to his defence: So that at his death, which he resolutely and piously suffered, he frankly acknowledged his crime.

WHEN this matter began to take air, the earl of *Somerset* applied himself to sir *Robert Cotton*; a gentleman, whose name must always be sacred, for his great learning, and greater care and charge in collecting that incomparable treasure contained in his library; as his worthy grandson the late sir *John* received the applause of the last age for his so generously perpetuating the same by a late act of parliament. Sir *Robert* could not refuse to give a friend his best advice upon such an unhappy occasion; which was to secure all by a large pardon, according to some precedents he then produced. For these consultations, as we are informed in his life, prefixed the catalogue of his manuscripts; and for some other things appearing in these letters, he was committed to the custody of an alderman of *London*, and often examined; but discharged without the least imputation of being concerned in *Somerset's* guilt.

THE king on the other hand, with a zeal becoming him as the head and fountain of justice, commanded the chief justice *Coke* to search the business to the bottom; which he performed, declaring that he had taken three hundred examinations therein; but finding great persons concerned, he procured others of great quality to be joined in commission with him: And upon the nineteenth of *October*, *Weston* the principal was brought to his tryal; but, according to instructions, as was supposed, he refused to plead to the indictment. The judges who threatened him with the severity the law inflicts upon those who will not submit to the law, yet thought it best to defer any farther proceedings for a few days: In which time, by the means of some eminent divines he was brought to a better temper, and confessing the fact, was executed shortly after at *Tyburn*.

THE earl of *Somerset*, whom it concerned to have this confession invalidated, was not fallen so low, but that he had some gentlemen of quality, the one by a book, the others by questions proposed to *Weston* at his death, sought to make him recede from what he had declared: For which offence they were upon the tenth of *November* prosecuted in the *Star-chamber*, and the particulars thereof represented by sir *Francis Bacon*, in his speech printed Vol. IV. p. 282.

THE before commended *Richard Rawlinson*, LL. D. having furnished me with the proceedings at large, consisting of thirteen sheets, I thought my self obliged to select what belonged to our author, then attorney-general; and the addition of sir *Edward Coke's* speech on the subject of im poisoning, and censure of the prisoners, will, I promise my self, be agreeable, as I presume they have never been printed.

THE

* Mr Lumfden.

THE proceedings in the *Star-chamber* against sir *John Hollis*, and others for speeches used by them to *Weston* at the time of his execution, at *Tyburn*, about the death of sir *Thomas Overbury*, the tenth of November, in the thirteenth year of the king's reign.

In camera stellata decimo Novembris 13^o. Jacobi regis, 1615.

Present,

THE lord chamberlain, archbishop of *Canterbury*, lord *Crew*, lord steward, earl of *Pembroke*, bishop of *London*, bishop of *Winton*, lord *Zouch*, lord *Knowles*, secretary *Winwood*, chancellor of the duchy, sir *Thomas Lake*, the three chief justices.

Being fate,

THERE was brought to the bar, sir *John Hollis* (now lord *Houghton*) sir *John Wentworth*, and Mr *Lumsden*, a *Scotish* gentleman, as offenders and prisoners, committed by the lords of the council. Mr attorney-general did inform against them *Ore tenus* in this manner, &c. Vol. IV. p. 282.

MR LUMSDEN'S Reply.

MS. Fol. 7. p. 2.

MR *Lumsden* for answer to this charge said, that himself was not at Mr *Lumsden*. the arraignment, but what he had spoken, or set down in writing, he had received of many in common discourse; who being now demanded to justify the same, do deny it; and therefore he would confess that what was written was false. He pleaded ignorance of the law, and that he did it without any purpose of prejudice to the publick business, but only as he conceived out of duty; and because he had always lived as a gentleman, he would not so much degenerate from himself and his birth, nor so much offend against human society, as to become a base accuser; but would submit himself and his offence to the censure of the court, and to the favourable interpretation of their lordships.

MR attorney replied, that his answer and submission were modest, and Mr Attorney. therefore he would press his offence farther; yet he would tell him, that in criminal causes, whosoever would raise a slander, and refuse to tell his author, he must tell him that which the laws tell him, that he was the author himself. This kind of slandering judges to kings and princes is common. *Popham*, a great judge in his time, was complained of by petition to queen *Elizabeth*; it was committed to four privy-counsellors; but the same was found to be slanderous, and the parties punished in the court: he likewise said, I may not admit of this new learning; I hold it not unworthy a gentleman to discharge his fault upon the first author; and by the law, the not doing thereof maketh him the first author; so he becomes a false accuser of himself.

Sir JOHN WENTWORTH'S Reply.

Fol. 9. p. 2.

a He pleaded it to be an usual custom for men to go to executions, and do as he had done.

Sir John Hollis.

SIR *John Wentworth's* answer was, that he would not willingly be conceived to speak more here than he had done heretofore. It was true that he was at the execution of *Weston*, and did ask those questions touching the *a* poisoning of sir *Thomas Overbury*; which he did on two reasons: The one was because he had seen others do the same at the same time; and especially one *Parkes*; and he thought he might do it as well as he: Another reason was, because he not being at the arraignment, and hearing that *Weston* had denied the fact, he was desirous to be satisfied of the truth from himself; yet he purposed not to ask any questions when he came thither; but if to ask questions of a man going to execution were offensive to the state, he did humbly submit to their lordships censures.

SIR *John Hollis* answered, that the matter declared against him contained three crimes. The first, that whereas at the first upon the indictment he should fore-judge the jury, by delivering his opinion; saying, that he should doubt what to do; and this he confessed, as a man perhaps more trickish and curious to give his verdict or judgment of life or death than others. And if a bare word of his opinion drawn by discourse (he being but a stander by in this business) be to be censured, I appeal to your judgments. His second offence was for giving of counsel, and asking questions of *Weston* at the execution: he said, I confess I was there, but carried with a general desire which he had to see the execution, as he had done in many like cases before. And he had formerly seen that it was a common thing for men standers by to ask questions of those that were to be executed; and now many asking this question of the fact of *Weston*, and he answering in general terms, I die not unworthily; he also, among many others, did ask him the question (as hath been opened;) which was not purposed of him when he came thither, but was occasioned by reason of one that stood behind him at the gallows, who said to *Weston*, that he should confess the truth of this fact; for if he had had his right, he had been hanged many years ago: whereunto *Weston* answered, fact or no fact I die worthily. He said that Mr attorney had so well applied his charge against him, that he did not carry the seal of good conscience with him, he would almost make him believe that he was guilty; but he hoped their lordships would take the bird by the body and not by the feathers: His speech he said might be well understood, but the worst end of it was turned towards him; he did but the part of a christian to persuade *Weston* to discharge his conscience, *b* and intended not to controvert the law and justice that had passed on him: As for the testimony of *Bearingborne*, I know not what he is that hath deposed against me; but it seems he is some man of trade, against whom I think I may now put my self in opposition, that my denial may stand against his affirmation. In his youth some of your lordships know, that he [sir *John Hollis*] had spent some of his time in the wars and travel, and afterwards had lived in place at court, both in the time of queen *Elizabeth*, and his majesty eight years: he had served the late most worthy * prince, the memory of whom he said did grieve him that he should plead his name at the bar, whom for the misery of this state it pleased God to take away: since whose death he had been

b He denied the point affirmed against him by the citizen, saying, that he was to be believed therein rather than the citizen.

* Henry.

as a fish out of the water : thus much he said was pulled out of his mouth, by reason of his testimony produced against him ; but he knew that not words but his cause must help him out of this mire. And therefore if their lordships had determined any thing against him for these offences ^a, he did humbly submit himself to their honourable censures. The lord chancellor said, that this deposition of *Bearingborne* was not read but in explanation and aggravation, and not for evidence of condemnation against sir *John Hollis*.

MR attorney replied upon sir *John* to this answer of his, that this speech to *Weston* was occasional, and not resolved on before his coming to the execution,* with new matter thought upon and devised since his being questioned for his offence ; for there was never a word thereof spoken in this examination ; and there this is the feather you speak of, and not the body : whereunto sir *John Hollis* answered, that they might very well stand together.

SIR EDWARD COKE, chief justice of the king's bench, his sentence.

Fol. 17.

COKE, chief justice of the king's bench said, that he would say of this business, and his dealing therein, as *Abimelech* said of himself, *Tu scis Domine quod feci in simplicitate cordis & munditie manuum* ; and therefore would also boldly affirm, that there was now brought into question of this great business of poison, but such as in his soul and conscience were apparently guilty : He said he was no fit man for a common place ; yet he had found some records of poisoning, which he would shew : as namely in the treasury 31 *Edw. III.* as the king indeed had two treasuries, the one of records, the other of gold and silver ; where a woman committed adultery, and after poisoned her husband, and b 21 *Edw. I. Solomon le Roch*, a judge, was poisoned by a monk, and afterwards prayed to be delivered to the censure of the church ; and he was denied, because the same was a wrong to the state to poison a judge. And it is to be observed in the first case, that poison and adultery go together ; and on the second, that poisoning and popery go together. From *Edward III.* down to 22 *Henry VIII.* (which was a great lump of time) no mention is made of poisoning any man ; and then a statute was made, that those that did poison any body should be boiled to death, and were first to be put in at the tip-toes. In this business he said he would tell no news, but he was not yet at the root ; God forbid that those kinds of offences should be unsearched and unpunished, wheresoever they are found : There are divers sorts of poisoning, by some whereof a man shall die a month or a quarter of a year after, *ut sic se sentiat mori* ; and shall not know in what manner he is poisoned : as one *Squire*, a priest, should have poisoned queen *Elizabeth*, by poisoning her saddle. This poisoning came first from popery. In this case of *Weston* he would never confess the indictment, because the indictment was, that he poisoned sir *Thomas Overbury* with arsenick, rosaker and mercury sublimate ; when as indeed it was not known what poison killed him. Here the poor man conceived a scruple, that if he did not know with which of the poisons *Overbury* was poisoned, he was not guilty of the offence laid in the indictment ; and therefore said he was not guilty of the offence. Now *ut obstruatur os iniqui*, that the mouth of the wicked man may

^a And touching that which was objected against him out of his own examination, he pray'd liberty to interpret and extenuate it.

* f. was.

^b 21 *Ewd. I. Solomon le Roch*, a judge poisoned by a monk.

Marginal
notes in
the MS.

may be fully stopped ; after that it was resolved unto him, that the manner of killing, laid in the indictment,

(a) *The murder of sir Thomas Overbury hath been shadowed many ways: For these last three weeks, no day has past without some examination taken therein; we are not able to answer all that come, and offer to discover matter against it; and shall we have slander as a reward for our pains?*

(b) *Mr Lumfden if you had infused but a little copper into his majesty's coin, it had been treason; yet therein had you not done so much harm, as when you put untrue information into his ears against justice.*

(c) *But now Mr Lumfden you stood upon terms of reputation, and would not be a base accuser. You are a near dependent upon the earl of Somerset; he loved another lady besides the countess of Essex, and you were his pandar: this appeareth by these your own letters to that lord, and his to you, which are now here in my hands.*

your self, that there is now no safety, protection, nor assurance, but under a religious faith in *Iesus Christ*, and that, *radix iustitiae est pietas*, the foundation and root of justice is piety. I confess I had a great suspicion out of whose quiver the murder came first; but because I had no certain proofs, I would never question them. This resolution of *Weston* to be mute, was very great. When he was persuaded by the bishop of *London* and *Ely* to plead, he would not; and after being promised that if he would speak, he should have a popish priest: He thereunto answered, what have I refused the godly persuasions of the bishop of *London*, and shall I now answer to a popish priest! And for your persuasions, Mr *Lumfden*, that you will not be an accuser, this is a contemptuous answer; for this is not to be an accuser, being examined of another to discover him; but your refusal in this kind to answer is a manifest contempt: and for the like offence, a great lady of the land lieth now in the tower only for refusing to answer being examined. *Quod diabolus ad malum exposuit, Deus ad bonum exposuit*, that which the devil exposeth to evil, God disposeth to good. This refusing to discover an offender, is a contempt to a master of a family,

was not the point of the indictment, but the (a) matter of killing; as if the indictment be, that a man was killed with a sword, whereas indeed he was killed with a dagger; yet the party is guilty, because the killing of a man is the point of the indictment; then he confessed the fact. And for this gentleman, Mr *Lumfden*, a *Scotish* gentleman, a nation that he loved well (and to his majesty both *English* and *Scotish* were equally dear) *Scoti & Angli nullo discrimine, &c.*

(b) He that infuseth into his majesty's ears the least falsehood concerning his judges unjustly, is like him that infuseth never so little copper into coin; they both commit a kind of treason: and for the matter of it, which was informed, for *qui non bene respondet non respondet*; and a little to divert from this business, you (c) Mr *Lumfden* were a pandar to the earl of *Somerset*, and were his favourer indeed, but his follower in evil. *Afflictio dat intellectum*, let your affliction now give you sense and feeling of your sins; your service of a pandar is apparently to be shewed you by a letter under my lord of *Somerset*'s own hand; and your answer to it. Let it then enter your heart and soul to assure

family, if he should command any one of his servants to tell him of an offence committed, and by whom; and the servant that is so asked shall refuse to tell him, he shall be worthy of punishment: much more any subject being examined by the king's authority and commissioners, if he shall refuse to make discovery of the truth. The statute of the 1 and 2 of Rich. II. is, that he that doth raise false news between the king and his nobles, shall be imprisoned for the space of a year; I think fit that Mr *Lumsden's* imprisonment should be for a year, and afterwards, until he shall produce his author. As for sir *John Hollis*, his fault of questioning and counselling, it is very great, the same being made after a verdict; for if a man commit treason the twentieth day of *May*, and sell his lands the fifth day, and after is indicted that he did commit the treason the first day, which goes before the sale, and after is found guilty of this indictment; he that is to lose the land cannot deny this verdict: and say the treason was committed the twentieth day, though it concern him for all that he hath of laying; if that he that is to be undone by a verdict shall not speak cross matter to a verdict (as the books of *Edw. III.* and *Edw. I.* are, and 11 *Hen. IV.* 53. *Estophel* 137.) what shall be done to him that having no cause in a matter capital, wherein he had nothing to do, would intermeddle? For as the law saith, *Turpis est admissio rei ad se non pertinentis*. Sir *John* said, that it hath been a custom to ask questions at those times, and that (a) he did usually go to executions. For his own part he said, that ever since he was a scholar, and had read those verses of *Ovid*, *Trist.* III. 5.

Et lupus & vulpes instant morientibus —

Et quaecunque minor nobilitate fera est.

(a) *And whereas it hath been said to be usual for gentlemen to go to the executions; I have not known it to be so, neither do I hold it fit for a gentleman. I have learned that,*

Lupus & vulpes instant morientibus;

It is an evil to question the fact at the gallows.

he did never like it; and therefore

he said he did marvel much at the use of sir *John*. Sir *John* answers here at the bar, and saith, that if any thing were determined against him, he did humbly submit himself thereto: by which term so determining, he meant (I think) as if we did give our censures against him by conspiracy. For my own part I talked with none other, nor I think did any of us one speak with other before we came together here. Peradventure he thinks (as some have thought) that all the carriage of this business is but a conspiracy against the earl of *Somerset*. He saith he hath

been since the prince's death (b) but as a fish out of the water. I know not what he means by a fish out of the water, I have heard that *Clericus in oppido, tanquam piscis in arido*, A clerk in the town is like a

(b) *You say you are like a fish out of water; indeed I have heard of your endeavour to get a great place, but this sheweth your discontentment.*

fish out of the water: he is a justice of peace, a commissioner of oyer and terminer; a man of fair lands, 1500 *l. per annum* at the least; this money is enough to be a privy-counsellor: and yet sir *John Hollis* is like a

(a) For sir John Hollis, said he, I pity him not, for he hath told you how he hath the wit of nations and experience of countries in his head; and he is a great wise man by his own report here at the bar: but a little knowledge of the common law would have done you more good than all learning, experience and travel.

fish out of the water: (a) I know he hath travelled many countries, speaks many languages, hath seen many manners and customs, and knows much of foreign nations; yet a little knowledge of the common law of this land would have been better for him than all these; it would have kept him from asking questions, and counselling in scandal of religion and justice; two of the main pillars of the kingdom, and that in cold blood. Evidence is above eloquence; the party himself acknowledged that he died justly, and those that saw him said he died penitently: So to conclude, as it was sometime said of Rome, *Et quae tanta fuit Romam tibi causa videndi*, he might very well now say of sir John Hollis his going to Tyburn, with a little alteration of the words, *Et quae tanta fuit Tyburn tibi causa videndi*. For the censure he agreed with that which had been set; and the acknowledgment of Mr Lumsden should be also in the court of common-pleas and the exchequer, because the justice of all courts may be wronged with slanderous petitions; and moved that information might be made against the other gentlemen that were asking of questions as these were; and that they might receive their due punishment: he meant, he said, Mr Sackvil, sir Thomas Vavasor and sir Henry Vane, who would be a baron if attainders did not lie in the way: If these be not punished, these gentlemen will think that they have wrong, for *quae mala cum multis patimur leviora videntur*. He said he would wish gentlemen to take heed how they fell into discourses of these businesses, when they be at their chambers; for in the proceeding of these great businesses and affairs, if a man speak irreverently of the justice thereof, the bird that hath wings will reveal it.

THEIR SENTENCE and FINE.

THE sentence was fine, imprisonment, and submission, as followeth:

LUMSDEN fined two thousand marks, imprisoned in the tower for a whole year, and after until he shall, at the king's-bench-bar, submit himself and confess his fault, and also produce his authors.

SIR John Hollis was fined one thousand pound, imprisoned in the tower for the space of a year.

SIR John Wentworth fined one thousand marks, imprisoned in the tower for a year, and both to make submission at the king's-bench-bar. And it is ordered, that information should be preferred against sir Thomas Vavasor, and the rest that were said to have offended in the like manner, but had not yet confessed the same, as these gentlemen had done; and therefore could not be proceeded against in this manner.

' SOON after Mrs Turner the procurer, Franklin the preparer, and
' sir Gervas Elways the approver of this imposition, suffered the same
' fate with Weston. And about the same time this lord was committed to
' the

the tower, and his lady, being great with child, to private custody; for which reason, and some other intervening occasions, they were not tried till *May* 1616. On the twenty fourth of which month the lady *Somerset* was brought before the lord chancellor, being then lord high steward, and several other peers appointed to pass judgment upon her; and being indicted as accessory before the fact, she with many tears confessed her guilt. And being farther asked what she had to say why judgment of death should not be pronounced? She replied, "That she had nothing to say for her self but a great deal against herself:" Only that she implored the king's mercy, and that their lordships would be her mediators.

HER youth, her beauty, her sex and quality, which moved compassion in the spectators, who otherwise detested her crime, could not be less prevalent with the nobility: The king inserting in the preface to the patent of her pardon, the intercession of the lords, as a reason of his clemency, as well as the malice of ill agents about her, and the satisfaction that already had been made to justice.

THE next day her lord acted his disastrous part upon the same stage; and as he had continued obstinate hitherto, persisting in his innocency, so he now pleaded not guilty. But after a trial of many hours, he was convicted, and sentence given against him. The king pardoned him as to his life also, and in the year 1621, released them both out of the tower, where they had suffered imprisonment; thereby verifying the prediction of *Overbury* sent to this lord, "That he should repent that in the tower, which he had committed against him being a prisoner there." But how merciful soever the king appeared in absolving of these noble persons, it has given occasion to some others to reflect upon the imprecations he is reported to have laid upon himself and posterity, if he spared any person, how great soever, concerned in this murder.

THERE are many books extant, from which I have extracted this narration, but no part pleased me better than the eloquent speeches made by sir *Francis Bacon*, then attorney-general, at the trials of the earl and countess of *Somerset*, printed Vol. IV. p. 288, &c.

JUNE 9, 1616. Sir *Francis Bacon*, the attorney-general, is chosen one of the privy-council at *Greenwich*. *Camd. Ann.*

IT is reported that the chief justice *Coke* let fall some words at the trial of sir *Thomas Mounson*, (for being accessory to *Overbury's* death;) and committed some things previous to that of *Somerset's*, which gave great offence at court: so that his disgrace being soon perceived, sir *Francis Bacon* takes opportunity to send him a large and seasonable letter of advice, printed Vol. IV. N^o. LXXVII. p. 621. with all the correctness I was able to give it. These things being aggravated with some other proceedings as displeasing, in the beginning of this year, deprived him of his place before the expiration of the same.

THE first I shall take notice of, was occasioned through the great difference which arose between the lord chancellor, and the lord chief justice, concerning the jurisdiction of the court of chancery and the king's bench; which was moved upon this account. One Mr *Courtenay* suing in the chancery to be relieved against a judgment obtained at the common law; an indictment for a *praemunire* grounded upon the statute 27 *Edw.* III. cap. 1. was preferred against him and his agents, in the king's bench, at the end of *Hilary-term*, 1611. Though the jury refused to find the bill,

‘ bill, yet thereupon sprung that contended question, Whether by virtue
 ‘ of the said statute, and that of the fourth year of *Henry IV. cap. 3.* the
 ‘ chancery, after judgment given in the courts of law, was prohibited from
 ‘ giving relief upon matters arising in equity; which the judges at law could
 ‘ not determine or relieve? The attempt made upon this great court was
 ‘ not more grievous to the lord chancellor, than the manner of proceedings
 ‘ in it; being at a time when his lordship was so ill, as that his life was al-
 ‘ most despaired of. But this controversy is so fully represented in the
 ‘ *LXIV, LXV, and LXVI* letters, and the first part of the memorial,
 ‘ *Nº. LXXX*, that I need not trouble the reader with any repetition of it in
 ‘ this place. Only it may be convenient to declare, that the king, as supreme
 ‘ judge of the jurisdiction of his courts, used the utmost care to inform him-
 ‘ self therein; and referred the same to sir *Francis Bacon*, and sir *Henry*
 ‘ *Telverton*, his attorney and solicitor, sir *Henry Montague* and sir *Randolph*
 ‘ *Crew*, his serjeants at law, and Mr *Walter*, the prince’s attorney, all emi-
 ‘ nent men in their profession: Who upon a serious consideration of the sta-
 ‘ tutes, and the occasion of making them, and of the presidents since that time;
 ‘ did in *April 1616*, present the king with their opinions and reasons why
 ‘ they conceived these statutes did not extend to the court of chancery.
 ‘ Consonant to which resolution, his majesty, upon farther advice, gave
 ‘ judgment in *July* following; and ordered the case, the certificate, and
 ‘ the transactions thereupon to be inrolled in the same court.

‘ *SIR Francis Bacon*, who had not only given his opinion, according
 ‘ to his oath as attorney-general, but I think also, as privy-counsellor; did
 ‘ likewise, the next year, upon taking his place as lord-keeper, among di-
 ‘ vers rules he laid down, by which to govern himself, declare his senti-
 ‘ ments in the following words, Vol. IV. p. 329.

THE second point concerneth the time of the complaint, and the late
 comers into chancery; which stay till a judgment be passed against them at
 common-law, and then complain: Wherein your lordships may have heard
 a great rattle and a noise of a *praemunire*, and I cannot tell what. But that
 question the king hath settled according to the ancient presidents, in all
 times continued. And this I will say, that the opinion not to relieve any
 case after judgment, would be a guilty opinion: Guilty of the ruin and
 naufrage, and perishing of infinite subjects: And as the king found it well
 out, why should a man fly into the chancery before he be hurt? *The whole*
need not the physician but the sick. But, my lords, the power would be
 preserved, but then the practice would be moderate. My rule shall be
 therefore, that in case of complaints after judgment, (except the judgments
 be upon *nihil dicit*, which are but disguises of judgment, obtained in
 contempt of a preceding order of this court;) yea, and after verdicts al-
 so; I will have the party-complainant enter into good bond to prove his sug-
 gestion; so that if he will be relieved against a judgment at common law,
 upon matter of equity, he shall do it, *Tanquam in vinculis*, at his peril.

‘ THIS opinion which he delivered in the presence of a large and ho-
 ‘ nourable assembly, he some years after seems to declare to the world in
 ‘ certain aphorisms concerning the universal and natural fountains of justice,
 ‘ from which the several streams of civil laws are to be derived; which
 ‘ are contained in the eighth book of his *Advancement of Learning*.

Vol. I. p. 252. Aphorismus 35.

*HABEANT similiter curiae praetoriae potestatem tam subvenien-
di contra rigorem legis, quam supplendi defectum legis. Si enim porri-
gi debet remedium ei, quem lex praeteriit; multo magis ei quem vul-
neravit.*

‘ THERE are others of the like nature, which I shall leave to every ^{Stephens,} person to consult as he pleases; having only pointed out the place where ^{P. 35.} these and many other admirable aphorisms relating to laws are to be found.

‘ MY lord *Coke* not only submitted, but acquiesced in the justice of the judgment given by the king, as before is related. Besides, being an active member in four parliaments after this time, which redressed several publick grievances; I do not find that ever he reflected upon this. And the court of chancery proceeded therein, in my lord *Bacon*’s, the bishop of *Lincoln*’s, and the lord *Coventry*’s times, in the same manner it had done before: Till after the printing sir *Edward Coke*’s third and fourth institutes, many years after the author’s death; and upon viewing some places therein, or collected during the heat of these debates; the question began to revive, and particularly in the year 1658, &c. in the case of *Harris* and *Colliton* in the exchequer. Some of the arguments made in that case *pro* and *con*, are now in print, and one wherein this power of the courts of equity was at large asserted, I have seen. But there is a learned gentleman now living, who lately presided in that court, who did then in that case, and hath since maintained the contrary in a book which is printed, but not published; so that I never had the opportunity of seeing it but for a few minutes; for which reason, as well as many others, it does not become me to deliver any opinion. But the certificate in king *James*’s time, and the resolutions thereupon, which were made publick many years since, and lately with some additional arguments at the end of the first volume of a book in *Octavo*, intitled, *Chancery Reports*, seem to give a clear and satisfactory account of this matter.

‘ BUT this was a time in which my lord *Coke* was not only contending with the lord chancellor, but with the king himself: For his majesty being informed, that in the arguments concerning the great case of *Commendams*, some positions were affirmed by one of the counsel, which touched him nearly in his prerogative, as to the granting of *Commendams*: He did by * letter of his attorney-general, require the judges, for some reasons, to defer their arguing the case for a little time, till his majesty could ^{Vol. IV. p. 632.} have conference with them. But the judges disobeyed the letter, and proceeded in the cause: For which they were convened before the king and council; where, at length, they all, except the chief justice *Coke*, fully submitted themselves. But I believe the reader will be so well pleased to view the whole process thereof contained in the LXXIXth letter; the later part of the memorial, N^o. LXXXI, and in the act of council, of the sixth of *June* 1616, drawn up by sir *Francis Bacon*; that it would be superfluous to make any relation of that here, which is so fully represented in its proper place. And if he shall be as curious to know the matters

COLLECTIONS RELATING TO

‘ matters in law arising thereon, he may find them largely and elaborately reported by my lord chief justice *Hobart*, in his argument of the case of the bishop of *Litchfield* and *Coventry*; and not of *Lincoln*, as by mistake it is written in the aforesaid memorial.

BUT I shall produce an authentic account of the lord chief justice's case, after the submission of the other judges, from a valuable MS. of *Richard Rawlinson*, LL.D. fol. 105.

The copy of a letter which the lords of the council wrote to the king's majesty, touching the answer of the lord chief justice, sir EDWARD COKE, made unto certain articles objected against him. fol. 105.

It may please your most excellent majesty,

THE lord chief justice presenting himself upon his knees at the board, your solicitor signified that he was, by your commandment, to charge him for certain acts and speeches, wherein your majesty was much unsatisfied; which were in number three: *First*, an act done. *Secondly*, Speeches of high contempt uttered in a seat of justice. *Thirdly*, uncomely and undutiful carriage in the presence of your majesty, your privy-council, and your judges.

CONCERNING the first, which was the act done; it was when he was in a place of trust, and concealed a statute of twelve thousand pounds, which was taken of young sir *Christopher Hatton* to the use of sir *Edward Coke*, when he was attorney-general, not to pay a debt of good value due unto your majesty, nor to accept of the discharge for the same. And for the strengthening of that statute there was a bond likewise taken of six thousand pounds with surety to the same effect. So that sir *Christopher Hatton* lay charged under the penalty of eighteen thousand pounds, not to pay the debt, to agree to no surrender, discharge, or release, nor any way to assent thereunto: That this offence was aggravated by denial and protestations of the late lord chief justice, that he was not privy to the condition of the defeasance, by indenture, whereof sir *Christopher Hatton's* part was found: That he was privy to the penning of it, inserting words with his own hand, and that Mr *Walter* and Mr *Bridgman* his own counsel were witnesses to it.

THE second thing was, concerning words spoken in the king's bench the last day of *Hilary-term*, at a case of *Glanvil* and *Allen*, whereof the solicitor made a narrative relation, and charged the lord chief justice to have given too much heart and encouragement to that cause, and that he had too constantly directed the jury, turned them thrice from the bar, saying, that if they set their hands to a bill after judgment, he would fore-close them the court; and farther, in another cause, the same day, said that the common law of *England* would be overthrown, and that the light of the law would be obscured; and that all this was confirmed by good witnesses.

THE third and last point was his indecent behaviour before your majesty, your council and your judges: and that consisted of two points:

THE first, the exception he took at your learned counsel in your presence for speaking at your command.

THE

THE second, that your majesty having opened your self in the case of *Commendams*, and satisfied the judges that your majesty's sending to them had no intent to delay justice: And the question being put, to the rest of the judges, whether they did hold for a delay of justice that your majesty had sent in the case, or if your majesty should send hereafter in the like case, wherein your majesty's prerogative were interested, the rest of the judges submitting themselves, he only dissented from the rest.

THIS being the effect of your solicitor's charge, your lord chief justice made answer that he would, by their lordships favour, begin with the last: and said, that for the point of challenging, or taking exceptions at your majesty's counsel learned speaking in the case of *Commendams*, by your majesty's commandment, he acknowledged it for an error; and so humbly submitted himself.

TO the point, that upon the question asked the judges concerning the stay of proceedings, he did deny when all the rest did yield: His answer was, that the question did include a multitude of particulars which suddenly occurred unto his mind, and caused him to make this answer; that when the time should be, he would do that which should become an honest man and just judge.

FOR the bond, he saith, that the assurance was a hammering a year and a half: they were *Elephantini libri*, and now twelve years being past, it is no great marvail, if his memory were short, especially since about that time, first in the great service of the priest's treason and *Cobham's*, and the next year in the powder treason; and that if any thing have slipped him in that multitude of business, that these services blot out his errors.

SECONDLY, *Ab impossibili*, which was, that the debt remaining at that time was three and thirty thousand pounds, and that young *Hatton's* means were very mean, and not above an hundred marks a year; and that as soon as it came to possibility, when he first heard of sir *Robert Rich's* offer, he then submitted it before such as he oft would say remembered the statute, or defeasance.

THIRDLY, (*in bono*) he said that he never had any profit by it, but the presentation of a benefice; and all the rest was his wives.

FOURTHLY, That the crown was content with the instalment, and he did but take bond to continue it: And through all this he did submit himself to your majesty, and the board, saying, *Actus non facit reum nisi mens sit rea*.

FOR his speeches in the king's bench, &c. he saith, first, that whatsoever was done, was done by the common consent: And for these speeches, many of them were spoken, but not by himself; and offered four considerations.

FIRST, That the court (unto which nevertheless he did not except) was *ad informandum non ad conveniendum*.

SECONDLY, That there are but witnesses on one side.

THIRDLY, That the interrogatories might be drawn too short.

FOURTHLY, That it was concerning words spoken four months ago, which being spoken amongst many, might be diversly reported: and thereupon produced a paper written by himself, containing, as he said, the true passage of the day; which paper we present to your majesty herewith, being, as he saith, set down by himself the day after, *sedato animo*. And touching these words, that the common law would be overthrown, and the judges would have but little to do at the assizes, because the light of the law would be obscured; he confesseth the words, but saith, that they were not spoken
the

the same day, but another time in another case of sir *Anthony Mildmay's*; and added, that he would not maintain a difference between the two courts, nor bring it into question; yet if it were an error he might say, *Erramus cum patribus*, and thereupon brought and alleged three examples:

FIRST, The articles against cardinal *Wolsey*, 20 *Hen. VIII.* wherein the same words were used, that such proceedings in the chancery tended to the subversion of the common law.

SECONDLY, The book intitled, *Doctor and Student*.

THIRDLY, An opinion of the judges in *Tbrockmorton's* case, in queen *Elizabeth's* time. And adding also farther, that for the time to come no man should ever make any opposition, for that the judges having received your majesty's commandment by your attorney-general, that no bill of that nature should hereafter be received, he and his brethren have caused the same to be entered as an order in the court which shall be observed.

WHICH being the effect of his answer, we have thought good to add withall, that before, as well in speeches as in action, he behaved modestly and submissively.

Subscribed by most of the council,

Whitehall, June 26, 1616.

Greenwich, June 30, 1616.

Ibid. f. 107.

SIR *Edward Coke*, knight, lord chief justice of the king's bench presenting himself this day at the board upon his knees; Mr secretary *Winwood* signified unto him, that their lordships had made their report unto his majesty of that which had passed on *Wednesday* last at *Whitehall*, for the which he was charged by his majesty's solicitor with certain things, wherewith his majesty was much unsatisfied: which report containing a true and just relation, as well of those things which were then objected against him, as of his answer thereunto in particular, and that rather to his advantage than otherwise; which being delivered in writing, and in his princely judgment justly weighed and considered, his majesty was no way satisfied with his answer to any of those witnesses wherewith he stood charged, *viz.* neither in that which he made concerning the bonds and defeasance upon the instalment of a debt of sir *Christopher Hatton's*, late lord chancellor of *England*; nor of that he maketh concerning speeches of high contempt uttered as they sat in the seat of justice, concerning the overthrow of the common law; nor *lastly*, in answer wherein he offered to excuse his uncivil and undecent *behaviour* before his majesty, being assisted with his privy-council, and his judges: But that the charge lieth still upon him, notwithstanding any thing contained in his said answer: nevertheless such is his majesty's clemency and goodness, that he is pleased not to proceed heavily against him, but rather to look upon the merits of his former services, and accordingly hath decreed.

FIRST, That he be sequestred from the council-table until his majesty's pleasure be farther known.

SECONDLY, That he do forbear to ride the summer circuit as justice of the assize.

LASTLY, That, during this vacation he hath, to live privately and dispose of himself at home, he take into his consideration, and review his books of reports, wherein, as his majesty is informed, there be many extravagant

vagant and exorbitant opinions, set down and published for good and positive law: And if in reviewing and reading thereof he find any fit to be altered or amended, the correction is then left to his own discretion. And amongst other things, his majesty was not well pleased with the title of those books, wherein he styled himself lord chief justice of *England*; whereas he could challenge no more to himself but lord chief justice of the king's bench: And having corrected what he in his discretion thought meet in those reports, his majesty's pleasure was, he should bring the same privately to himself; that he might consider thereof, as in his princely judgment should be found expedient.

HEREUNTO Mr secretary advised him to conform himself in all duty and obedience, as he thought, whereby he might hope that his majesty in time would receive him again to his gracious and princely favour.

THEREUNTO the lord chief justice made answer, That he did in all humility prostrate himself to his majesty's good pleasure; that he acknowledged that decree to be just, and to proceed rather from his majesty's exceeding mercy than from his justice; gave humble thanks to their lordships for their favour and goodness towards him, and hoped that his behaviour for the future time should be such as should deserve their lordships favour.

THE lords having thus far proceeded, the lord treasurer told him, that he had one thing more to let him know, which belonged to the earl-marshal to take notice of; which was, that his coachman used to ride bare-headed before him: which was more than he could any way assure or challenge to himself; and required him to forbear it for the future.

To which the lord chief justice answered, that his coachman did it only for his own ease, and not by his commandment; and so with the like submission and acknowledgment of favour he departed.

' It is not to be doubted, but that these proceedings made my lord *Coke* ^{Stephens,}
' fit both uneasy and insecure upon the bench: But the chief cause of his ^{P. 36.}
' removal from it, according to Mr *Roger Coke* his grandson, was his † refusal † See another cause assigned,
' to admit of the chief clerk for inrolling of pleas in the court of king's ^{p. 64.}
' bench, at the nomination, and in trust for sir *George Villiers*, and upon
' the surrender of sir *Nicolas Tuston* made lord *Thanet* in consideration
' thereof. In the person I am sure he is mistaken, though he may be right
' in the cause, which may in a great measure be collected from some of
' our author's letters: and in short appears to be this. Sir *John Roper*, who
' had many years enjoyed this profitable place, esteemed to be worth then
' about 4000 *l. per annum*, being grown very old, was prevailed with to
' surrender the same upon being created lord *Teynham*, with a reservation
' of the profits thereof to himself during his life. Upon which surrender
' sir *George Villiers* was to have the office granted to two of his trustees
' for their lives, as it seems the earl of *Somerset* was to have had before.
' But my lord *Coke* not being very forward to accept of the same, or make
' a new grant thereof upon these terms: he was upon the third of *October*
' 1616, commanded to desist from the service of his place, and finally re-
' moved from it upon the * fifteenth day of *November* following. His suc-
' cessor sir *Henry Montague*, third son of sir *Edward Montague* of *Bough-*
' *ton* in *Northamptonshire*, recorder of *London*, and the king's serjeant,
' being more complaisant; sir *John Roper* resigned towards the later end
' of the same month; and Mr *Shute*, and *Heath*, who was afterwards the
a a king's

* Compare this with the note, p. 63.

king's solicitor-general, being the deputies and trustees of sir *George Villiers*, were admitted.

' I THINK there was no question at that time, or long before, or since that time, but that the disposition of this office rested intirely in the chief justice of the court: Till the right of the honourable and learned sir *John Holt*, came to be contested a few years past by her grace the duchess of *Grafton*, by virtue of a patent granted from king *Charles* the II. What agitation it had in that, and also in a higher court, is so fresh in memory that it need not to be related.

' I HAVE formerly mentioned how abruptly, and in what ill humour the king parted with his parliament in the year 1614: And have touched upon one of the ways his majesty afterwards took to supply the occasions of his crown, and of his court. But among all the projects for procuring of money, in which this time abounded, none seemed more specious, or more conducing to the publick good than that, which in the year following was proposed, through the lord treasurer's means, by sir *William Cockayne*, a rich and understanding alderman of the city of *London*. For the society or fellowship of the merchant-adventurers, having enjoyed by license from the crown, a power of exporting yearly several thousands of *English* cloths undyed: It was imagined, that the king would not only receive an increase in his customs by the importation of materials necessary for dying, but the nation a considerable advantage in employing the subject, and improving the manufacture to its utmost before it was exported. This proposition being besides attended with the offer of an immediate profit to his majesty, was soon embraced; the charter granted to the merchant-adventurers recalled, and sir *William Cockayne*, and several other traders incorporated upon certain conditions; as may in part appear, by sir *Francis Bacon*'s letter to the king, dated the twelfth of *August*, 1615. Though some others in that, and in the following year, soon inform us what difficulties the king and council, and indeed the whole kingdom sustained thereby. For the trading towns in the low-countries and in *Germany*, which were the great mart and staple of these commodities, perceiving themselves in danger of losing the profit, they had long reaped by dying and dressing great quantities of *English* cloth, the *Dutch* prohibited the whole commodity: And the materials being either dearer here, or the manufacturers less skilled in fixing of the colours, the vent of cloth was soon at a stand; upon which the clamour of the country extended itself to the court. So that after several attempts to carry on the design, sir *Francis Bacon* finding the new company variable in themselves, and not able to comply with their proposals, but making new and springing demands, and that the whole matter was more and more perplexed; doth upon the fourteenth of *October* 1616, send a letter to the lord *Villiers*, inclosing his reasons, why the new company was no longer to be trusted, but the old company to be treated with and revived. In which service I find sir *Lionel Cranfield*, by his letter of the thirtieth of *March*, 1617, and some others, had been so industrious, that the dyers and cloth-workers of the city of *London* perceiving their expectations like to be defeated, threatened him and some of the old company with destruction: Insomuch, that he therein desires the lord *Villiers*, that if he perished by them, his lordship would be good to his wife and children, and procure their wardship to be committed to her.

AFTER

‘ AFTER an offer made of an 100000 *l.* to the king by some members of the old company to have their charter restored ; it was found that by reason of the disorders in trade, both at home and abroad, it would be very pernicious to them to raise so great a sum, how much soever the king’s occasions wanted the same, or how great soever their desires were to be re-established : So that the earl of *Suffolk*, lord treasurer, sir *Ralph Winwood*, secretary of state, and sir *Fulke Grevil*, chancellor of the exchequer ; do by their letters sent to my lord *Buckingham*, a little before the king’s return from *Scotland*, certify to his lordship in this manner. “ According to the directions of your lordship’s letter, we have called before us the principal of the merchant-adventurers ; and after divers conferences, we have under his majesty’s approbation, thus concluded with them. “ That upon the signing of a new charter, with the self same immunities and privileges which formerly they enjoyed, and the publishing of a proclamation for the better advantage of their trade ; they shall pay the sum of 25000 *l.* and within three months next after 25000 *l.* more. This is the greatest sum that we are able to draw from them, and that with some difficulty, &c.” Pursuant hereunto, and to a power of revocation contained in the new charter, that was recalled, and a proclamation published for restoring the old company, dated the twelfth of *August*, 1617, at *Ashton in Lancashire*, where the king then lay in his passage from *Scotland* ; and soon after another charter was granted to them.

‘ BUT the loan of this money, and several sums to the king and queen of *Bohemia*, attended with the decay of their trade, had so wounded this antient society of merchant-adventurers, (under whose nursing care the woollen manufacture had for some ages been rising to such degrees as to become the glory and riches of the *English* nation, and the envy of its neighbours ;) that I fear they are not yet in any probability of recovering their former strength and beauty. This brought them into debt, and debts occasioned them to lay some impositions upon cloth, which the house of commons censured by their votes in *April* and *May*, 22 *Jacobi* ; and thereby drawing down the anger of the parliament a little upon that body, which had so frequently tasted their favours : By whom many laws had been passed to their advantage ; none as I think to their prejudice ; but in the twelfth year of *Henry* the VII. and in a case which has some affinity to this, as may be seen in the history of that reign, written by my lord St *Albans*, Vol. III. p. 494.

‘ How prejudicial this proposal of sir *William Cockayne* proved in the end, may be collected from the answers this company gave to the interlopers reasons for a free trade, offered to a grand committee of trade in the fourteenth year of king *Charles* the II. Wherein they declare, that thereupon the *Dutch* set up the manufacture of cloth ; and although upon the repealing the new charter, the trade was fallen into its old channel again, yet they would never revoke the prohibition of all *English* cloth dressed and dyed : After much altercation between the free traders and the company, the king confirmed their charter.

‘ IN this contest between these two bodies politick we have seen how fatal it proved to the one, and how mischievous to the other. In the next place I shall consider a greater inconvenience, which about the same time affected the publick, through the frequent revenge of private quarrels by duels. By this means a fountain of blood had plentifully flowed in

‘ *France*,

* Viz. anno
1702.

France, notwithstanding the severe edicts of their late, and then present king; till it became so powerful an evil, that though the great cardinal *de Richlieu* gave some check to it by the punishment of messieurs *de Chappelles* and *Bouteville*, two young gentlemen of great valour, wherein he resisted the prayers of their friends, the mediation of the greatest persons of quality, and his own passionate desires; yet all his applications and thoughts upon this subject, as he tells us in his politick testament, could never bring that to effect, which has since been accomplished by the great constancy and severity of the * late king: Which monsieur *le Vassor*, an historian of his own nation, takes the liberty to say, is the best, and perhaps the only good action he hath done in a reign of fifty six years.

FROM France this noxious weed seems to have been transplanted into England; and the endeavours sir *Francis Bacon* used to root it out, in the case of one *Priest*, upon his being made the king's attorney, was so well approved of by the lords of the council assembled in the *Star-chamber*, that they ordered the charge he then delivered against duels in general, to be printed and published with the decree of the court it self, which is now printed Vol. IV. p. 255. And the last service I shall have occasion to mention before he left that place, was what he performed in the same court, and upon the like occasion in prosecuting one Mr *Markham* for dispersing letters of challenge to the lord *D'Arcy*. The case being reported by my lord *Hobart* to be in *December* 1616, directs me where to place the ninety eighth letter relating thereunto, the date thereof being omitted in the original.

As a reward for these, and his other long services of the crown, the king upon the seventh of *March* following committed to his custody the great seal of England, some little time after the lord chancellor's voluntary resignation, as is already declared. It was no new thing for persons from less abilities, and lower places to rise into this: therefore the author of the court, &c. of king *James*, had as little reason to reflect upon that, as to insert some other false and foolish stories, relating to this gentleman. In one thing I shall agree with him; namely, that my lord of *Buckingham* was very instrumental in his preferment, which sir *Francis* acknowledges by his letter of the same day, N°. ninety nine. And surely fewer lines did never contain a greater sense of gratitude, or expressed it in a more becoming manner; though by the original, they seem to have been hastily written, and may serve to confirm what had been told to one that lived in his later times, that his first copies required no great labour to render them competent for the nicest judgments.

* MARCH 7, 1617. The great seal is delivered to sir *Francis Bacon* the king's attorney in the fifty fourth year of his age; whom the king admonished not to seal any thing till after mature deliberation; to give righteous judgment between parties; and that he should not extend the regal prerogative too far. *Camd. Ann. Jacobi R.*

* Mr *Camden* begins his year on the first of *January*.

Pro FRANCISCO BACON, milite, domino
custode magni figilli *Angliae*.

JAMES, by the grace of God, &c.

To the treasurer and barons of our exchequer, and to the auditor ^{Rymer,} or auditors of the accompt of the clerk or keeper of our *Hanaper* in our ^{Vol. XVII.} chancery, and of our chief butler of *England*, and of our keeper of our ^{p. 1. 1617.} great garderobe, and to the clerk or keeper of our said *Hanaper*, to our said chief butler of *England*, and to the keeper and clerk of our said garderobe, and to every of them that now be, and for the time hereafter shall be, greeting.

WHEREAS we, of our grace especial, certain knowledge and mere motion, for the great trust and confidence that we have in the wisdom and dexterity of our right trusty and well-beloved counsellor sir *Francis Bacon*, knight, lord-keeper of our great seal of *England*, and for certain other special causes us moving, have given and granted unto the said sir *Francis Bacon*, knight, the office of lord-keeper of our great seal of *England*; and given authority to the said lord-keeper to hear, examine and determine causes, matters and suits, as shall happen to be, as well in our chancery as in our *Star-chamber*, like as the chancellor of *England*, or keeper of the great seal of *England* of us, or our progenitors, for the time being, heretofore hath used, done and practised, with all and singular manner of fees, diets, robes, liveries, wax and wine rewards, and other profits, allowances and commodities, to or with the same room or office of chancellor, or keeper of the great seal of *England*, in any wise, or by any manner of mean, due, appertaining, used, or belonging, in like, and in as ample manner and form as any lord chancellor of *England*, or keeper of the great seal of *England*, either in the time of king *Henry VIII.*, or king *Edward VI.*, or in the times of queen *Mary*, or queen *Elizabeth*, or in our time hath had, enjoyed, perceived and received for and in the same:

AND therefore we will, charge and command not only the clerk, or keeper of our *Hanaper* in our said chancery for the time being, that ye, of such our money as is, or shall come to your hands of ours, or to our use, do content and pay, or cause to be contented and paid unto the said sir *Francis Bacon*, knight, from time to time for his wages, diets, robes and liveries of himself, and the masters of our chancery, like fees and rewards, and in as large manner, and as large sum and sums of money, as any of the said lord chancellors, or lord keepers of the great seal had and perceived for the same room or office of lord chancellor, or lord-keeper of the great seal; that is to say, after the rate of *five hundred forty two pounds and fifteen shillings* sterling by the year, for and from the *seventh day of this instant month of March* hitherto, and from henceforth as long as the said sir *Francis Bacon* shall exercise the said room or office of lord-keeper of our great seal of *England*; and also for his attendance in our said *Star-chamber*, after the rate of *fifty pounds* sterling every term, and after the rate of *three hundred pounds by the year* from the said *seventh day of this instant month of March* hitherto, and from henceforth, as long as the said sir *Francis Bacon* shall execute the same room or office of our lord keeper of our great seal, over and above the said allowance, in like manner as

the aforesaid lord chancellors or lord-keepers of the great seal before this time at any time had and perceived.

AND also, that ye, our chief butler of *England* for the time being, content and pay, or cause to be contented and paid to the said sir *Francis Bacon* after the rate of *threescore pounds* for twelve tons of wine by the year, and so after the same rate for and from the foresaid *seventh day of this instant month of March* hitherto, and so from henceforth during the time that he shall occupy and exercise the said room or office of lord-keeper of our great seal.

AND also, that ye, the keeper of our great garderobe, for and from the same time hitherto, and from henceforth, of such our money or revenues as is, or shall be coming to your hands, do content and pay, or cause to be contented and paid to the said sir *Francis Bacon*, for his wax due to him, by reason of his said office of lord keeper of our great seal, after the rate of *sixteen pounds by the year*, for and from the same time hitherto, and so forth, in like manner and form as the foresaid lord chancellors, or lord keepers of the great seal at any time had or received for the same, in the said office or room of lord chancellor, or lord keeper of the great seal.

AND farther, we will and grant that ye, our said treasurers and barons of our said exchequer, and the auditors, and all other our officers and ministers for the time being, or that hereafter shall be, and every of you, to whom in this cause it shall appertain, from time to time do make, or cause to be made, to the said clerk or keeper of our *Hanaper* of our said chancery, and to the said chief butler of *England*, and also to the said keeper of our great garderobe for the time being, and to every of them in their several accompt, or accompts, of which they, or any of them, be in yielding, or shall yield before you, or any of you, at, or for any time or times, due allowance, plain deduction and discharge of all and several the aforesaid sums of money, as they, or any of them shall content and pay for the wages, fees, rewards, robes, wax and wine, as before particularly expressed, by us granted as aforesaid, for and from the said *seventh day of this instant month of March* hitherto, and from henceforth during the time that the said sir *Francis Bacon* shall exercise the said office of lord keeper of our great seal of *England*.

ANY matter, law, course or cause you, or any of you, moving to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding: and these our letters under our great seal, shall be unto you, and every of you, sufficient warrant and discharge in this behalf. In witness whereof, &c. Witness ourself at *Westminster* the thirtieth day of *March*.

Per breve de privato sigillo.

MAY, 1617. On the first day of the term sir *Francis Bacon*, keeper of the great seal made a solemn procession in mighty pomp to *Westminster* in the following order. 1. Clerks and inferior officers in chancery. 2. Students in law. 3. Gentlemen, servants to the keeper, serjeants at arms, and the seal-bearer, all on foot. 4. Himself on horseback in a gown of purple satin, between the treasurer and the keeper of the privy-seal. 5. Earls, barons, and privy-counsellors. 6. Noblemen of all ranks. 7. Judges to whom the next place to the privy-counsellors was assign'd. *Ann. Camd.*

UPON

UPON the fourteenth day of the same month of *March*, the king ^{Stephens,} began his journey into *Scotland*, which he had left just the same number ^{P. 42.} of years. But before his departure, he appointed commissioners for managing the treaty of marriage between the prince his son, and the *Infanta* of *Spain*; whither sir *John Digby*, his majesty's vice-chamberlain was designed to be sent upon his third ambassage: For which, and his subsequent endeavours therein, and his other services both at home and abroad, he was created lord *Digby*, and earl of *Bristol*. I shall not from the occasion of N^o. CIII, and other letters, enter into a detail of this affair, which lay so near to the king's heart, and was so long pursued against the opinion of many of his council, and the general inclinations of his people: The history thereof is well known, and it would take up too much of the paper and time that is yet left me. The reader will therein observe the inconvenience my lord keeper did foresee by his majesty's proceedings in that treaty with a council divided, and not united; the ill fruits whereof he had seen in other cases: and this yielded no better in the end.

THE lord keeper was scarce warm in his seat, when the same hand which conducted him thither, had like to have removed him from it: The occasion whereof was this. Upon the sixteenth of *June*, 1617, Mr secretary *Winwood* writes to the earl of *Buckingham*, then with the king in *Scotland*, that sir *Edward Coke* coming to him upon business, began of his own accord to complain of his unhappiness, to be so far removed from his majesty's favour, to which he desired to be restored, and without which, he at length professed, he could no longer breath; that he with much sorrow acknowledged his former respectless behaviour to his lordship, in relation to the treaty some time before proposed, of a marriage between his youngest daughter *Frances*, and sir *John Villiers* his lordships elder brother; desiring that the same might be renewed, with very advantageous proposals upon his part.

BUT her mother the lady *Hatton*, (between whom and her husband sir *Edward Coke*, there was little agreement, and no love) being either averse to the match altogether, or because it did not move from her, from whom the young lady was to expect a considerable addition to her fortune, employed her utmost endeavours to prevent it. As my lord keeper by his letters to the king and the earl, dated in the month of *July*, used all the reasons and arguments his wit could suggest, why it was not advisable to proceed in the match, and why (which was the thing intended by it) sir *Edward Coke* should not be re-admitted into favour: In the mean time her mother removed her unto sir *Edmund Withipole's* house near *Oatlands*, without the privity of sir *Edward*: Who thereupon applies to *Buckingham*, and by his means beseeches his majesty to direct a warrant to some of his privy-council to summon before them his wife and her confederates, in order to recover his daughter. But understanding in a few days where she was conveyed, he doth with his sons and servants, without any warrant or constable assisting, break open sir *Edmund's* house, and brings his daughter with him. My lady *Hatton* complaining of this violence to the privy-council, sir *Edward Coke* affirmed that he could justify his proceedings by law: But sir *Henry Yelverton*, the king's attorney maintaining the contrary, he was ordered to prosecute the father in the *Star-chamber*, and to take upon him the present

sent care of the child: By whose charitable endeavours, the act of council dated the eighteenth of *July*, 1617, which recites all this matter at large, declares that sir *Edward* and his lady were so far reconciled, that their daughter was delivered to them again, and the information suspended till his majesty's pleasure were known.

BUT the lady *Compton* and her son sir *John Villiers* pressing the match, and the king and the earl of *Buckingham* approving thereof; the opposition the lord keeper, and, as I conceive also, some others of the privy-council had given to it, drew down no small displeasure upon them. For upon the king's return from *Scotland*, *Buckingham* writes to his lordship, that his majesty intended at his first sitting in council, to reprimand so many of his counsellors as were active in this business, for their ill behaviour in it; and that he would name some of the particular errors, though without accusing any particular persons. And then adds, that notwithstanding the reason he himself had to be offended, yet seeing his majesty so much displeased, from being a party concerned, he became an advocate, &c. The business alluded to, I presume, was this of the marriage, and how sensible my lord-keeper was of his lordship's kindness and reconciliation, and service therein, can never be so lively represented by any other hand as his own, in those few lines his lordship writ in answer thereunto upon the twenty second of *September*, 1617, N°. CXII.

De FRANCISCI, baronis *Verulam*, creatione.

Rymer, Vol.
XVII. p. 17.
Anno 1617.

REX, &c. archiepiscopis, ducibus, marchionibus, comitibus, vicecomitibus, episcopis, baronibus, baronettis, militibus, praepositis, liberis hominibus, ac omnibus officiariis, ministris & subditis nostris quibuscumque, ad quos praesentes literae pervenerint, salutem.

ARBITRAMUR regalis dignitatis fastigium & ornari & attolli, dum viri digni & virtutibus clari, & de corona nostra & de republica bene meriti, honoris & dignitatis titulis & praeeminentiis insigniuntur & decorantur: Hoc enim cum fit, & hujusmodi honorati confirmantur in studio bene merendi, & alii complures incenduntur & excitantur ad imitationem virtutis, & rex ipse fruitur judicio suo, cui populus applaudit & suffragatur.

Nos igitur, matura deliberatione considerantes & perpendentes, in persona praedilecti & fidelis consilarii nostri *Francisci Bacon*, militis, cancellarii nostri *Angliae*, familiam a clara stirpe oriundam, in qua etiam elucescit illud, quod raro aut fortasse nunquam adhuc accidit, ut patri optimo & prudentissimo viro in officio custodis magni sigilli *Angliae* successerit, deinde gradus ipsos per quos in perpetua serie servitii nostri ad sublimem dignitatem cancellarii nostri per nos veluti manuductus & eVectus fuerit, denique gratissima & fidelissima servitia, quae idem *Franciscus Bacon* tam in administratione justitiae quam in arduis negotiis regni, concilii & status nostri summa cum fide, cura & prudentia praestitit & impendit, indiesque impendere non desistit; necnon circumspectionem, prudentiam, strenuitatem, dexteritatem, integritatem, industriam, constantiam & fidelitatem ipsius *Francisci Bacon*, militis, erga nos & coronam nostram:

De gratia nostra speciali, ac ex certa scientia & mero motu nostris, praefatum *Franciscum Bacon*, militem, ad statum, gradum, dignitatem & honorem baronis de *Verulamio*, in comitatu nostro *Hertfordiae*, ereximus, praefecimus

praefecimus & creavimus, ipsumque *Franciscum*, baronem de *Verulamio* praedicto, tenore praesentium, praefecimus, constituimus & creavimus, eidemque *Francisco* nomen, stylum, titulum & honorem baronis de *Verulamio* imposuimus, dedimus & praebuimus, ac, per praesentes, damus, imponimus & praebemus.

HABENDUM & tenendum eadem statum, gradum, dignitatem, stylum, nomen, titulum & honorem praefato *Francisco* & haeredibus suis masculis de corpore suo exeuntibus imperpetuum: volentes & per praesentes concedentes, pro nobis haeredibus & successoribus nostris, quod praedictus *Franciscus* & haeredes sui masculi praedicti nomen, statum, gradum, stylum, dignitatem, titulum & honorem praedictos successive gerant & habeant, & eorum quilibet gerat & habeat, ac per nomen baronum de *Verulamio* successive vocentur & nuncupentur, & eorum quilibet vocetur & nuncupetur.

QUODQUE idem *Franciscus* & haeredes sui masculi praedicti successive barones de *Verulam*, in omnibus teneantur, & ut barones tractentur & reputentur, & quilibet eorum teneatur, tractetur, & reputetur.

HABEANTQUE teneant & possideant dictus *Franciscus*, & haeredes sui masculi praedicti, & eorum quilibet habeat, teneat & possideat, sedem locum & vocem in parlamento & publicis comitiis, atque conciliis nostris haeredum & successorum nostrorum, infra regnum nostrum *Angliae*, inter alios barones, ut barones parlamenti & publicorum comitiorum & conciliorum. Necnon dictus *Franciscus* & haeredes sui masculi praedicti gaudeant & utantur, & eorum quilibet gaudeat & utatur, per nomen baronum de *Verulamio*, omnibus & singulis talibus juribus, privilegiis, praeceminentiis & immunitatibus statui baronis in omnibus rite & de jure pertinentibus, quibus caeteri barones dicti regni nostri *Angliae*, ante haec tempora melius honorificentius & quietius usi sunt & gavisi, seu in praesenti gaudent & utuntur.

VOLUMUS etiam, &c. Eo quod, &c. In cujus rei, &c. Hiis testibus:

PRAECHARISSIMO & praedilectissimo filio nostro *Carolo* principe *Walliae*, ac etiam charissimis consanguineis & fidelibus consiliariis nostris, *Ludovico* duce *Lenox*, seneschallo hospitii nostri, *Georgia* marchione *Bucks*, magistro equi nostri, *Jacobo* marchione *Hamilton*, *Willielmo* comite *Pembrokiae* camerario hospitii nostri; *Thoma* comite *Arundelliae* & *Surriae*: Ac charissimo consanguineo nostro *Philippo* comite *Montgomery*: Ac etiam charissimo consanguineo & fideli consiliario nostro *Thoma* vicecomite *Fenton*: Necnon, reverendis in Christo patribus *Ricardo* episcopo *Dunelm*, *Lodovico* episcopo *Bangor*. Ac praedilectis & fidelibus nostris *Henrico* domino *Clifford*, *Edmundo* domino *Sheffield*, praesidente concilii nostri in partibus borealibus: Ac etiam praedilectis & fidelibus consiliariis nostris *Georgio* domino *Carew*, *Jacobo* domino *Hay* magistro magnae garderobae nostrae: Necnon praedilecto & fideli nostro *Waltero* domino de *Boclugh*: Ac dilecto & fideli consiliario nostro *Roberto* *Nanton*, milite, uno primariorum secretariorum nostrorum: Dilectisque & fidelibus nostris *Henrico* *Riche*, milite, capitaneo guardae nostrae, *Johanne* *Villiers*, milite, uno generosorum cubiculi praecharissimi filii nostri *Caroli* principis praedicti: Et multis aliis.

TESTE rege apud *Wansled* undecimo die *Julii*.

Per ipsum regem.

THE following *Ordinatio* ought not to be omitted, as it appears at least under the direction of the lord-keeper *Bacon*; and I conceive the reason why he is therein styled sir *Francis Bacon* only, was because the necessary instruments for compleating the title of lord *Verulam* had not passed the seals on the twenty fourth of *October* following his patent of creation.

Ordinatio qua constituuntur les reporters de lege, 1617.

Rymer.
Vol. XVII.
P. 27.

JAMES, by the grace of God king of *England, Scotland, France* and *Ireland*, defender of the faith, &c. To our right trusty and right well-beloved counsellor sir *Francis Bacon*, knight, our keeper of our great seal of *England*, and to our trusty and right well-beloved counsellor sir *Julius Cesar*, knight, master of our rolls, greeting.

WHEREAS we have made our ordinance for the constituting of reporters of the law, and passed the same under our great seal of *England* in form following.

It hath well appeared how careful we have been for the preserving and maintaining of this our realm of *England* by this, that we neither have introduced or admitted any innovations; neither have we for our part suffered any neglect or delay in the administration of them, but by often consultations and conferences with our judges of the land, far more frequent than in any former time, and by countenancing them in bearing up their authority in the eyes of our people, we have given life and vigour to our said laws, and the execution of them; nevertheless, our princely care ceaseth not here, but we are farther desirous that the effects and fruits thereof may be derived unto posterity in such sort, as that in our time there may be built by the true knowledge of the laws (as it were) a good and durable wall about the rights of our crown and people: wherefore, finding that the common law of *England* is principally declared by the grave resolutions and arrests of the reverend and learned judges upon the cases that come before them from time to time, and that the doubts and questions likewise which arise upon the exposition of statute-law, are by the same means cleared and ruled; we do, in our royal judgment, perceive and conclude, that nothing can more conduce to the good of our laws, than the keeping of that fountain clear without trouble or mixture: In regard whereof we have thought good to revive and renew the ancient custom of appointing some grave and learned lawyers to attend our courts at *Westminster*, for the reporting of the judgments and resolutions of law, which there shall pass from time to time, whose duty we intend to be to report (though compendiously, yet truly and narratively) that which passeth according to the ancient manner; in such sort as that the principal case adjudged may be discerned from any by-cases, and the point adjudged upon debates may be likewise distinguished from that which is but an admittance; and which of the by-cases are put by the judges as their opinions, and which are put only by the serjeants or pleaders, their part; so that authorities of unequal natures be not confounded, but every thing may appear in the true weight: wherefore we do ordain and establish, for us, our heirs and successors, that for all times hereafter, there shall be two persons, by us, our heirs and successors to be named and appointed, which shall be reporters of the law, and shall divide their labours betwixt themselves, as they think good, and shall always attend the judges of such courts where the judgments, or resolutions

solutions shall pass with their reports, to the end they may be considered of, and reviewed by the said judges before they be published, and likewise that they be presented to our chancellor, or keeper for the time being, that we may be acquainted therewith, and such of our council as we shall think convenient. And we do ordain, constitute, and grant, for us, our heirs and successors, that either of the said persons shall have and receive the yearly fee of *one hundred pounds*; not doubting also, but the judges of all our courts will countenance and respect the said reporters upon all occasions, as men employed in a service tending so greatly to the honour and preservation of the laws of our realm, and founded by our royal constitution. These are therefore to will and require you to cause the same to be published and inrolled within our court of chancery, and withal to take order, that as often as there shall be any occasion of arguments in our said courts, to appoint our said reporters a convenient place for the taking and writing of the same.

GIVEN under our privy-seal at our palace of *Westminster*, the four and twentieth day of *October*, in the fifteenth year of our reign of *England, France and Ireland*, and of *Scotland* the one and fiftieth.

‘ UPON the twenty ninth of *September* sir *Ralph Winwood*, the king’s *Stephens*, faithful and able servant, saw the marriage brought to a conclusion, (the P. 44 treaty whereof had created some animosities between the keeper and himself;) and soon after he concluded his own life. Sir *Edward Coke* was thereupon admitted into the privy-council, though that favour, which did not last long, was not purchased at an easy rate. For besides 10000 *l.* paid in money at two payments, sir *Edward* and his son sir *Robert*, did upon the second of *November*, pursuant to articles and directions from the lords of the council, assure to sir *John Villiers* a rent-charge of 2000 marks *per annum*, during sir *Edward*’s life, and of 900 *l.* a year, during the lady *Hatton*’s, if she survived her husband. And after both their deaths, the manor of *Stoke, &c.* in *Buckinghamshire* of the value of 900 *l. per annum*, (being the moiety of the lands intended to his two daughters by the lady *Hatton*) to sir *John Villiers* and his lady, and to the heirs of her body. And that the same were settled by good conveyances carefully drawn, as upon the twenty seventh of *January*, 1617, was certified to his majesty under the hands of sir *Ranulph Crew*, sir *Robert Hicham*, and sir *Henry Telverton*, the king’s serjeants and attorney. What share of the mother’s bounty fell upon them I cannot be so particular, but I conjecture it was considerable. But as the differences between her and sir *Edward Coke* grew as high as ever in a little time, and her complaints to the king and council more frequent and earnest, so a little more time discovered the like between sir *John Villiers*, created baron of *Stoke* and viscount *Purbeck*, and his new lady; whose familiar conversation with sir *Robert Howard* subjected her to private reflection, and publick censure. The settlement made upon this marriage, with some subsequent acts of sir *Edward Coke*, occasioned the arguments and resolutions of a remarkable case between *Wigge* and *Villiers*, adjudged by the chief justice *Rolle* in 1651, and seven years after by his successor sir *John Glynn*, which is reported by the former, in the second part of his abridgement of the common-law in the title of uses.

THIS

‘ THIS storm which was likely to have fallen so heavy upon my lord keeper, being thus diverted, he applies himself as one of the lords of the council to see the king’s orders touching the retrenchment of his tables, and other charges of the household put in execution, as appears in his letters towards the later end of the year 1617. But the difficulties the council met therein, through the interest of the officers, confirms the observations made by cardinal Richelieu in his *politick Testament*; where in the seventh chapter of the first book, he discourses at large concerning the reformation of the household of Louis XIII. as a thing much more fit to be done, than easy to be attempted with success’.

DECEMBER 30. 1617. My lord Clifton is committed to the Tower, for saying that he was sorry that he had not stabb’d my lord keeper, when he pronounced sentence against him. *Annal. Camd.*

BROWN WILLIS, Esq; that sagacious and indefatigable antiquary, having very friendly communicated to me the following hearing in the *Star-chamber*, I used all diligence in transcribing the same, before I knew that it was printed, 1725. However, I have the pleasure to assure the reader, that this is a much more perfect copy than that already communicated to the publick: And as this case of *WRAYNHAM*, contains so just a vindication, and so great a commendation of our author, I could not have omitted it in this place, had it been reprinted ever so often.

Star-chamber, Pasch. 16. Jac. 1618.

Sir HENRY YELVERTON, attorney general.

May it please your lordships,

IT is the honour of this court, that it represents the highest earthly majesty, and his presence; and it is his majesty’s honour, that as himself is cloathed with justice, so you, as the greatest and highest, next his majesty, should put on the same garment.

CLEMENCY and justice are the two lights of every kingdom; without which our persons and estates should be exposed to violence, and without which great monarchies should be but great thefts: and as justice is not to be recompensed in price, so is not the scandal thereof in punishment: Especially when it toucheth so great a person, as in the sacred seat of justice, is next to the king, the chief judge in this court, the sole judge in chancery, who is much defamed by the gentleman at the bar, in the most precious points of all his virtues; his justice: be it spoken, without offence, basely and blamelessly is my lord chancellor traduced, as if he deserved that all the thunderbolts of heaven should fall upon him.

At my lord’s first coming into this place, he found a cause in chancery, between this gentleman at the bar, and one Mr *Fisher*, not controverted in the title, but concerning the value of a lease which *Fisher* held of *Wraynham*: in which the lord chancellor perused the proceedings of the case, called the parties to give a summary end to so tedious a cause; and because the success answered not the desire of this gentleman, therefore he kicks against authority: who before was not more
grieved

grieved at the expence, than now impatient at the sentence; which was not want of justice in my lord, but of equity in the cause.

I CONFESS, I was of counsel with Mr *Wraynham*, and prest his cause as far as equity would suffer; but I know, that judges look with other eyes than counsellors do; they go not by tail, but by weight; and therefore their judgment must answer the counsel, and quiet the mind of the party. And though in gaming, losers may speak, yet in judgment they must be silent; because it is presumed that nothing is taken from them, but what is none of theirs. But this gentleman being of an unquiet spirit, after a secret murmuring, breaks out into a complaint to his majesty: and not staying his return out of *Scotland*, but fancying unto himself, as if he saw some cloud arise over my Lord, wearying and tiring his majesty with infinite supplications in this case. And now my lords, as if all his former cause had been lost, he presents it no more in parts or loose papers, but compiling his undigested thoughts into a libel, though the volume were but in quarto, fastens it on the king on *good-friday* last.

AND his most princely majesty, finding it stuff with most bitter reviling speeches against so great and worthy a judge, hath of himself commanded me this day to set forth and manifest his fault unto your lordships; that so he might receive deserved punishment.

IN this velvet pamphlet (for this book is bound in velvet) is set forth his case, the work of this day; wherein Mr *Wraynham* saith, he had two decrees in the first lord chancellor's time; both under the great seal; and yet both are altered since the last lord chancellor's death, and cancelled by this lord chancellor in a preposterous manner: and first without cause: secondly, without matter: thirdly without any legal proceedings: fourthly, without president: fifthly, upon the parties bare suggestions; and sixthly, without calling Mr *Wraynham* to answer. And of this my lords, spitefully he imagineth a threefold end: first, to reward *Fisher's* fraud and perjuries: secondly, to palliate his unjust proceedings, and to rack things out of joynt; and thirdly, to confound *Wraynham's* estate, and that my lord was therein led by the rule of his own fancy: Yet he stayeth not here, but as if he would set spurs against my lord, he aggravates my lord's injustice to be worse than murder; saying, that in his sentence he hath devoured him and his whole family: and secondly, as if one sin should fall upon another, he doubles it upon my lord, and in a manner plainly gives my lord the lye: and hearing that my lord had satisfied his majesty: in this case he saith, in his book, that he that did it unjustly, must to maintain it, speak untruly, adding falshood to my lord's injustice: Saying in his book, it is given out my lord hath begged *Wraynham's* pardon; which though it be the shew of a gentle heart, yet it argues a guilty conscience, and is but my lord's cunning to avoid the hearing of the cause. And as if my lord should know his own disease to be foul, and were unwilling to have it searched and discovered, he chargeth my lord with shifts, and tells him that he hath palliated oppression with greatness, wit and eloquence, and that the height of authority makes men presume: and to make this yet more sharp, he urgeth that my lord to maintain this useth secret means, whereby the unfoundness of his actions may not be seen, and so to avoid censure: and as if my lord should have skill in magick, he saith, that my lord hath raised a report from hell, of the

late master of the *Rolls*, which was confuted before his face, and damned before his death : not content to scandalize the living ; but so far my lords, doth his malice overspread his wisdom, that he doth not cease with his nails to scrape the dead out of their graves again, when it is well known to your lordships, that the master of the *Rolls* was a man of great understanding, great pains, great experience, great dexterity, and of great integrity ; yet because this cause fell by casualty into his hands by reference from the last lord chancellor, and he followed not this man's humour in his report, therefore he brands him with these aspersions ; and adds this to the rest, that he grounded his report upon witnesses, that swore impossibilities, gross absurdities, and apparent untruths. How can you but think, my lords, but that this gentleman's head is full of poison, seeing it fell out so fast then into his pen, trampling upon the dead ? And this is an addition unto his punishment, the injury of him that is dead, because the state yet lives wherein his justice is scandalized.

AND now, my lords, that you may the more detest his slanders, whereby he goeth about to slander my lord chancellor, his justice ; give me leave to open the plain and even way, wherein this great judge walks in this particular case.

THE questions in chancery at first were two, between *Wraynham* and *Fisher*, upon cross suits, either against the other. *Wraynham* complains of trust broken, whereby he was defrauded ; *Fisher* upon a debt of a private reckoning detained by *Wraynham*. Upon proof of both these, it was by assent ordered, that *Fisher* should assign the lease made unto him upon trust, and *Wraynham* should pay the money, so well proved to be due to *Fisher*. So by assent was the decree had, which is the first decree. But Mr *Wraynham* wisely suspecting, that Mr *Fisher* had incumbered his lease, and if it should be assigned to him according to the decree, it would be merely illusory ; he exhibits a new bill to discover what charge, and in what sort, *Fisher* had charged the land with incumbrances. And Mr *Wraynham* finding the incumbrances greater upon the reference of the lord chancellor to the master of the *Rolls* ; a bargain was mediated between them, that *Fisher* should have the lease in question, and *Wraynham* should have after the rate of twelve years purchase : and to this both assented. So that your lordships see that the first decree was not cancelled by my lord chancellor, but discharged by himself. For by the decree he might have had the lease, but he contented himself with twelve years purchase. After this, the question grew upon the valors, which being referred to the last master of the *Rolls*, how the value was at first before the improvement, when it was in lease to one *Harply* : And there, upon proof and oath of divers witnesses, the master of the *Rolls* returned and certified the constant produce of the lease to be worth 200 *l.* by the year : Whereupon *Wraynham* was to have it at twelve years purchase, amounting to 2400 *l.* Mr *Wraynham* seeing the land much improved, by a defence made against the sea, and other means whereby the nature of the land was altered, and the profit much raised, moves the lord chancellor not to recede from the bargain, but said that the value returned, was not the true value, for the land was worth 400 *l.* by the year : and yet excepts by retainer in his hands two thousand marks, which he owed to *Fisher*, one thousand sixty six pounds odd money : whereby now Mr *Wraynham* had received his 2400 *l.* in his purse ; and when he saw himself thus fleeced

fleeced, having received 2400 *l.* for that which cost but 200 *l.* now he stirs up new suits, and moves the lord chancellor by a commission to refer the value to two knights that had been farmers to the land, that they might certify the true value; the one sir *L'Estrange Mordant*, who certifies the value 388 *l.* yearly, and the other sir *Henry Spelman*, who certified the value to be 364 *l.* yearly, and my lord chancellor strikes between them, and makes it 340 *l.* So here is difference of values; the first of 200 *l.* upon oath, yearly, and this at 340 *l.* yearly, without oath. The first value is at the time of *Harply's* lease, the second is at the time of the commission granted and after improvement: of which your lordships well know in your wisdoms the difference between land barren, and improved in value: The last lord chancellor, according to the amounting value 340 *l.* a year, annexed the increase to *Wraynham's* bargain, and that he should have it as if the lands were worth 340 *l. per annum*, so that now the 2400 *l.* in his purse, had been with 1680 *l.* annexed, above 4000 *l.* Mr *Fisher* finding this annexed to the bargain, and that he should be prest to pay the surplussage, and that he had choice either to pay the money, or to part with the lease; *Fisher* moved the court, that he may give up the lease, and desires his first two thousand marks with damages, which *Wraynham* assented to; so that he might have defalcation of that which *Fisher* had received of the profits of the land: upon this, upon consent of parties it was again decreed; and this is the second decree which *Wraynham* so much triumphs upon, not being an absolute and positive decree, but qualified with this: first, that *Wraynham* should pay the 2400 *l.* with damages to *Fisher*; and secondly, that *Wraynham* should have defalcation of such profits as Mr *Fisher* had received out of the lands.

Mr *Wraynham* strives with this second decree, being willing to have the value of the land, not according as *Fisher* had received, but what he might have recovered.

Now my lord chancellor, finding the case thus standing, thought it no injustice against *Wraynham's* own offer, not that *Fisher* should lose his damages, having forborn 2400 *l.* ten years; nor that *Wraynham* should be allowed more defalcation than *Fisher* could receive, because he was tied to a dry rent; and finding that *Wraynham* was neither willing nor able to return the 2400 *l.* with damages unto *Fisher*, my lord chancellor thought fit to establish the bargain according to the first certificate of the master of the *Rolls* upon oath, because the last certificate without oath, was not so equal in the balance of justice, as that with oath certified by the master of the *Rolls* upon the examinations of divers witnesses.

Now, my good lords, if this cause thus stands, what injustice is there committed, what unsoundness is there in this action, or what cause is there for my lord chancellor to hide himself, that this gentleman should in this case declaim against him this day? If it were, my lords, to make my lord chancellor for fear to take off his hand, he will let the world know he is more constant and courageous in the points of justice, than, that which he did so justly, so slightly to revoke: and if it were to this end to make my lord chancellor to dispute with Mr *Wraynham*, I am to let you know from his majesty, he will not let him forego nor forget his place so much, as to enter into debate with Mr *Wraynham*: knowing that it were not fit for him to stand to wrestle or wrangle with Mr *Wraynham*, but rather to despise so mean an adversary.

My

MY lords, you know that wise and just men may walk the same way, though not the same passage. There are divers courses and divers ways to the same end, justice: for justice's sake they are both to be honoured, neither to be blamed; for, my lords, if judges should be traduced as unjust, because they differ in opinion, they should have thankless offices.

JUSTICE is the harmony of heaven, but *lingua detractionis est lancea triplex*. Though this gentleman hath sweat hard to scoff and dare so high a judge, yet the razor of his tongue cannot charge him, that any thing came between God and his own conscience, but the merits of the cause; though it be certainly true, whilst a man carries this flesh about him his judgments and faculties will be imperfect.

YET, my lords, I know that my lord is the branch of such a tree, who, though he blossomed last, yet took more sap from the root than any of the rest: the son living in the memory of so worthy a father; the father living in the memory of so virtuous a son; who may say, as *Agessilaus* once said to his father, 'I obey you in judging nothing contrary to law.'

I AM glad this gentleman is so naked of excuse, yet heartily sorry his defamation is so foul as to draw such a smart of punishment as this will be upon him; and here, if necessity (the true defender of man's wickedness) should step in: I answer, though necessity break through all laws, yet flying into the face of justice it must be broken by justice; else no subject can be safe, nor no court keep itself from infamy.

IT is well, my lords, that this fault falls out but seldom; for being exorbitant when it happens, it cannot but be foul. It is a pernicious example; for by this when slanders are presented instead of complaints, that is but to set divisions between the king and his great magistrates; to discourage judges and vilify justice in the sight and mouths of all the people: therefore I beseech your lordships to pardon me if I be too long, and suffer me to shew your lordships what this court in like cases hath done.

IN the second year of his majesty's reign, when sir *Edward Coke*, according to his place, informed against *Forth* in this court *ore tenus*, for petitioning his majesty against the last lord chancellor for granting an injunction for staying of a suit at the common law (which your lordships know how necessary it is;) he being convicted upon his own confession, received a sharp censure. I will conclude with this one, and I shall desire your lordships in this place to hear it read; and then do humbly beseech your lordships to hear the gentleman at the bar, either for his defence or excuse.

THEN *Wraynham's* examinations were read in his book and epistle.

THEN he was charged with these words following in the end of his epistle to his majesty.

'HE that judgeth unjustly, must to maintain it, speak untruly; and the height of authority maketh men to presume.

'ALSO in shewing of his majesty reasons why the master of the *Rolls* was faulty; he said, first, the master of the *Rolls* had omitted many of his material proofs: Secondly, he shifted off other some: thirdly, that he sometimes wrested the equity of his cause: fourthly, that he did falsely cite *Fisher's* proofs: fifthly, that he grounded the report upon the deposition of witnesses that swore absurdities, untruths, and mere impossibilities: and lastly, as if the report had been condemned and damned before to the pit of hell, he said it was raised as *ab inferno*.

IN his epistle to his majesty he is charged with these words. ' I understand my lord chancellor hath begged my pardon: it is outwardly the shew of a great heart, but inwardly it argueth a guilty conscience: otherwise, if, first, I had been found guilty, and his lordship should then have interceded with his majesty for me, it had been an argument of an indulgent nature: but to beg pardon where there is no need, was manifestly done to avoid an hearing, and not in pity towards me; for he that despoils me of my goods, I will not trust him with my person; and therefore far be it from me to hope, or trust in his goodness: I disclaim his favour, and infinitely implore the judgment of his majesty.

AND in the conclusion of his epistle were these words: ' I desire to suffer at your gates, if I shall dare to slander so great and eminent a judge unto so great and wise a king.

' IF he should not desire to reward the *Fishers* for their fraud and perjuries, I know not why he should have racked all out of joint.

' MY lord, with this his last cunning and rhetorick hath palliated his unjust proceedings against me; for my lord's gesture and pronounciation in his speech, is wanting in my writing, out of which a cloudy mist may rise to hide the verity of your princely judgment.

' I COULD never see by what reasons or words his lordship hath coloured his dealings to excuse himself unto your majesty, understanding only a piece, and not the whole from your majesty: this must move me most humbly to beseech your majesty to save my wife and children; and out of your princely justice to appoint a day of hearing, whereby there shall appear unto your majesty, as well the sincerity of my affirmations, as the unsoundness of his lordship's actions.

' FOR I never sought corners, but openly, and sometimes in my lord's presence, have notified and complained of my wrongs; and desire a publick hearing before your majesty, which the greatest subject dares not do without truth and justice.

AND in another place *Wraynham* saith, ' my lord chancellor proves nothing by record, nor delivers any thing by writing to answer the things objected against him; but would hide himself from the eyes of your majesty's justice.

' HIS majesty saith, though he receive petitions from his subjects against his highest justices, yet he will have his judges know that they are subject to his account only, and to none else upon earth.

HIS majesty received this petition on *Good-friday* last, in which this gentleman hath so far exceeded the measure of an humble complaint that I must appeal to your lordships against him.

THEN was *Forth's* precedent read, bearing date *Mercurii, decimo quarto Novembris, termino Michaelis, 2^o Jacobi regis.*

AND likewise *Forth's* two last petitions against my lord chancellor, touching which reference is had; and the lords asked Mr *Wraynham* what he could say for himself.

Mr W R A Y N H A M.

RIGHT honourable and my very good lords: from a man so perplexed with so many miseries, what can be expected; and what marvel if I should fault, or might let fall any speech that might seem uncomely?

MY lords, I know not how to behave myself: I will not willingly offend any, but especially the king's most excellent majesty: yet nature commands me

to defend myself; for it cannot be thought he can be faithful to another that is not so to himself; and therefore I humbly desire that what I offer in extenuation or defence, that neither the meanest that hear it, nor your lordships which are to judge of it, would take it offensively.

My book consisteth of three parts; first, An epistle to his majesty: Secondly, The body of the book relateth the truth of all the proceedings: And thirdly, a conclusive speech in the nature of an epilogue.

TOUCHING the body of the book, and the truth of the cause, I conceive it not now called in question; for I think your lordships will not enter into the particulars; but because it hath pleased Mr attorney to speak something of it, I will not be silent.

My accusation (my lords) is set forth in two things: first, that the complaint is of the right honourable the lord chancellor: secondly, that it is in bitter and unreverent terms.

FOR the first, I must fly for succour and protection unto our dread sovereign lord the king; for it pleased his majesty, sitting here in the sacred seat of justice, to declare, that if any were wronged in point of justice, to him they might come, and have redress: and for proof thereof I humbly desire your lordships to hear me read a sentence or two in his majesty's book (for saith he) 'if any were wronged, their complaint should have come unto me; none of you but will confess you have a king of a reasonable understanding, &c. And in another place: Why then should you spare to complain unto me, being the highway? therefore, as you come gaping to the law for justice &c. But if you find bribery or corruption, then come boldly; but beware of the justice of your cause.

FIRST, Therefore in his majesty's opinion a man may be wronged in a court of justice.

SECONDLY, In that case his majesty is not only willing to receive a complaint, but to reform what is amiss: So that his majesty publishing this much to all his subjects, I hope your lordships will not conceive, that barely to complain is a fault; especially, seeing that his majesty saith, Why do you spare to complain?

THE second part of my accusation is, because I have used unreverent and bitter terms.

FIRST, I divided the collections objected against me into two parts.

FIRST, Into two sentences, which Mr attorney hath endeavoured to fasten on the lord chancellor by inference.

SECONDLY, Into words applied to his lordship.

My lords, touching the first, I hope, general speeches shall have no such construction.

IN psalm CXVI. the prophet saith of himself, *I have said in my fury all men are lyars*, and in psalm XIV. it is said of all men, *they have all gone out of the way, and are abominable, there is none that doeth good, no not one*; and in the epistle to the *Romans* it is said, *let God be just, and all men lyars*; and again it is said in scripture, that *the poison of asps is under their lips, that their throats are open sepulchres*; and yet it was never heard that any of the prophets and apostles, godly men, found fault with *David*, saying, you have said my throat is an open sepulchre; that I am a liar and abominable, because they were but general speeches; and therefore, my lords, I humbly pray, that any general speeches may not be applied to my lord chancellor, for I had no such meaning.

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FOR particular words, they are, as I take it, these : unfoundness of his lordships actions, unjust proceedings, oppression and injustice.

NOW, my lords, I must again fly to the king for succour in these words ; for his majesty points forth the things for which a subject may complain.

FOR his majesty saith in his book, if a man be wronged in the course of justice, what is it but injustice ?

SECONDLY, His majesty saith, that if one find bribery, corruption, injustice, &c. then we should come boldly.

FIRST, For the word injustice : he that proves the justice of his cause, proves the judgment given against it injustice : for, my lords, I conceive, under your lordships favour, that this very word containeth all the rest, and that all other words that I have used are but synonymies unto this ; and I used them all ; yea all, I protest, to avoid tautology, and to avoid always the using of the same word, injustice.

AND that also which urged me to use it was necessity ; and that a two-fold necessity : first, for that unless I particularly accused his lordship of injustice, I was out of hope ever to obtain an hearing of his majesty.

SECONDLY, My miseries inforced me unto it, and therefore it may please your lordships to understand, that in my first petition to his majesty there was no such word as injustice, or that tended near unto it ; but only it did set forth what the then master of the *Rolls*, this lord, and the last lord chancellor had done, and desired his majesty to judge whether the last lord chancellor, or the now lord keeper, had most justly distributed justice ; it pleased his majesty to give answer, that he would take some other course when he came near *London*.

WHEN his majesty came to *Theobalds*, I framed two other petitions, and delivered the one to his majesty, and the other to secretary *Winwood* ; and in neither of these petitions was there mention of injustice, or a word favouring of it : and when I besought his majesty at that time to hear the cause, or to refer the examination ; he gave me this answer, if myself and the lords should trouble themselves about the hearing of sentences, no other business would be done by us, for every man would be ready to complain.

AND thus I had fallen off, but that his majesty said farther unto me : will you charge my lord chancellor with injustice or bribery ? I blanchied the matter again, and desired his majesty he would be pleased to grant me an hearing of the cause.

AFTER which, when I had meditated again of his majesty's question, I found great coherence between this question and the words in his majesty's book, and thereupon was bold to use the word injustice ; unto which his majesty was pleased to answer, these accusations are too too common ; but I will have relation of the cause from my lord himself.

AFTER all this, understanding that the lord chancellor had endeavoured to answer this matter unto his majesty, and to this end had produced the master of the *Rolls*, *Phillips's* report, which, I confess, taken by itself, may not only satisfy my lord chancellor, but the king himself, or any man else living ; and therefore fearing that my lord endeavoured to satisfy the king with that report, I saw there was no other course but to give an answer unto it, which I could not do without the book ; in making where-
of

COLLECTIONS RELATING TO

of something was required both before and afterwards, which drew me to make the epistle and epilogue.

IN the making whereof I mustered together all my miseries; I saw my land taken away, which had been before established unto me, and after six and forty orders, and twelve reports made in the cause: nay, after motions, hearings and rehearings, fourscore in number; I beheld all overthrown in a moment, and all overthrown without a new bill preferred. I discerned the representation of a prison gaping for me, in which I must from thenceforth spend all the days of my life without release; for in this suit I have spent almost 3000*l.* and many of my friends were engaged for me, some damnified, others undone, and with this did accompany many eminent miseries likely to ensue on me, my wife, and four children; the eldest of which being but five years old: so that we that did every day formerly give bread to others, must now beg bread of others, or else starve, which is the miserablest of all deaths; and there being no means to move his majesty to hear the cause, but to accuse his lordship of injustice: this, and all these moved me to be sharp and bitter, and to use words, though dangerous in themselves, yet, I hope, pardonable in such extremities.

AND now, I hope, if this will not acquit me, yet your honours will be pleased to move the king for his gracious pardon; for misery made patient *Job* break out and swell against God himself: and therefore, my lords, how much more may it make me (so compleatly miserable) to swell and transgress against man?

AND if, my good lords, you should hear all the passages of the cause, I should the better conceive your lordships will not be troubled with it; and Mr attorney hath already set it forth in that fashion, as it makes much against me; but if your lordships will vouchsafe me that favour, I hope I shall alter, or, at least, extenuate your lordships opinions in this cause.

IN the year 1606, I preferred a bill in chancery against *Edward Fisher* for defrauding me of a lease of sixty years. *Fisher* forswears the trust, and preferred another bill against me for debts: both bills came to be heard before *Kingloss*. *Fisher* offered to purchase the lease; and the debts were referred to two of the masters. These took great pains concerning the debts; after which the lord chancellor referred the whole business to those two masters of the chancery: and then having examined both trust and debts, they report the trust proved; and for the debts, they think fit that I should give *Fisher* two thousand marks, whereof five hundred marks were for damages. *Fisher* not satisfied, moved my lord chancellor to hear the cause himself, and this was in 1608. And my lord, upon an hearing, decreed, with the consent of *Fisher* and his counsel, that he should assure the land, and I pay two thousand marks within six months. After this, my lord having made this decree by consent, I served *Fisher* with it; but his contempt was such, that after three commissions of rebellion, I was enforced to take a serjeant at arms to attach him, and had a commission awarded to the sheriff of *Norfolk* to put me in possession.

FISHER perceiving that the hiding of his head could not keep me from having possession of the land, takes another course by fraudulent conveyances between him and his brother and others; and in a motion made in the name of sir *Thomas Challoner* (for they lodge their fast interest in him) they

they informed, that this conveyance was before my bill exhibited, and therefore desire I might be put out of possession; and so it was ordered that the possession should remain then as it was.

THEN I to discover those frauds, preferred a new bill against *Fisher* the deceiver, and three others: they in their answer, set forth matter sufficient to shew the fraud; for sir *Thomas* saith, that this conveyance from sir *Edward* his brother, was made and sealed when he never thought of it, that 1700 *l.* was to be paid; but yet he never saw the land; he never bargained nor conditioned for it, but hearing the trouble of it, assured it to *Richard* the younger son of *Fisher*, the deceiver: and so because he also was unable to go on in the purchase, he lodged it in the hands of sir *Thomas Chaloner*.

HUBBARD attorney, informs my lord chancellor of these frauds; my lord gave them a day to shew cause why I should not have the land, till they could make better proofs than those witnesses, which were both *Fisher's* men, were examined by my lord chancellor, in open court; and one of them swears that the conveyance (which must defeat the decree) was sealed in the hall, the other swears it was done in the parlour, one that it was read, the other, that it was not read, the one, that it was signed, the other that it was not signed; one swears that sir *Edward Fisher* was present, the other not present, and both that it was done at such a time, when the deed bears date twelve months after.

THEN what remained after all this, but that I should have a confirmation of the old decree, or else a new: but I find it true, *nemo laeditur nisi a seipso*: for then the lord chancellor made a motion, that *Fisher* should buy the land; against which I not gain-saying, his lordship referred the mediation of the bargain to the master of the *Rolls*; where it appeared that sir *Edward Fisher* had made a lease of half the land for 200 *l.* the year: and therefore it was agreed, that *Fisher* should give four and twenty hundred pounds, out of the which he was to deduct two thousand marks, for his debts due by the first decree; and the residue about one thousand and threescore and six pounds, I received, because it did not appear what the lands were worth. A commission, was awarded out to sir *L'Estrange Mordant*, and three others to find out the true value of the lands: and a bargain was not commanded, but propounded by the Court. And I beseech your lordships to observe, that the master of the *Rolls* being to consider of all the examinations lawfully taken in the cause, nine witnesses were taken by the commission, and duly examined; five witnesses more were examined in the examiner's office, without my privity or consent, and contrary to an order in court; which witnesses being examined, swore point blank in all things: and according to those proofs the master of the *Rolls* made his certificate, and found 200 *l.* a year to be as much as the lands were worth.

HEREUPON the lord chancellor gave a day, to shew cause why the cause should not be decreed, which was the order, *quarto Maii* 1610.

AFTER this the lord *Hubbard*, then attorney, in the presence of the master of the *Rolls* himself, did set down the defects of his own report.

My LORD TREASURER.

My lords, this is contrary to all course, this must not be; for we mean not to enter into the merits of the cause.

COLLECTIONS RELATING TO

MR ATTORNEY YELVERTON.

MR *Wraynham*, for you to shift it off, doth but aggravate your Offence; for when you say you used the rest of your phrases as synonyms to injustice, that implyeth a taxation of his lordship in point of justice; and so likewise do your words imply, when you say by the greatness of his wit and eloquence, he doth palliate the injustice of the cause; therefore tax my lord particularly with one point of injustice. Here Mr. *Wraynham* would not instance in any one particular.

MR W R A Y N H A M.

HAD I thought his majesty would not have heard my cause, I would have sat down and in silence have devoured my sorrow. I have formerly set down to your lordships, that my decree was reversed without a bill.

MR A T T O R N E Y.

THAT is, when the bill is absolute and constant, for there it must have a bill of revivor; but when it depends upon subsequent acts, and is qualified and conditional, there it may be reversed without a bill.

MR W R A Y N H A M

I HUMBLY submit my self in all things to your honourable and clement censure; for the manner, I beseech your lordship's pardon, and for the matter, I humbly crave compassion.

MR Serjeant C R E W.

MAY it please your lordships, the prisoner at the bar hath made a good submission at the last; I would he had began with it.

MY lords, the flux of foul mouths must be stopped, otherwise the greatest magistrates will be traduced and slandered to majesty it self; and though it be not treason, yet I have heard it from a great and honourable person sitting in this place, that it is *crimen laesae majestatis*.

MY lords, for the two lords, the one that lives, the other that is dead, and their demeanour in this case, in honour of him that is dead, and without flattery to him that is alive, I say, they both judged according to their consciences. The lord chancellor that is dead, gave his judgment according to his conscience, and not according to the conscience of another man, but according to the integrity of his own heart: for judges are to judge *secundum aequum & bonum in foro conscientiae*: and this lord also judged out of his noble conscience and integrity of his heart; for my lords there was no binding decree.

AS for the merits of the cause, it must not be examined of the one side nor the other; for both lords have done according to conscience *coram Deo & hominibus*; and each hath delivered his own sense according to their consciences.

THE lord which is dead, when he was alive, was one of the oracles of the wisdom of the time; and my living lord attributes very much unto him; whom God hath also enriched with great ornaments of nature; for no man, no magistrate hears with more attention, nor no magistrate of justice attends with more understanding and patience.

YOU then Mr *Wraynham*, thus to traduce my lord, is a foul offence, with that black mouth of yours: you cannot traduce him of corruption, for thanks be to God, he hath always despised riches, and set honour and justice before his eyes: and where the magistrate is bribed, it is the sign of a corrupted estate. For the justice of the cause, my lords, I was of counsel with *Fisher*, and I knew the merits of the cause; for my lord chan-

cellor

cellor seeing what recompence *Fisher* ought in justice to have received, and finding a disability in *Wraynham* to perform it, was enforced to take the land from *Wraynham* to give it to *Fisher*; which is hardly of value to satisfy *Fisher's* true debt and damages: and this my lords was the true course of it; so it stands upon these parts your lordships have heard.

I AM glad at last to hear Mr *Wraynham's* submission, and do humbly crave your lordship's censure.

Sir EDWARD COKE.

THE cause before you my lords, is a very great cause; for a man must tread in this course upon a very slender bridge. I will single out as near as I can the state of the question, and then I will shew you in others upon what words, and in what I shall ground my sentence.

FOR a complaint to the king's majesty, or a petition by any man that thinks himself wronged, I hold that regularly no offence; God forbid it should be so. I can make no hedge between the sovereign and the subject; nay, in some kingdoms, *querelas subditorum detrahere, in principe deferentur, capitale est*. And that would be a derogation from a monarch, that no subject should complain unto him; yet upon the statute of *Westminster*, and at common law, I make no question, but to shew you, that where petitions were made to the king in unfit manner, they have been severely punished. Our case is now particularly in a sentence given by my lord chancellor, an eminent judge in this court, and a sole judge in the highest court of equity, that is in this kingdom: yea, this case is after sentence, and against the sentence, and with many such scandalous and opprobrious terms against so high a judge, and that not in paper, but in a book presented to the king; this book in my hand which the king hath delivered to the attorney general, that it might come before us for due punishment; whether this book be justifiable or no, that is the question?

It is a black book, *Est jam conveniens luctibus iste color*; and it is a strange book, for some things that I will shew you; for it is no petition: and yet I will confirm every word, I say by ancient and modern authorities, whereof I am sorry, very sorry in good faith for the excellent and worthy parts that are in you Mr *Wraynham*. Now mark your own words in your book: you call it a review or revivor of the report of the master of the *Rolls*, *Philips*, and the decree of my lord chancellor. The high commissioners have sometimes a commission of review, but it is very rare, and that is a commission of grace, not of right; such a review is presented unto his majesty by *Wraynham*, in which he deals not like a petitioner, but like a censor, censuring every man that deals in the cause.

MARK how the common law sets forth a petitioner: it gives no ill words, it toucheth not men of injustice; for take this from me, that what grief soever a man hath, ill words work no good, and learned counsel never use them.

AND therefore the petitioner at the common law is, *si placet majestati*, &c. *Et quod justitia Et rectum fiat*, &c. Now in your petition, see whether you have behaved your self well; first, you make your major proposition, the unjust sentence of a judge is far worse than a particular murder; then your minor is, that my lord chancellor hath satisfied his majesty, that I have informed him falsely; but his majesty knoweth that

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he that judgeth unjustly, must to maintain it, speak untruly; and that your lordships, and all logicians know the conclusion followeth necessarily.

FIRST, he chargeth my lord chancellor with injustice, not complaining of any particular to be referred to examination; but faith in general he hath done unjustly, and is worse than a murderer, and that he hath informed the king falsely.

MY lords, you know, if a man put false metal into the king's coin, it is treason, and if my lord chancellor shall infuse poison and false information into the king's ear, it was an heinous offence; yet this contents not *Wraynham*, but he flyeth at all, saying that the height of authority maketh men presume, and hath a place of scripture in his book; *woe be to them that write wicked decrees*; and in another place he faith, oppression is palliated with wit and eloquence.

MY lords, ought these things to be in a petitioner! A petitioner must go meekly and humbly to work, without shew of touch of any man.

I WILL not omit a dead man, for tho' spoken of him it is a living fault. As for this master of the *Rolls*, never man in *England* was more excellent for the chancery than that man, and for ought I heard (that had reason to hear something of him) I never heard him touched of corruption, being a man of excellent dexterity, diligent, early in the morning, ready to do justice; for him to be taxed in such a high degree as to omit some of the material proofs, to shift off others, to wrest the equity of the cause, and such like, and in another place, that the master of the *Rolls* made an unjust and corrupt gloss upon a false text, &c. and in another place he faith, that sir *Edward Philip's* report was raised *ab inferno*.

MY lords you know, that the slander of a dead man is punishable in this court, as *Lewis Pickering* is able to tell you; whom I caused here to be censured for a slander against an archbishop that is dead: for justice lives though the party be dead, and such slanders do wrong the living posterity, and alliance of the man deceased.

BUT Mr *Wraynham* spares not the king himself; for in one place of his book he faith, *assurgat rex*, &c. as if the king slept; and in another place he faith, that the decree is reversed without precedent; but that is not so, as I will satisfy you anon.

FOR Mr *Wraynham's* censure, I will never judge any man without authority and reason. *Decimo octavo Edwardi primi in rotulo parliamentorum tertio*. My lord abbot, there complained, that *Solomon* of *Wragg*, and *Hugh Courtney*, then chief justice, had confederated to give judgment against the abbot; and the king answered, shall we upon this petition, call a judgment in question? and in the end the answer is, *rex rogabit, & aliter facere non potest per legem terrae*. And my lord abbot, because he was a lord, escaped punishment at that time.

AND another precedent I will shew is, *Michaelis 18 Edw. III. Rot. 151. coram rege*. *Thomas Wilbrham* petitioned against the justices of the king's-bench, that they had not done according to law and reason: and the petition was delivered to the representative body of the king and his council, for the which the said *Wilbrham* was indicted, convicted, fined and ransomed in the king's-bench.

19. *Aff. p. 3.* between sir *William Scott* and *Humfrey Hunney*, complaineth to king *Edw. III.* that sir *William Scot*, chief justice, had awarded,

awarded, an assise contrary to law; and the king sent it to the judges: whereupon *Hunney* was imprisoned, judged, fined and ransomed; yet he had no remedy but in parliament.

THE Statute hath made a sharp law, against such as speak scandalous news of the chancellor, justice of the king's-bench, &c. and because divers were punished, for slanders in petitions to his majesty, therefore 13 R. II. *Rot. Parliamenti* N. 45. the commons desired they might not be troubled for any matter that should be contained in petitions to the king: and the king answered, let every man complain, so it be with law and reason.

WRAYNHAM objected a place of scripture for himself, where the psalmist saith, *I have said in my fury that all men are liars*: the text is, *dixi in excessu*: so *Wraynham* saith, it was not in his fury, but in his excess.

AND another thing that *Wraynham* offered in defence was the king's words, where he saith in his book, be bold to complain: but of what? Of corruption, So likewise *Rot. Parl.* 24 *Edw.* III. N^o. 16. If any man mix corruption with his censures, *anathema sit*: so likewise there is extant in the *Rolls* of the parliament *de la plbe*, that great *de la Pole* was convicted of bribery, and put from his place; and cardinal *Wolsey* was convicted of a foul corruption.

BUT if a man, according to sincerity, give judgment, though he differ from another judge, this is no injustice. Famous *Dyer* gave judgment in the common-pleas, and this was reversed in the king's bench; yet he discharged his conscience. And although it was afterward reversed, yet it was no injustice. The like instance might be made of sir *Christopher Wray*, and others: now in this case my lord chancellor that is living differs from the lord chancellor that is dead; this is not strange, it hath ever been and ever will be; but if a judge's conscience be oiled and moistened with corruption then all is naught.

THE king hath the pleas of the crown, and upon every judgment one of the parties is angry and displeased; but this must not presently produce a new hearing; for that will hinder all other businesses. For I will put you a great case between a nobleman here and divers other noblemen that were trusted by the countess of *Southampton*, who were all plaintiffs, and sir *Moyle Finch* defendant; and this was *Michaelis*, 42 and 43 *Eliz.* The main point that was controverted in the cause, was upon an exception of a manor (as I remember) in the *habendum* of the deed; which my lord chancellor then thought void; and therefore decreed, that my lady of *Southampton* should have all: whereupon sir *Moyle Finch* petitioned queen *Elizabeth* that she should refer the examination of the decree to some of the judges; but the queen would never refer any thing to those that were named unto her; but she referred it to two other judges not named in the petition, who attended my lord chancellor; and they then resolved it against the decree, and my lord reversed his own decree.

I KNOW I have held your lordships long, yet I cannot tell in these critical days whether men will be satisfied, which hath made me longer than I would have been; therefore to conclude, I agree in all things with the sentence given in *Forth's* case, *secundo Jacobi*.

Chancellor of the exchequer, sir FULKE GREVIL.

THIS court hath no intent to discourage the meanest subject of his lawful appeal unto his prince; for that were to dishonour the people of

law, and the king of the intelligence of the oppression that might fall upon his people.

BUT this case I suppose not to be within the first: the matter in such cases is but a review of an inferior sentence of a superior magistrate, my lord chancellor of *England*; and that before he be heard, making the king his speedy executioner.

BUT examine the nature of these accusations, and you shall find them mere scandals and impossibilities; as breaking decrees, rewarding frauds and perjuries, palliating oppressions, with greatness, wit and eloquence.

WHY, my lords, if this liberty should spread, then I desire the indifferent hearers to see in what a miserable case the subject stands; when the right of every good man shall stand in the malignity and unquiet nature of every turbulent spirit. And, my lords, the judges, in what a case stand they, if by such clamour every delinquent shall be made judge over them? And what privilege shall the king, my master, have? For if this humour should take a little head, will it not carry both him and justice into the field? And therefore I conclude, that this is severely to be punished, and is not a petition but a presumptuous challenge; and of so far a worse nature beyond duels, as honour and universal justice is beyond particular right; and therefore I agree with him that went before me, leaving his good parts to mercy, and his ill parts to the censure of *Forth's* case.

Lord chief baron, sir LAURENCE TANFIELD.

THIS cause is a cause of a high nature, being a scandal of a great and principal officer of the kingdom, and of one that is an high and eminent person; which scandal is set forth in this book; which certainly I cannot call a petition: for the petitioner hath presumed too far, that it is a plain *revise* of a decree. Every man knoweth that the chancellor hath the keeping of the great seal, whereby is managed mercy and justice: and if this great person so trusted shall be thus traduced by every offender, how insufferable will this mischief be?

I DOUBT not but that by a right way, you may, by a petition in an humble course and submissive manner, desire his majesty that he would be pleased to review a sentence in chancery, or else grant a commission to others to review the same. But doth this man observe this course? No; but he will be his own judge, sentencing his own cause. I can call this book no better than a scandalous and malicious invective against the lord chancellor; and that not without great bitterness, as I have heard: first, he taxeth him with injustice; then mark the circumstances, he saith, my lord chancellor hath reversed the decree without cause, without new matter, without legal proceeding, without precedent, and upon a bare suggestion.

THEN he goeth farther, saying, injustice is worse than murder. For this decree hath devoured him and his whole family; and not content with this, chargeth him with oppression and palliating it with greatness, wit and eloquence; than which, a greater and heavier scandal cannot be.

YOU shall not be barred of access to his majesty, but that by petition you may desire to have a decree reviewed, and that his majesty would grant a commission to review it; but these things must be done legally; and then the law protects us, though it be against a nobleman. Sir *Richard Crofts* did sue an action for forgery of false deeds against the lord *Beauchamp*; whereupon my lord *Beauchamp* sued an action upon the statute

statute *de scandalis magnatum*; but that would bear no action, because it was done legally. For a man may suppose in his writ such a fact by the use of the said writ; but he must beware that he prove it well, or else he shall be well fined in the same court: but much more shall he deserve a fine if he shall do it without writ, or without ground, or proof, as *Wraynham* hath done; and therefore, because I must be short, I think him fully worthy of the censure before given in all points.

Lord H U B B A R D, chief justice of the common-pleas.

MR attorney hath very worthily, and like himself, according to his place, brought this man into this court to give answer for the greatest and most outrageous offence that of this kind hath been committed; in which case I will first tell you what I do not question, and then what I do question.

FOR the first: petitions may be exhibited to the king without controversy; nay, in some cases they must be exhibited; and God forbid that any man's way should be locked up, or that any subject should be barred of access to his sovereign: for when appeals fail, and when ordinary remedy is wanting, so that there is no judge above the highest judge, yet you may still resort unto your sovereign for extream remedy: this is proper to a king, *cessas regnare, si cessas judicare*: for it is an inherent quality to his crown; so that without controversy a man may petition against a sentence: for God forbid that we that are judges should draw that privilege to ourselves, to give sentence, and not to hear it examined. But it is true, it must be presented as a supplication, and you must go formally to work: ordinarily you must go to the proper courts of justice; if that fails, the extraordinary court is open by the king; and this is no more than to shew to his majesty how you find your self grieved, and then remit the cause and form to the king's wisdom.

BUT now see what this man hath done, he hath made neither the matter nor form of a petition.

FIRST, For matter: he pretends, that is not saying, that my lord chancellor hath expressly infringed two decrees, when he hath done nothing but only crossed an order; than which there is nothing more common, for they are but interlocutory and not definitive.

AND for form; this is no petition, no book, as he would call it, but an express peremptory and audacious libel: then the manner offends yet more; for whereas a supplication imports, that a man should speak it upon his knees; for as it is in some realms, men attempt nothing against law, but they must do it with a rope about their necks; so that he that goeth about to attempt any thing against a decree, he doth it with a rope of the king's censure about his neck: but mark the carriage of this man, how insolently he proceeds in this case.

FIRST, For the king (as hath been well observed) he saith, *assurgat rex*, as if he should bid the king arise and take revenge; therefore, for the decree he saith, that the foundation of it came from hell: if that be so, then this sentence must needs be hellish. When he falls upon a poor man, the master of the *Rolls*, I call him poor man, because he is not living to answer for himself; but yet he was a worthy minister of justice, for I had much cause to know him: and he was of as much dexterity and integrity as ever man that sate in his place; and I believe the chancery will find want of such a man; but not content with this, he scorns my lord

lord chancellor's courtesy, and carries himself as if he would trample all under foot.

So much for the manner: As to the matter it is odious; the person with whom he hath to do, is the principal officer and magistrate of justice in the kingdom; one that hath the nomination of all the justices of peace, and the principal that names all the sheriffs; one that keeps and carries the seal, and sits chief judge in this court, and sole judge in the chancery.

AND shall we think that this man is bought and sold to corruption, to injustice, to murder? What more tends to the king's dishonour than that he should place in the judicature such an unworthy man? A man infinitely the more wronged, because he deserves his place as well as any man that went before him; and yet his last predecessor was very excellent, and deserved no small commendations.

BUT *Wraynham* I condemn as a man barbarous, both towards the living and the dead; wherefore there is a justice and tribute due to the master of the *Rolls* deceased. I would have mention made of it in the decree, and with that addition to the sentence, I concur in all things with the precedent of the court.

Sir EDWARD MONTAGUE, lord chief justice.

MY lords, it is a true saying, *Judicium non redditur nisi in invitum*; for I yet never saw any man sit down satisfied with a sentence that went against him.

I WOULD not so far have blamed *Wraynham* as to have censured him for complaining to the king: yet this restraint I find in law, which any man may see in king *Edgar's* laws: let no man complain to the king in matters of variance, except he cannot have right at home, or that right be too heavy for him; then let him complain unto the king; whereby it is meant, that if the laws be so strict, he shall complain in a court of equity to the king himself.

THEN to complain is not denied any man; for all justice comes from the king; and though he distribute his justice to be ministered in several courts, yet the primitive power resides still in his person; therefore to the justice of his majesty may any subject have resort; but this must be humbly, as a petitioner, not as Mr *Wraynham* hath done here, who is not a suitor but a censurer, and doth not complain but proudly rails upon a high judge.

CAN you, Mr *Wraynham*, charge your judge with corruption through fear or affection? (for I make them both alike.) Spare not the chief judge nor highest counsellor: I say spare us not whenever you can take us. But a judgment is pronounced from the sincerity of our consciences, and warranted by our judgment and learning; shall we then undergo the censure of every suitor? No state, no time ever suffered this.

MY lords, it lies upon us judges as a duty to restrain this boldness: our places, as judges, give us no privileges to do what we list; nor have suitors liberty to speak as they list of judges; God and order hath set the bounds to both.

FOR the matter heretofore handled in chancery, it is not the work of this day to deal with that; we meddle not with your decrees; we censure you only for your scandals. I saw in your book a smooth pen, and from your tongue I have heard fair speeches; but in both I see a fiery spirit.

FOR

FOR you would raise up diffension between the two lord keepers of the king's conscience; him that now is, and him that was, and now is with God. Of these two worthies, I shall not say much, I will neither wrong the dead, nor flatter the living: the matter of difference for any thing I can see, of you can say, is but an order against an order; wherein judgment may be varied by occasions and through circumstances. True attributes are no flatteries; this honour let me give to these two great men; of greater parts, better fitted for that place, never fate in this place: nay, a man may truly say, that the world hath scarce yielded two such men of so excellent gifts in this later age of the world.

BUT you (Mr *Wraynham*) wrong both the living and the dead. Of the master of the *Rolls* that is dead, you speak your pleasure, but all that hear you, and know of him, will be ready to give you the lie. You say, that he should omit some of the proofs, and wrest other some; and ground himself upon witnesses that swore impossibilities and absurdities, &c. Who ever knew that man, knows him to be a true reporter, and a judicious collector upon proofs as ever was. I will not dissemble, what others thought a fault in him, to be overswift in judging; but this was the error of his greater experience and riper judgment than others had.

NOW for my lord chancellor, by the words you use, you lay four of the greatest crimes upon him, that can be laid upon a judge; presumption, oppression, falsity and injustice: all these you utter with one breath, charging him with all in one sentence: for you say height of authority makes great men presume, there is presumption and oppression; and in these words, he that judges unjustly, must to maintain it, speak untruly; there you accuse him of falsity and injustice.

Ex ore tuo te judico, serve nequam.

FOR in your book, you say, let me suffer as a traitor, if all that I say prove not an intire truth, if I should dare to slander so great a judge, to so wise a king. Therefore out of your own mouth, I pronounce sentence against you, *laesae majestatis*; and though not as a traitor, yet as a great scandalizer; and if all were true that is said in your book, yet would I censure you for your quarrel with my lord chancellor for form. And yet you your self use no form, no not common civility: So that if it were against a common man, it were punishable to offer such words to the eye of a king, as here you give to my lord chancellor; calling him a rewarder of frauds and perjuries, an afflicter of the afflicted, a racker of things out of joint, a confounder of your estate, and the like: these are not words fitting a petitioner, to be spoken of a lord chancellor, to be offered to a king.

AND (my lords) this man's fault goeth one step higher, touching the person of majesty it self: I am a judge of crown matters, and in this libel I think he hath scandalized the king in four things.

FIRST, he saith the king is but a man, and so may err; implying an error in the king.

SECONDLY, that my lord chancellor defends himself by secret means, and that you are not called to answer: than which, what greater tax unto so high a majesty, to condemn, and not to hear?

THIRDLY, that my lord chancellor doth cover his injustice with wit and eloquence, when we all know, that we have a sovereign of those high and excellent gifts, that it is not rhetorick or eloquence that can cast

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dust

dust into the king's eyes, or cause him any ways to turn aside from justice.

LASTLY, you say, that a man may distate truth, and suspect judgment, applying it unto his majesty: which offences reaching so high, my censure shall be the heavier upon you.

Now it will rest, what shall be done with this man? As I give my sentence from his own mouth, so will I take advice from himself: he saith, *state super viis antiquis*; look what our ancestors have done of old, so let us do in this: then you shall see what they did in like cases.

MICHAELIS 13^o of the queen, Rot. 39. *Henry Blaunford*, a counsellor at law, was committed to the *Fleet*, and fined for false reporting the opinion of the lord *Leicester*, and secretary *Cecil*, with these words, *humanum est errare*.

So likewise 19 *Henry VIII.* my lord *Stourton* was committed by the court and fined, for saying these words: 'I am sorry to see rhetorick rule where law should.

SIR *Rowland Flaxing* was committed and fined, for reporting to the king, 'that he could have no indifferency before the lords of the council; for which he was deeply fined, 7^o *Februarii* 18 *Hen. VIII.*

So likewise in the time of *Hen. VII.* Sir *Richard Terrets* was committed, fined, sent to the pillory, and adjudged to lose both his ears, for his slanderous complaint exhibited to the king, in a written book, and that against the chief justice *Fitz James*. The punishment of him that depraved the good judge sir *James Dyer* is fresh in memory.

So that party which said, judge *Catline* was an unjust judge, 8 *Eliz. Rot. 10.* whose name was *Thomas Welch* of *London*, who was indicted in the king's-bench for this, as for an offence against the common law: his words that were delivered were these; 'my lord chief-justice *Catline* is incensed against me, I cannot have justice, nor can be heard; for that court now is made a court of conscience.' This indictment was found, and the record was, that it was *in magnum contemptum dominae reginae ac curiae suae, ac in magnum scandalum ac ignominiam legis Angliae, ac in scandalum capitalis justitiarum, ac in malum exemplum omnium subditorum*.

So it is, that this offence of *Wraynham's* is against the law, the commonwealth, and the justice of the kingdom; and therefore according to the last judgment in law, and with the sentence that was pronounced against *Forth* I concur and pronounce the same against *Wraynham* in all things: and this right I would have done to the lord chancellor living, the lord chancellor and master of the *Rolls* that are dead, that those things be fitly expressed to their honours, in the drawing up of the decree.

Sir THOMAS LAKE, principal secretary.

My lords, if I had been the first that had spoken in this case, I should have thought it the greatest difficulty how to walk evenly between the not discouraging the king's subjects, and in judging the prisoner at the bar.

BUT for that my lords, before me, have so well spoken, that no man may be discouraged to come unto his majesty in a discreet manner; and very good learning hath been delivered by all my lords the judges; such as may satisfy every man; yea, and not satisfy only, but direct them what to do in such cases; therefore I may be the shorter.

I WILL not be long in speaking of the honour due unto magistrates; he that wades into that, shall have little of his own invention: nor of the offence that is now before us: for the king's counsel hath so fully and perfectly delivered it, that perhaps by this time he knows his own error: and my lords the judges have made it appear so, whereby I think it as great an offence as ever was in this nature; and much more deserveth punishment because it is against a man no less eminent in virtue, than in place.

THREE things the prisoner urgeth for himself.

FIRST, for the word injustice he saith, that admitting the thing were unjust, then he might call it unjust; but I answer for a private man to call a publick sentence injustice, herein he sheweth his error.

SECONDLY, he urgeth, that it carrieth a great loss unto him; and therefore he would be the rather excused. It is true, I think that men by sentence have loss; for *judicium redditur in invitum*; but though it be a loss, it is *damnum absque injuria*.

THIRDLY, he went the wiser way, when he urgeth commiseration unto us. For my own part, I could commiserate the man: but I commiserate the commonwealth much more. For if this should be suffered, tumults and a multitude of other inconveniences would arise; and therefore I judge him as the rest have done before me.

Sir HENRY CARY comptroller.

MY lords before me have spoken so much, that I shall not need to speak; neither do I make any scruple of the said sentence.

WHEN I consider how foully this man hath behaved himself in scandal and invectives against so high a magistrate, I must concur with the rest of the lords that have gone before me.

Bishop of * E L Y.

THOUGH the ground of the complaint had been just, yet I believe my lords the judges, that the complaint being in so foul a manner, against so great a person, in so high a place, deserves sharp punishment; and therefore I agree with the former sentence.

Bishop of L O N D O N, Dr J O H N K I N G.

I SHALL borrow a phrase of him, though spoke to another purpose, that in a senate where many assistants were, after two or three have well spoken, and well agitated a cause, there is required nothing of the rest but their assent. It is a worthy saying; but when I find here before me an honourable person, foully and despitefully spoke against, being one of the three vital parts of this court, and without which it cannot have its subsistence; and of the three vital parts principal: and also a judge of another court, and, (as I learned of my lords the judges) of such a temporal court, where if the edge of the law be too keen, the equity of the chancery doth abate it: in regard of this duty, it becometh me to speak, and because the party wronged, is a great counsellor and officer of the state.

THE first thing I say and lay hold on, is this, *interest reipublicae*. It stands not with the honour of the king, with the safety and peace of the kingdom, nor with the quiet of his majesty, that counsellors of state, and judges, in the seat of justice and conscience, should be depraved. *Anima & vita regnorum auctoritas*; take it away from the magistrate of state, take it away from the king himself, & *subversa jacet pristina sedes soliorum*.

* It seems doubtful whether this was Dr Lancelot Andrews or Dr Nicolas Fenton; but I incline to the later.

FOR the place wherein this honourable person sits, is great, between blood and blood, plea and plea, and plague and plague; for the judge shall end the controversy.

So that the first lesson that I shall make is that which *Cambyfes* made to another, *Memento ex quo loco*: They sit in God's seat, and execute his, and not their own judgments: It is their art, their faculty, their profession, their learning to judge; and it is not open to every man, but it is *peregrina*, & *unusquisque in arte sua artifex*: And therefore, for mine own part, I shall ever bend the best of my thoughts, the favourablest of my wishes, and the most of my prayers, that sitting in seats as they do, they may judge as they ought.

I KNOW that while they carry flesh about them their faculties and judgments will be imperfect; they are but men; *at scientia juris infinita*: So that I know not (amongst the number of mortal wights) that man that can conceive every particularity of the law.

No marvail then if one judge differ from another, when the same man differs from himself; *Socrates puer differt a Socrate sene*: and though the judges walk not in the same way, they tend to the same end: and though there be not *idem cursus*, yet there is the same *idem portus*, & *non mutant sed aptant legem*, according as the matter comes before them is varied, shaped and fashioned.

It is unreasonable then to complain of a judge, or unusual to go to the king, with complaints: nay, it must be done with *calamo & atramento temperato*; and it must be done *libello supplicii non famoso*; not as a sycophant and slanderer, but as a supplicant with a petition; not with a petulant invective declamation against a person of so great and honourable place. This is a fact so unnatural and unlawful that all laws are broke both of God and nations, and civility and good manners, and all: nay, I know not how the laws of speech are kept, they are but three, *quid, de quo, cuique*, the matter foul, spoken of so honourable a person, and to so transcendent a majesty.

WRATNHAM is a man that did not only curse in the bitterness of his soul, but he comes *in amaritudine linguae & chartae*: it is not fit; God gives not blessing to these *Hystrices* and porcupine quills; it shoots far, it enters deep, it wounds sore, it is not to be tolerated.

LET him keep his poison in his *Syrmatico* and invective book; wherein let me add, for my last, the manner of presenting it, the writing itself; and then withal the defence now made: which when I heard it, I was more offended than with the book itself: and I may justly make a question, whether he were more foolish in writing it, or more vain in defending it.

HIS defence is a twofold necessity: first, a necessity to induce the king to hear him, like *Absalom*, that would needs set *Tobias's* field on fire to get his ear.

THE other, a necessity of estate, proceeding out of the laws of necessity: *Gravissimi sunt morsus irritatae necessitatis*: one part of speech was general; in that he meant not my lord chancellor; but in the general there is a major, and in the particular there is the application: and then every man can make the conclusion, as hath been well observed by sir *Edward Coke*.

YOU are a man of a private and prophane spirit; and if you know not of what spirit you are, I can teach you: I say of that spirit, that you compare your self with the apostles and prophets, and you misapply scripture: your *dixi in excessu & trepidatione* sheweth a difference between sinning upon passion and deliberation; it comes fully home into your own bosom, & *pulchrum patet guttur in ore*.

THE best part of this answer was the last, and I would it had been all in all; and so I agree with the sentence given before me.

Viscount WALLINGFORD.

I AM sorry a man should deserve so great a censure as this man's foul fault will make; yet I am very glad in this bold and quick-sighted age, that other men by his example might take heed not to exceed the bounds of modesty.

THIS humour, it seemeth self love, (which believes nothing but it self) hath begot: that, that hath bred this gentleman up so unmannerly, that he spares not to accuse the highest and greatest judge of the kingdom of oppression, injustice, murder; nay, of any thing; which is not only spoken by so ill a tongue, but aggravated by his answer.

FOR it seems he would encourage other men by the king's book to do the like; wherein we may see the malice of this man, that will get poison from the fairest flower: yet every subject may take comfort in his majesty's book, and God forbid, that he which is wronged should be restrained to complain to his sovereign; yet this complaint is no petition, but a very libel, and deserves no better name.

THE king's will is, that you should be bold, and that you should come to him; but yet you must be sure that your cause must be just and right. This is a good and a gracious speech of a king; but 'tis pity Mr *Wraynham* alleges scripture to maintain an ill cause: and I do clear my lord chancellor dead and alive, to be as worthy men as any in my time; and yet I have lived a long age: and God forbid their consciences should be led by private mens humours.

ISAY no more; but let every man that hears us this day, take heed, that their humours lead them not into these outrageous courses, but carry themselves with modesty. I shall not need to enlarge, but consent with my lords before me.

Earl of ARUNDEL.

I SHALL not need to use many words for the matter; in brief *Wraynham* hath forgot himself foully against a great and high instrument of justice, renewing complaints upon complaints, after the king had told him in my hearing, that the lord chancellor had done justly, as he himself would have done; and therefore I think him very much to blame, and well deserving the censure given: and the use is (as you see by him) for malicious men, not to suck honey but venom and poison out of the wholesome flowers: and as his presumption is to be hated, so his humiliation and submission is to be pitied; yet I agree with my lords in all things.

P E M B R O K E, lord chamberlain.

No man's mouth is so stopt, but in case of grief, he may seek redress. I think there is little scruple, that either the master of the *Rolls* that is dead, or this lord chancellor that is living did proceed without justice; because it is but an order against an order; a thing very frequent and usual in this, and in all other arbitrary courts.

FOR the sentence, I agree with the court, being sorry since his last submission was humble, that before he hath abused his good parts, and used his wit to his own confusion.

Duke of LENOX.

I AM sorry that *Wraynham* hath not the grace of God to make use of his majesty's book, which is not to complain without just cause, and without he could make proof of his complaint. I will not repeat the worth of my lord chancellor, living nor dead : but I am sorry that a man of so great parts should deserve so heavy a sentence, whereto in all things I agree.

W O R C E S T E R, lord privy-seal.

My lords, I am of opinion as formerly my lords have been. I do hold this a very scandalous libel, being against a person of such worth : the greater the person is, the more severe should the punishment be for the offender ; and so I concur in opinion with my lords before me ; and do think this offence to have exceeded his punishment ; and therefore if a great fine had been laid upon him I should have agreed unto it.

A B B O T, lord archbishop of *Canterbury*.

THE Lord, the fountain of wisdom, hath set this glorious work of the world in the order and beauty wherein it stands ; and hath appointed princes, magistrates, and judges to hear the causes of the people ; not so much out of authority, as out of justice and reason. For if no such persons were to hear and determine other men's causes, every man must be his own judge, which would tend to nothing but ruin and preposterous confusion : God therefore in his wisdom ordered and ordained their bounds, in the magistrate, on the one side with instruction, and the subject, on the other side, with protection ; which instruction when he sheweth them the king's throne, is upheld by justice : and *David* was commanded to rule his people with justice and judgment ; and the like commandment is given to others in subordinate places, not to pity the person of the poor, nor to stand in awe of the faces of the mightiest, but to weigh the simplicity and integrity of conscience. For mark the examples of the most holy and reverend judges *Moses*, *Samuel*, and the rest, to whom the greatest comfort was, that they could say, whose ox or ass have I taken ? From whom have I received a reward ? And by the course of piety and divinity, we that sit sometime to judge others, are at another time to stand at an higher bar to receive judgment from heaven.

WITH the great grace and benefit of protection, God calls them by his own name, Gods, children of the highest ; God being present amongst them to direct them and defend them. God standeth in the congregation of princes, he is amongst all the people. Thou shalt not detract nor slander the judge, nor speak evil of the princes of the people ; and in two several epistles, both in *Peter* and in *Jude* it is said, *That in the later days there shall be wicked men that shall speak evil of magistrates, and men of authority, blaspheming them* ; as if it were blasphemy, though not against God, yet against those that are the image of so great a God.

AND therefore since *Wraynham* hath blasphemed, spoken evil, and slandered a chief magistrate as any in the kingdom ; it remaineth in honour to God, and in duty and justice to the king and kingdom, that he should receive severe punishment ; for it is his cause to day, and it may ours every day : and have not some for justice sake been enforced to endure the threatening of their heads ? Wherefore, if greater punishment
had

had been given him I should have assented; for justice belongeth to us, but mercy to our gracious sovereign: wherefore I agree in all things with the sentence before given.

S U F F O L K, lord-treasurer.

I PERCEIVE as the prisoner at the bar was charged at first, that he had foully offended, and ought to have yielded himself at the first, and not to have made his offence greater by defending a bad cause.

MY lords who have heard his fault in part laid out, and censured him, I think they have done very worthily: for the party himself, I would it could come to him with a little better charity than I can; for his answer did more displease me than his censure: for I see his *spleen*, and his humour grows rather to defame a worthy man than to free himself; how unjustly I appeal to the whole world; who came to his place with as much satisfaction to all hearts, and applause, with his good carriage, as any man I ever heard came before him.

THE thing that I would conclude with is, that I would be glad that all that hear us might take us aright, that are judges. We desire not to be forborn by any subject's tongue, that hath cause to complain; and therefore do it not for any particular respect to our selves, but for the publick course of justice, and for the care we have of the publick good; and for nothing else.

FOR the fault itself, it hath been so opened by all the lords, that I will spare to hold you longer in speaking of it; and for the sentence, I think it very fit and just; and therefore agree with the rest.

I SHALL now take the freedom to copy some letters from the hand writing of doctor *Edward Franklin*, lord *Verulam's* chaplain, relating both to the life and writings of our noble author, (communicated by the very deserving *Middleton Massey*, M. D. his descendent) and though they are not uniform in point of time; yet as I foresee no opportunity of mentioning this author again, I hope to be excused for inserting them together.

NATHANAELI SHUTO suo S. I.

A MICISSIME: si forte hoc nescias, cooptatus sum in vestram capellanorum familiam; non dicam invitus, certe insciens imprudensque, & aliorum potius rogatu quam meo ambitu. Profectus eram vacatione novissima *Gorramberiensis* aedes, seu mage (stylo veteri) *Verulamien-sis*, ut domino nostri-vestro ibi rusticanti officium meum qualecunque concionatorium lubens meritoque deferrem. *Oxonien-sis* quidam tunc temporis ansam mihi praeripuerat, occasionemque, quam captabam, praefloraverat. Quod illic non licuit, *Londini* jam currente termino (sic enim innuebat D. cancellarius) mihi conceditur. Adeas igitur (quaeso) meo nomine symmistam nostrum *Avenarium*, alias D. *Oates*; atque hoc ab illo contendas, ut diem mihi praesignet ac constituat, ne frustranco itinere & labore incasso vacuus in conspectu domini mei appaream. Ego sonante quamprimum classico accingam me ad hanc pugnam pulpitariam, & advolabo ad vos ocyus, subeundo huic muneri pro meo modulo paratissimus. Cura (mea fides) mandatam hanc tibi provinciam, & rescriptiuncula aliqua fac me

me certiozem. Vale : at uxori tuæ, meæ etiam ἀλόχῳ, habere me commen-
datissimum.

Verus ac vetus ille tuus, fraterque capellanus,

E. Coll. Christi, Oct. 1618.

ED. FRANKLIN.

Honoratissimo domino FRANCISCO baroni *Verulamensi*, summo *Angliæ* cancellario, regiaeque majestatis
confiliario dignissimo, domino ac patrono meo singulari. II.

Honoratissime Domine.

HERCULEM olim antiquitas ceu musagetem coluit ; quia mutuis
operibus ac præmiis juvari invicem ornarique deberent, & virtus
Herculis voce musarum, & musarum quies defensione *Herculis*. Exper-
tae sunt saepiuscule humaniores sanctioresque musae te suum *Herculem*,
seu calamo seu gladio virtutem tuam exerceas : teque adeo studiorum suo-
rum decus & praesidium, te alumnorum suorum fautorem, te ultorem in-
juriarum, te cognitorem juris sui, te dignitatis juxta ac libertatis suae asser-
torem, non jucunda minus quam grata subinde animi recordatione vene-
ratur. Maeste sis (illustrissime *Maecenas*) honorifico isto erga togatam gen-
tem adfectu : ut sub tua lauro deponant fessum latus, & sub ala nutu-
que tuo vitam ac sanguinem recipiant. Ut jacet vitis nec fructum fert nisi
ad stipitem aut arborem applicita : vix etiam nos, nisi gratia & favore ve-
stro subnixi ; & ut aliquid possimus, fulcro & allevatione vestrum talium
indigemus. Nec etiam soli tantum bonitas fruges gignit, sed coeli solis-
que fons & temperies educit atque elicit : sirempse ingenia & artes non a
naturae velut solo alenda, sed vestra procerum benignitate ac velut coelesti
aura fovenda atque attollenda sunt. Ipsa quidem virtus optimum est sibi
praemium :

*Nil opis externae cupiens nihil indiga laudis ;
Divitiis animosa suis* —

Claudian.

SED tamen artes facile crediderim ideo dictas esse liberales, quia aliorum
liberalitatem desiderant. Quod impraesentiarum voveo : Et (quae plaudit
mihi sive blandior spes sive fiducia promptior) nativam illam tuam ac tra-
latitiam in viros literatos, variis nec obscuris indiciis exertam, benignitatem,
tanquam hujus (quod peto) beneficii tesseram aliquam & quasi stipulatio-
nem accipio. Sedi ego jam octodecim (plus minus) annos in foro otioque
academico : nec a me fere abludit illa operariorum seu querela seu excusa-
tio in Evangelio, *Matt. xx. 7. Nemo nos conduxit*. Jacet adeo, aeternum-
que jacebit alter ille paralyticus in *Bethesdae* porticu, *Joan. v.* expectans
aquae motum, nisi angelus aliquis ἀπὸ μηχανῆς (ceu olim Jupiter per im-
brem aureum) descendat, manumque ferentariam exporrigat. Ita est inge-
nium hujus aevi : Blenni aliquot ac buccones ad culmina honorum veni-
unt, & paucos nuda virtus aut doctrina evexit. Mulio ille incitatus (*Mar-
tial. x. 76.*) cocco & purpura fulget, cum *Maevius* pullo & pannofo al-
geat cucullo : *Levini* aliqui & *Gabinii* designati, rejiculi *Decii* & *Ca-
tones* : *Plutus* (*Lucian. in Timone*) ille deus nummularius *Hipponico*
crumenam defert, praeterito *Aristide* : & (quod praedixit vates *Satyro-
graphus*, *Juvenal. Sat. vii.*) *Didicit jam dives avarus, Tantum admirari
tantum laudare disertos, Ut pueri Junonis avem* —. Nostra adeo aetate
invaluit

invaluit illa olim *Cratetis* θρυλλεμένη ἐφημερίς, (*Laert.* in vita *Cratetis.*) Numerā, inquit, coquo & citharoedo viginti minas, medico drachmam : parasito quinque talenta, jurisconsulto fumum : meretrici talentum, philosopho (addo & theologo) obolum.

TE vero (amplissime heros) alia aetate aliisque moribus, seu natura formavit, seu instituit doctrina, seu virtus pietasque expolivit ; quo nec praesentius aliquod, nec studiis magis propitium numen est. Ut portus in mari Deus statuit jactatis refugium ; sic te magnum patronum, quo in turbida fortuna recreemur. Nihil do auribus tuis, nec adulator ad te venio sed orator ; ut votum precemque fundam, non ut palpum obtrudam. Tu mihi (ita voveo) bonus ille angelus qui mittas me in piscinam, ut saner : Tu bonus ille patris-familias, qui mittas in vineam ut operer. Quod superest, Deum Opt. Max. calida votorum nuncupatione veneror, ut te ecclesiae, patriae, academiae bono coelitus natum, diurnare in terris velit, jubeat ; & cui *Nestoreum* pectus linguamque, annos etiam concedat *Nestoreos*, usque & usque ad novissimam senectutis lineam ; imo ad famae & aeternitatis metam, felicibus auspiciis decurrentes : Parum est enim optare tantae virtuti tantaeque pietati, quam longissimum habet humana vita progressum.

Honori tuo omni cultu & obsequio

Maii 30. 1619.

Devotissimus Capellanus,

ED. FRANKLIN, Hartfordienfis.

MORO suo. *Nov. 23. 1619.* Academiae fascēs aula (ut perhibent) reportabit, & succumbet (vereor) *Buckinghamiae Verulamium*. Esto si vobis sic lenocinari atque insanire prolubium sit ; &c.

MORO suo [GABRIELI] III.

Amicissime.

PRODIT jam tandem in lucem ille cancellarii nostri partus literarius, quem triginta (plus minus) annos gestavit in utero. Eum tibi mitto seu *μνημόσυνον* eruditionis quidem *Baconianae*, sed *Frankliniani* amoris. Si fert tibi animus, post exantlatos procuratoris labores divertere paulo ad subtilitates has logico-philosophicas ; invenies (spondeo) quod simul acuat ingenium & intellectum instruat. Liber ipse (utcunque se titulus & frontispicium venditent) nil aliud est quam nova quaedam Dialectica ; non qualis jam vulgo teritur & circumfertur, nec ad spinosas disputationes nata, & inania speculationum ; sed quae verae praxi ac mentis manusque operibus ministret & inserviat. Vapulabit (scio) author hic noster *Aristarchi* ferula & obelisco ; forsan & *Belgae* alicujus scribillatoris calamo. Ego quid hic reponam ? Laudabo certe plurima, imo & mirabor : singula non accurate defendam, nedum capellanus. Illud tantum de authoris (domini mei) libro usurpabo, quod ipse olim suis inscripsit aedibus : *Viderit utilitas* : addo etiam & veritas.

QUANQUAM quid ego misellus novo huic scripto quaesitum eo seu patrocinium seu encomium ? Vestras jam academicorum censuras unius non aestimamus assis, cum triumviri illi potentissimi, Rex, Princeps & Marchio, (ad quos singulos librum suum misit) eum tam grate & honorifice exceperint,

k k

* Valent.
Cary.

rint, rescriptis insuper (ceu amoris tessera) singulorum literis; iisque propria manu exaratis. Libri adhuc vaenales non prostant sub hasta, ne venditio donationem praelibet & anticipet. Misi tamen hic duos in antecessum; tibi alterum, alterum vero custodi nostro decano * *Paulensi*: quem illi tradas (quaeso) meo nomine, & (nuncupato mittentis officio) munus quae potes verbis exornes.

AUDIVIMUS *Richardsonum* vestrum obesum & *Powerum* nostrum (quod doleo) regi nuper taedium & nauseam creasse; hunc titubanti concione, illum oratione proluxa. Mox tamen *Osbornus* (quod gaudeo) grata & laudabili concione deincepsit academiae famam aliquatenus refarcivit. Pecuniam si quam pro me acceperis, novissimo hoc computo, mittas quaeso per *Farmerum* cum ad nos venerit: datur enim in crumena mea vacuum. *Conghamus* ille bipedum nequissimus bulgam meam magna ex parte exenteravit, qui, si forte tibi occurrat, chartam ab eo flagites & extorqueas obligatoriam pro duodecim libris mihi debitis, absque die aliquo praefixo aut indicto, solvendis. *Powero*, *Knowsleo*, *Farmero* & novo vestro socio (licet de facie haecenus ignoto,) reliquisque me commendatum habe. Vale, & provinciam tuam cura, uti decet seniore procuratorem.

Tuus qui semper,

Ex Aedibus *Eboracens.* Octob. 20. 1620.

E. FRANKLIN.

Domino CAVENDISHIO. IV.

Honoratissime Domine.

INVITUS quidem te interpellor, & verecunda paulo fronte; sed alas calamo meo addidit, sive tua insignis humanitas, seu propria infelix necessitas. Sub nuperrimi (O miseram vocem) cancellarii vexillo militabam, licet successu frustraneo ac sinistro fato: gliscit nunc animus migrare in aliena castra, non quasi transfuga aut desertor, sed tanquam melioris fortis explorator. Non enim hirundineo genere natus sum, quae hyeme ingruente avolant pennasque quatunt; nec etiam murino, qui alio ornant fugam ubi aedes ruentes viderint. Nobilissimo domino serviebam a sacris in utraque fortuna; nec me sic illi adjunxit gloria palatii, ut vel divelleret miseria ergastuli. Ruptis jam cancellis & custode remoto, fas sit mihi vagari foras; & sole uno in occasum vergente, solem alterum orientem venerari. Frigent enim musae absque suo *Apolline*; nec satis extra telorum jactum positus est *Teucer Homericus*, nisi sub *Ajaxis* clypeo delitescat. Ut vitis jacet nec fructum fert nisi ad stipitem aut arborem applicita; vix etiam nos nisi gratia & favore alieno subnixi: & ut aliquid possimus magni aliqujus patroni fulcro & allevatione indigemus. *Laus* ille est summus regii banci *Areopagita*, (nisi quid fama mentiatur) a foro ad aulam evchendus, & honorificam * crumenam (quod dii pronubi bene vertant) cum juvenula virgine accepturus: Qui si me in domesticam custodiam adsciverit, lumenque vultus sui super me sigillaverit, in omnibus capellani officiis defungendis, non cereum modo (ita voveo) sed & sincerum me experietur. Te hic, nobilissime domine, posco tanquam pararium & proxenetam, qui imbelli & verecundanti mihi *Telemacho* quasi *Minerva* esse velis, & apud magnum

* Great Seal.

magnum illum *Nestorem* sistas. Campestris rivuli viam ad mare quaerunt, & per amnem inveniunt: sic ego per favoris tui canalem patroni hujus alveo adlabor; sed aestu quodam cultus affectusque mei refluo & reciproco.

Tu si judicis libram testimonii tui momento in favoris partem inclinaveris, me beneficio hoc tuo emptum & quasi per aes ac libram comparatum, tuo tibi jure totum possideas & vindices: idque tibi non per epistolam scriptum, sed velut per syngrapham volo sponsum.

Honoris virtutisque tuae olim cultor, & olim,

Londini e cubiculo meo,

Junii 13. 1621.

ED. FRANKLIN.

To my lady S. ALBAN. V.

Madam,

YOU have much honoured and endeared me with your late letter; for which, as I return you my best devoted thanks, so also I desire to be held excused for the slackness of my answer.

TOUCHING my continuance in the house with my lord, I would it might well stand, either with my present occasion, or with my future fortune.

Not to wrong, therefore, my lords favour with my delay, or hold him in longer suspense, and so leave him destitute of a chaplain; as I rest beholding to his lordship for preferring, and accepting me before another; so again, if any sue to his lordship for this service, I shall be willing to be excused myself, without envying this happiness to another. Indeed, your ladyships undeserved favour, and affable company, and kind invitation; especially your noble and virtuous disposition, have (I confess) been as so many loadstones to draw me, tho' I were made of the hardest and heaviest iron; and whatsoever or wheresoever I become, I shall ever truly honour your virtues without base flattery, or glosing complement. But yet on the other side, I have many just motives and inducements that hale me another way; which, (for mine own excuse, and your better satisfaction) I shall haply be bold to impart hereafter, as occasion and good manners will permit. Mean while (if you please) I shall be ready, now and then, to relieve the watch, and take my turn, by course, to wait upon your honours in Mr *Peterfon's* absence; that so we may ease each others burden, and have our times of respite and relaxation to attend likewise our own occurrences: for I know you wish not my hindrance or prejudice: and I can't well be a continual resident at *Gorhambury*, without any truce and intermission, unless I should wholly neglect elsewhere, both my charge and my estate. Otherwise if the tender of my interchangeable service shall seem to your honour, neither fitting, nor pleasing, I neither may, nor will be discontent to be released for altogether. Thus craving pardon for these tedious and troublesome lines, and desiring the continuance of your wonted favour, with my humble duty remember'd to my lord, and my best affection and service to the good lady *Cook*: I commend you all in my best well wishes and prayers, to the grace and blessing of the Almighty: and rest,

Your Ladyships respective and obliged servant,

Yorkhouse, Nov.

26. 1621.

ED. FRANKLIN.

(I

Stephens,
P. 45.

‘ I SHALL pass over the two succeeding years, with little reflection upon any thing that happened therein, besides the two memorable causes that were heard in the *Star-chamber* in the year 1619. The one being a prosecution against several *Dutch* merchants, for exhausting the treasure of the kingdom by exportation; and the other against the lord treasurer himself, for several misdemeanors in relation to his office. The affair of the merchants is in some measure represented in letter CXXV, CXXIX, CXXXII, but those being much divided in point of time, I shall by the assistance of some authentic papers of the like nature, &c. compose a short and as true a relation thereof as I am able.

* See above,
p. 36.

‘ UPON the nineteenth of *October* 1618, the attorney-general applied himself to the lord chancellor for writs of *ne exeat regnum*, against the *Dutch* merchants, and afterwards exhibited an information against one hundred and eighty of them, for transporting beyond the seas vast quantities of gold and silver in money, plate and bullion, since the beginning of the present reign. The attorney at first brought the cause to a hearing against twenty of them, or thereabouts; such as I suppose were the greatest offenders, and of the greatest ability to make restitution. Their fines amounting in the whole to 150000 *l.* of which Mr *Courteen* and two others were condemned in 20000 *l.* a piece: The advice which my lord chancellor gave the king not to grant away the fines of such ten of them as * *sir Thomas Vavasor* the discoverer should chuse, and which it seems he had in a manner promised, was a piece of service worthy the place he enjoyed, and trust he had with the king. Upon the twelfth of *October* 1619, *Courteen* was censured to pay 2000 *l.* more, and others in smaller sums, for endeavouring to corrupt the king’s evidence. And the nineteenth of *November* following was appointed for the trial of between twenty and thirty more; but by reason of some neglect, or mismanagement in the prosecution, which gave the court a great deal of trouble, and the defendants some advantage, the cause was not heard till the seventh of *December*, though most of them were then found guilty. Of the large fines which were imposed upon the delinquents, I conceive they paid but a third part: For during the prosecution, the *States* did by letter desire the marquis of *Buckingham* to endeavour to moderate the heat thereof, &c. as *sir Noel Caron*, their ambassador did, the next day after sentence, to mitigate the severity. It was not long after this proceeding that Mr *Courteen*, afterwards *sir William*, whom I have lately mentioned, became one of the most considerable merchants of his time; and although he be here numbered among the *Dutch*, yet he was born in *England*, whither his father fled for refuge to avoid the persecution raging in *Flanders* under the duke of *Alva*. For in 1633, being some few years before his death, his real estate in *England* was valued at 6500 *l.* per annum, and his personal at 128000 *l.* But by reason of his negotiations to the *East-Indies*, undertaken in a great measure, as I remember, at the instance of king *Charles* the I. the great engagements he entered into thereupon; and the great losses he sustained in these parts by the nation from which he was descended: His posterity enjoyed the least part of his estate, and that attended with much trouble and vexation.

‘ DURING the prosecution of the cause I have been speaking of, *Thomas Howard*, earl of *Suffolk*, lord-treasurer of *England*, was brought upon

upon the same stage. But the letters relating to this scene being all wanting but two, I shall endeavour to supply that defect out of such original letters of sir *Robert Naunton* and sir *George Calvert*, the secretaries of state, as have fallen under my observation. The lord-treasurer was son of the last duke of *Norfolk*, by *Margaret* his second wife, daughter and heir of the lord *Audeley* of *Walden*. By queen *Elizabeth* he was restored in blood, and created a peer of the realm; and being much confided in by his kinsman the lord high admiral, he gave him the command of some part of the fleet upon several expeditions. But in the next reign he came nearer to the court, and was made lord chamberlain of the household; and in the twelfth year thereof, promoted to be lord high treasurer of *England*; which office he enjoyed about four years: when being accused for several misdemeanors relating thereunto, committed by himself, his lady, and sir *John Bingley*, an agent therein, some commissioners were appointed by the king for the management of his treasure, and others to inspect their offences. And an information being preferred against them all in the *Star-chamber*, after several days of hearing, the cause was finally determined, and the parties sentenced upon the thirteenth of *November* in the year 1619. Sir *Edward Coke* led the way, by shewing from divers precedents in former ages, how other treasurers had been punished for smaller delicts and miscarriages; that the king having suffered by means of the present treasurer and his lady 50000 *l. viis & modis*, he condemned them to pay 100000 *l.* although he said, he might very well have made it double that sum; and to be imprisoned in the tower at their own charges: And then fined sir *John Bingley*, an under officer and ill agent in the treasury 5000 *l.* with imprisonment in the fleet. With this sentence concurred the chancellor of the exchequer, and Mr secretary *Naunton*, who in a letter to my lord of *Buckingham*, writes that he declared the proceedings in this cause *seriatim ab ovo*, from the granting the commission of enquiry, and the reasons thereof, by which it appeared how graciously his majesty was ever inclined to mercy, in remitting all prosecution against the earl, if it might have consisted with his honour. But the lord chief justice *Hobart*, who agreed that this lord and his lady were, in a great measure, guilty of the charge, yet he differed much in the estimation of the damage; and then conforming his opinion to the law of *England*, declared by *Magna Charta*, that every man ought to be fined, *salvo contentamento*; which he interpreted, to be the leaving him sufficient maintenance to live according to his degree; otherwise it were a ransom rather than a fine. He concluded his sentence, that this lord and his lady should pay 30000 *l.* to the king; and *Bingley*, who had been the base broker between them and the subject, and guilty of much corruption, 2000 *l.* only; in respect that he was in office under the treasurer, and the rewards he took, as far as appeared in proof, were slight and unworthy things. With my lord *Hobart* the rest of the court agreed; so that secretary *Naunton* (who appears to have been a person of moderation and great candor) writes that he and the other two were traduced as merciful men; yet since he never saw the lord *Hobart*'s rule take place in less offenders, he knew no reason why it should be extended to greater.

Soon after this sentence the earl and countess of *Suffolk* were committed to the tower, but as soon released by the mediation of the marquises of *Buckingham*, and the fine reduced to 7000 *l.* By all that I have

observed, this lord, who was generally esteemed a plain hearted and honest gentleman, seems to have been the least guilty of the three that were so declared. While he was lord *Chamberlain*, he begun to erect that magnificent pile of *Audeley-End*; and before he had quite finished it, I conceive his troubles came upon him; which gave him occasion to reflect upon the truth of the motto, he had caused to be inscribed upon the wings of that fabrick, in large *Roman* capitals: *Prudentis est, in consilio fortunam semper habere.*

At the same time that the lord *treasurer* was falling from his place and fortunes, the lord *keeper* was rising in favour and honours: for upon the fourth of *January*, 1618. he was made lord *chancellor*; and the eleventh of *July* following, created lord *Verulam*, anciently the seat of a noted *Roman* colony; and still famous, though in its last ruins, for some remains of that nation'. N. B. The Patent for lord *Verulam* is printed according to *Rymer, An. 1617.* in p. 100. above: but Mr. *Stephens's* date seems truest: Which will rectify a small mistake at the top of p. 102.

De warranto speciali FRANCISCO BACON, militi, domino cancellario Angliae.

Rymer.
Vol. XVII.
P. 55.

JAMES, by the grace of God, &c. to the *treasurer and barons of our exchequer*; and to the *auditor, or auditors* of the accompts of the clerk, or keeper of our hanaper, in our chancery; and of our *chief butler of England*; and of our keeper of our great garderober; and to the clerk, or keeper of our said hanaper; to our said *chief butler of England*; and to the *keeper and clerk of our said garderober*; and to every of them that now be, and for the time hereafter, shall be, greeting.

WHEREWE, of our grace especial, certain knowledge, and mere motion, for the great trust and confidence that we have in the wisdom, and dexterity of our right trusty, and well-beloved counsellor, sir *Francis Bacon*, knight, lord chancellor of *England*; and for certain other special causes us moving, have given, and granted unto the said sir *Francis Bacon*, knight, the office of lord chancellor of *England*, and given Authority to the said lord chancellor, to hear, examine, and determine causes, matters, and suits, as shall happen to be, as well in our chancery, as in our star-chamber, like as the chancellor of *England*, of us, or our progenitors, for the time being, heretofore, hath used, done and practised, with all and singular manner of fees, diets, robes, liveries, wax and wine, rewards and other profits, allowances and commodities, to or with the same room or office of chancellor, or keeper of the great seal of *England*, in any wise, or by any manner mean due, appertaining, used, or belonging, in like, and in as ample manner and form, as any lord chancellor of *England*, or keeper of the great seal of *England*, either in the time of king *Henry VIII.* or king *Edward VI.* or in the time of queen *Mary*, or queen *Elizabeth*, or in our time, hath had, enjoyed, perceived, and received for and in the same. And therefore we will, charge and command, not only the clerk or keeper of our hanaper, in our said chancery, for the time being, that ye, of such our money, as is, or shall come to your hands, of ours, or to our use, do content and pay, or cause to be

con-

contented and paid, to the said sir *Francis Bacon*, knight, from time to time, for his wages, diets, robes and liveries, of himself and the masters of our chancery, like fees and rewards, and in as large manner, and as large sum and sums of money, as any of the said lord chancellors, or lord keepers of the great seal, had and perceived for the same room or office of lord chancellor, or lord keeper of the great seal; that is to say, after the rate of *five hundred forty two pounds and fifteen shillings* sterling, by the year, for and from the *fourth day of this instant month of January*, hitherto, and from henceforth, as long as the said sir *Francis Bacon*, knight, shall exercise the said room or office of lord chancellor of *England*; and also for his attendance in our said star-chamber, after the rate of *fifty pounds sterling* every term; and after the rate of *three hundred pounds* by the year, from the said *fourth day of this instant month of January* hitherto, and from henceforth, as long as the said sir *Francis Bacon* shall execute the same room or office of our lord chancellor, over and above the said allowance, in like manner as the aforesaid lord chancellor, or lord keeper of the great seal, before this time, at any time, had and perceived:

AND also that ye our *chief butler* of *England*, for the time being, content and pay, or cause to be contented and paid to the said sir *Francis Bacon*, after the rate of *threescore pounds* for twelve tons of wine by the year, and so after the same rate for and from the foresaid *fourth day of this instant month of January* hitherto, and so from henceforth, during the time that he shall occupy and exercise the same room or office of lord chancellor of *England*:

AND also that ye, the *keeper of our great garderobe*, for and from the same time hitherto, and from henceforth, of such our money, or revenues, as is, or shall be coming to your hands, do content and pay, or cause to be contented and paid, to the said sir *Francis Bacon*, for his wax due to him, by reason of his said office of lord chancellor of *England*, after the rate of sixteen pounds by the year, for and from the same time hitherto, and so forth in like manner and form as the foresaid lord chancellors, or lord keepers of the great seal, at any time, had or received for the same, in the said office or room of lord chancellor, or lord keeper of the great seal.

AND farther, we will and grant that you our said *treasurers and barons of our said Exchequer*, and the *auditors*, and all other our officers and ministers, for the time being, or that hereafter shall be, and every of you to whom in this case that shall appertain, from time to time, do make, or cause to be made, to the said clerk, or keeper of our hanaper of our said chancery; and to the said chief butler of *England*; and also to the said keeper of our great garderobe for the time being, and to every of them, in their several accompt or accompts, of which they, or any of them, be in yielding, or shall yield before you, or any of you, at or for any time or times, due allowance, plain deduction and discharge of all and several the foresaid sums of money, as they, or any of them, shall content and pay for the wages, fees, rewards, diets, robes, wax and wine; as before is particularly expressed by us granted as aforesaid, for and from the said *fourth day of this instant month of January* hitherto, and from henceforth, during the time that the said sir *Francis Bacon* shall exercise the said office of lord chancellor of *England*; any matter, law, course or cause, you, or any of you, moving to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding: and these our letters, under our great seal, shall be unto you, and

and every of you sufficient warrant and discharge in this behalf.
In witness whereof, &c.

Witness ourself at *Westminster*, the fifteenth day of *January*.
Per breve de privato sigillo, &c.

UPON the twenty second of *January* in the year 1619, his lordship celebrates his birth day at *Tork-houfe* near the *Strand*: In honour of which *Benj. Johnson* consecrates the following verses, addressed to the genius of the place.

Hail happy genius of this ancient pile !
How comes it all things so about thee smile ?
The fire, the wine, the men ? And in the midst
Thou stand'st, as if some mystery thou did'st.
Pardon, I read it in thy face ; the day
For whose return, and many, all these pray,
And so do I. This is the † fixtieth year,
Since *Bacon*, and thy lord was born, and here :
Son to the grave wise keeper of the seal,
Fame and foundation of the *English* weal.
What then the father was, that since is he,
Now with a title more to the degree ;
England's high chancellor, the destin'd heir,
In his soft cradle, to his father's chair.
Whose even thred the fates spin round and full
Out of their choicest and their whitest wool.
'Tis a brave cause of joy, let it be known,
For 'twere a narrow gladness, kept thine own.
Give me a deep crown'd bowl, that I may sing,
In raising him, the wisdom of my king.

* See above, P. 129. Ep iii. IN the midst of these honours, applauses, and multiplicity of business, my lord chancellor did not forget his beloved philosophy. Producing to the light in * *October* 1620, a work which he had long formed in his thoughts, and intitled, *Novum Organum*. This book he dedicates and presents to the king, &c. and the satisfaction his majesty expresses upon that occasion, will be best seen in his letter sent to his lordship upon the sixteenth of the same month. I shall not pretend to be able to give an account of his lordship's design, in his great work of the instauration of the sciences, or of this, which was the second part thereof ; but shall refer the reader to the distribution of the several parts of that model, delineated at large by his own hand, and prefixed before his *Instauration magna*. It will be sufficient for me in this place to borrow a few words from an ingenious gentleman, which are contained in the reflections he hath lately made upon learning.

" My lord *Bacon* saw clearer into the defects of this art of reasoning, than most men did, and being neither satisfied with the vulgar logick, nor with its reformatations that were made ; suitably to his vast and enterprising genius, attempted a logick wholly new, the plan of which is laid down in his *Novum Organum*. The way of syllogizing seemed to him very fallacious, and too dependent upon words, to be much relied

† This was the true age, and rectifies a mistake of *Camden's* annals, or the printer, in the bottom of p. 96. where fifty fourth should be fifty seventh year.

“ on: His search was after things, and therefore he brought in a new way
 “ of arguing from induction, and that grounded upon observation and ex-
 “ periments.

BEFORE I conclude this year, I must from letter CXXXVI, take
 some notice of the preparations that were made for a parliament, and my
 lord chancellor's services therein: As the reader will observe, from some
 passages contained in *several of his letters*, the opinion his lordship was
 always of, that the convening of that assembly was the best expedient
 to promote the welfare both of his majesty and the kingdom. And how
 averse soever the king had been from falling in with those measures;
 yet the necessity of the times, the desires of the people, more concerned
 to see the protestant religion declining in *Germany*, the elector *Palat-
 ine* not only in danger of losing his new crown, but ancient inheritance,
 than the king his father-in-law seemed to be, forced his majesty from his
 former resolutions. He knew well in what manner he parted with his
 last parliament, and that during this interval so abounding in projects and
 monopolies many grievances had sprung up: And therefore had reason
 to apprehend that the same spirit might revive, unless some care was
 taken to allay the more eager, and satisfy the more peaceable tempers.
 But as the unhappy fate of the king of *Bohemia* and his family, and the
 ill success of this parliament are very well known, so the causes of cal-
 ling the same together, are so fully and finely set forth in a draught of
 the proclamation, penned by my lord chancellor, N^o. CXL, that if the
 reader think it one of the longest, yet it may be he will think it the least
 tedious, he ever saw upon the like occasion. And the later part, which
 respects the choice of parliament men, is so well considered as to make it
 seasonable advice for all times. It is true, that the proclamation the king
 published upon the sixth of *November* was much shorter, though much
 extracted out of this by his majesty himself.

De concessione creationis FRANCISCI BACON,
militis & baronis, in vicecomitem.

R E X, &c. archiepiscopis, ducibus, marchionibus, comitibus, viceco-
 mitibus, episcopis, baronibus, praepositis, liberis hominibus, ac om-
 nibus officiariis, ministris & subditis nostris quibuscunque, ad quos praesen-
 tes literae pervenerint, salutem.

ARBITRAMUR regalis dignitatis fastigium ornari & illustrari, cum vi-
 ri digni & virtutibus clari, & de corona nostra, & de republica bene meriti,
 honoris & dignitatis titulis & praeherentis insigniuntur & decorantur;
 hoc enim cum fit, & hujusmodi honorati confirmantur in studio bene me-
 rendi, & alii quamplures incenduntur & excitantur ad imitationem virtutis,
 & regis ipsius cura & judicium, in omnes partes ad bonum publicum se
 extendens, populi approbatione & applausu agnoscitur:

Nos igitur matura deliberatione considerantes & perpendentes, in per-
 sona praedilecti & perquam fidelis consilarii nostri *Francisci Bacon*, mili-
 tis, baronis de *Verulamio*, cancellarii nostri *Angliae*, familiam a clara stir-
 pe oriundam, in qua etiam elucescit illud, quod raro aut fortasse nunquam
 antehac accidit, ut patri optimo & prudentissimo viro in officio custodis
 magni sigilli *Angliae* succederet, cumque idem *Franciscus* per gradus
 dignitatis & officiorum quamplures, & tanquam in perpetua serie servitii
 nostri ad sublimem dignitatem cancellarii nostri per nos, veluti manuductus

& effectus fuerit ; denique animo revolventes grata & fidelia servitia, quae idem *Franciscus* per omnes illos dignitatis & officiorum gradus, tam in administratione justitiae, summa cum assiduitate, integritate & fide, quam in arduis negotiis regni, concilii, status & aerarii nostri, magna cum cura & prudentia, necnon candore & obsequio, praestitit & impendit, quumque constans & strenuus defensor jurium coronae nostrae semper extiterit, absque ullo vel emolumentum privati vel vanae ostentationis & aerae popularis, vel alicujus omnino particularis finis aut effectus respectu, cum censuimus dignum quem in sublimiorem honoris gradum eveheremus.

SCIATIS igitur quod nos, de gratia nostra speciali, ac ex certa scientia & mero motu nostris, praefatum *Franciscum* baronem de *Verulamio* praedictum, in vicecomitem *Sancti Albani*, ereximus, praefecimus & creavimus, ipsumque *Franciscum* vicecomitem *Sancti Albani* praedicti, tenore praesentium, erigimus, praeficimus & creamus, eidemque *Francisco* nomen, statum, styllum, gradum, dignitatem, titulum & honorem vicecomitis *Sancti Albani* praedicti imposuimus, dedimus & praebuimus, ac per praesentes imponimus, damus & praebemus.

HABENDUM & tenendum eadem nomen, statum, styllum, gradum, dignitatem, titulum & honorem vicecomitis *Sancti Albani* praedicti, cum omnibus & singulis praeeminentiis honoribus caeterisque hujusmodi nomini, statui, stylo, gradui, dignitati, titulo & honori vicecomitis pertinentibus, sive spectantibus, praefato *Francisco* & haeredibus masculis de corpore suo exuentibus imperpetuum.

VOLENTES, & per praesentes concedentes, pro nobis haeredibus & successoribus nostris, quodque praedictus *Franciscus* & haeredes sui masculi praedicti nomen, statum, gradum, styllum, dignitatem, titulum & honorem vicecomitis *Sancti Albani* praedicti successive gerant & habeant, & eorum quilibet gerat & habeat, & per nomen vicecomitis *Sancti Albani* successive vocentur & nuncupentur, & eorum quilibet vocetur & nuncupetur ; quodque idem *Franciscus* & haeredes sui masculi praedicti successive vicecomites *Sancti Albani* in omnibus teneantur, & ut vicecomites tractentur & reputentur, & eorum quilibet teneatur, tractetur & reputetur, habeantque teneant & possideant, & eorum quilibet habeat, teneat & possideat sedem, locum & vocem in parliamentis & publicis comitiis atque conciliis nostris haeredum & successorum nostrorum infra regnum nostrum *Angliae*, inter alios vicecomites & ante omnes barones, ut vicecomitem *Sancti Albani* ; necnon dictus *Franciscus* & haeredes sui masculi praedicti gaudeant & utantur, & eorum quilibet gaudeat & utatur, per nomen vicecomitis *Sancti Albani*, omnibus & singulis libertatibus, juribus, privilegiis, praeeminentiis, & immunitatibus, statui vicecomitis in omnibus rite, & de jure pertinentibus, quibus caeteri vicecomites dicti regni nostri *Angliae* ante haec tempora melius decentius honorificentius & quietius usi sunt & gavisi, seu in praesenti gaudeant & utantur. Et quia crescente status & dignitatis celsitudine, necessarii crescunt sumptus & onera grandiora ; & ut idem *Franciscus* & haeredes sui masculi praedicti melius decentius & honorificentius statum honorem & dignitatem praedicta vicecomitis *Sancti Albani*, ac onera, ipsi *Francisco* & haeredibus suis masculis praedictis incumbentia manutenerent & supportare valeant, & eorum quilibet valeat ; ideo, de uberiori gratia nostra, dedimus & concessimus, ac, per praesentes, pro nobis haeredibus & successoribus nostris, damus & concedimus eidem *Francisco* & haeredibus suis masculis praedictis feodum sive annualem redditum *tredecim*

decim librarum sex solidorum & octo denariorum, eidem Francisco & haeredibus suis masculis praedictis, de exitibus, & proficuis, & reventio- nibus magnae & parvae custumae & subsidii nostri nobis concessi seu de- biti, seu impofterum nobis haeredibus & successoribus nostris concedendi five debendi, provenientis, crescentis, five emergentis infra portum civitatis nostrae Londoniae, per manus custumariorum, five collectorum nostrorum, haeredum & successorum nostrorum, custumae & subsidii nostri haeredum & successorum nostrorum ibidem pro tempore existentium, ad festa paschae & sancti Michaelis archangeli per aequales portiones. Volumus etiam, &c. Eo quod expressa mentio, &c. In cujus rei, &c. Hiis testibus, praecha- rissimo & praedilectissimo filio nostro, Carolo principe Walliae, ac charis- simis consanguineis & consiliariis nostris, Henrico vicecomite Mandeville thesaurario nostro Angliae, Edwardo comite Wigorniae custode privati si- gilli nostri, Georgio marchione Bucks magno ammirallo nostro Angliae, Jacobo marchione Hamilton, Willielmo comite Pembroke camerario hos- pitii nostri, Thoma comite Arundelliae & Surriae; ac etiam charissimis consanguineis nostris, Francisco comite Rotelandiae, Philippo comite Mountgomery, Roberto comite Leicestriae, Esme comite March, Johan- ne comite Holdernes, charissimisque consanguineis & consiliariis nostris, Thoma comite Kelley, Jacobo vicecomite Doncaster, Henrico vicecomite Faulkland contrarotulatore hospitii nostri; ac praedilectis & fidelibus no- stris, Willielmo domino Cavendish, Thoma domino Wentworth; necnon praedilectis & fidelibus consiliariis nostris, Georgio domino Carewe, Jo- hanne domino Digby, vicecamerario hospitii nostri, Thoma Edmonds mi- lite thesaurario hospitii nostri, Georgio Calvert milite, uno primariorum se- cretariorum nostrorum, Lionelle Cranfield milite, magistro curiae nostrae wardorum & liberationum; & multis aliis. Dat. per manum nostram apud palatium nostrum Westm. vicesimo septimo die Januarii.

Per ipsum Regem.

‘UPON the thirtieth of January the session was opened; at which time my lord chancellor, newly created viscount St Alban, appeared in his greatest honour and splendor, and soon after in the greatest state of humiliation; which later part being the subject that I am to consider of, I shall, from the journals of both houses, and some other memoirs that I have seen, give as impartial an account of this reverse of fortune, and the causes thereof, as I have desired to do, of the brighter part of his life.

‘ABOUT the twelfth of March 1620, a committee was appointed of some members of the lower house, to inspect the abuses of the courts of justice, whereof sir Edward Sackville, was named the chair-man; but by reason of some indisposition, sir Robert Phelips was put into his place. The first thing they fell upon was bribery and corruption, of which my lord chancellor was accused by one Aubery and Egerton, who affirmed, they procured money to be given to his lordship, to promote their causes depending before him. The truth thereof being corroborat- ed by some circumstances, a report was made from the committee to the house upon the fifteenth, yet with all tenderness and respect to his lordship, in regard, as the chair-man declared, “it touched the honour of a great man, so endued with all parts, both of nature and art, as that he would say no more of him, being not able to say enough:” For which reasons they desired that all expedition might be used. Upon the

Stephens p. 51.

‘seventeenth

seventeenth sir *Robert Phelps* made a second report of other matters of the same nature charged upon the chancellor. At which time sir *Edward Sackville*, afterwards the noble earl of *Dorset*, sir *Heneage Finch*, recorder of *London*, with some others, spake much in his lordship's defence. But at length it was resolved, that the heads of the accusation, should be drawn up by the chairman, sir *Edward Coke*, Mr *Noy*, and sir *Dudley Digges*, and related to the lords, without prejudice, at a conference; which was accordingly performed upon *Monday* the nineteenth of this same month; and after the report of the conference by the lord treasurer, the marquis of *Buckingham* presented a letter written to their lordships by the chancellor upon the same day, which is entered at large upon their journal.

TOWARDS the later end of the month, the session was discontinued for some time, in hopes, as was thought, to soften the chancellor's fall. But upon their re-assembling, more complaints being daily represented, his lordship abandoned all defence, and upon the twenty second of *April* 1621, he sent an ingenuous confession and submission to the house of peers, which has been printed in several books. But their lordships not thinking it particular or satisfactory enough, sent him a charge consisting of several articles, requiring a particular answer: which he returned soon after; and having thereby confessed some, denied others, and answered or explained the rest, so as to take off the malignity of the offence, he concludes the whole in this manner.

"THIS declaration I have made to your lordships with a sound and sincere mind, humbly craving that if there should be any mistake, your lordships would impute it to want of memory, and not for any desire of mine to obscure truth, or palliate any thing. For I do again confess, that in the points charged upon me, though they should be taken, as my self have declared them, is a great deal of corruption and neglect: for which I am heartily and penitently sorry, and submit my self to the judgment, and to the grace and mercy of this court.

"FOR extenuation, I will use none concerning the matters themselves: only, it may please your lordships, out of your nobleness, to cast your eyes of compassion upon my person and estate. I was never noted for any avaritious man; and the apostle saith, *that covetousness is the root of all evil*. I hope also, that your lordships do rather find me in a state of grace; for that in all these particulars, there are few or none that are not almost two years old; whereas those that have a habit of corruption, do commonly wax worse: so that it hath pleased almighty God to prepare me by precedent degrees of amendment to my present penitency. And for my estate, it is so poor and mean, as my care is now chiefly to satisfy my debts.

"AND so, fearing I have troubled your lordships too long, I shall conclude with an humble suit unto you; that if your lordships proceed to sentence, your sentence may not be heavy to my ruin, but gracious, and mixed with mercy. And not only so, but that you would be noble intercessors for me to his majesty likewise, for his grace and favour.

Your lordships humble servant and supplicant,

FRANCIS ST ALBAN.

THE

THE lords taking this for a full and ingenuous confession, sent several of their members, to see if the chancellor would own it to be his hand, and abide by it; which he did in these words: "My lords, It is my act, my hand, my heart; I beseech your lordships to be merciful to a broken reed." Upon which the peers sent to the house of commons, that they were ready to give judgment, when they were willing to demand it: Which being done by their speaker upon the third of *May* 1621, the lord chief justice pronounced the following judgment of the house of peers against the lord chancellor, then absent through sickness.

THAT the viscount St *Albans*, lord chancellor of *England*, shall undergo fine and ransom of 40000 *l*. That he shall be imprisoned in the tower during the king's pleasure: That he shall for ever be incapable of any office, place or employment, in the state or common-wealth; that he shall never sit in parliament, or come within the verge of the court.

THE prince, and some others, endeavoured to have mitigated the severity of this sentence; and many of the lords, as it were excusing the rigor thereof, did after tell his lordship, that they knew they left him in good hands.

IN the relation which I have given of this affair, I have omitted a particular account of the articles and answers, in respect of the length; and also, because, that during the session of parliament, which met in the beginning of the year 1701, the whole proceedings against the lord chancellor in the house of lords, were published from the journal. The reasons of the then search are obvious enough, but the copy which was then taken, I presume, was surreptitiously printed, I am sure very incorrectly. The last article therein was, "that his lordship had given way to great exactions in his servants:" And he confessed, "it was a great neglect in him, that he looked to them no better." This I the rather mention, because those writers who excuse the master, lay the greatest blame upon his servants: and there is no doubt but that some of them were very guilty; and that their lord had that opinion of them; which it is reported, his lordship in the time of these troubles, signified in passing through a room: where many of his retinue rising up to salute him; he said, sit you down, my masters, your rise hath been my fall. And we are told by *Rushworth*, in the first volume of his *Historical Collections*, "That he treasured up nothing for himself or family, but was over indulgent to his servants, and connived at their takings, and their ways betrayed him to that error: They were profuse and expensive, and had at their command whatever he was master of. The gifts taken, were for the most part for interlocutory orders; his decrees were generally made with so much equity, that though gifts rendered him suspected for injustice, yet never any decree made by him was reversed as unjust, as it hath been observed by some, knowing in our laws.

To this I shall only add what he alleges by way of excuse, that great part of the gifts, &c. were made as presents, in cases where no suit was depending, or a good while before they were begun, or after they were ended.

UPON this occasion, who can forbear to observe and lament the weakness and infirmity of human nature? To see a man so far exalted above the common level of his fellow creatures, to sink so far below it: To see a man, who like *Seneca*, gave admirable rules for the conduct of life,

‘ life, and condemning the avaritious pursuit after riches ; and what is un-
 ‘ like *Seneca*, contemning them in his own person ; and yet to be defiled
 ‘ thereby : to see a man applauding sir *George Villiers*, whilst very
 ‘ young, for despising money, where it crossed reason of state or virtue,
 ‘ to take money in his mature age, in opposition to both, and to his own
 ‘ destruction : above all, to see a great master of reason and philosophy,
 ‘ who had been a credit and ornament to the reformed religion, to abate
 ‘ the lustre of his example, by submitting to a temptation, which many
 ‘ of the heathen philosophers had the power to resist. But as his lordship
 ‘ had the misfortune to be made a memorial for the greatest and the wisest,
 ‘ to take heed lest they fall ; so he hath the good fortune, (which he ob-
 ‘ serves, attended three famous writers, fallen under the like circumstan-
 ‘ ces) to have the remembrance of this calamity, looked on by posterity
 ‘ as a little picture of night-work, remaining amongst the fair, and excel-
 ‘ lent tables of his acts and works. Vol. III. p. 534.

‘ BEFORE I leave this subject, I shall take some notice of a letter the
 ‘ marquis of *Buckingham* writ to sir *Lionel Cranfield*, soon after the ac-
 ‘ cusing of the chancellor ; wherein he hop’d that God, who had given
 ‘ that lord many other great gifts, had also preserv’d him from being guil-
 ‘ ty of such crimes : yet he also hoped, the house of commons would
 ‘ wave their application to the lords, and go their direct way to the king,
 ‘ who both could and would do them justice. And I remember Dr *Hey-*
 ‘ *lyn*, in his life of archbishop *Laud*, and Mr *Elsing*, in a manuscript
 ‘ discourse touching parliaments, looked upon the giving up of this great
 ‘ minister to the parliament, as a wrong step made by the king, and a
 ‘ leading card to others soon after. Yet the committee seem’d to be of
 ‘ another opinion, when they told the peers that they followed ancient
 ‘ precedents, which shew’d that great persons had been accused for the like
 ‘ in parliament. But from what has been said, it may be observ’d how *
 ‘ mistaken the editor of *Morery’s* dictionary is, when he affirms, under
 ‘ the title of king *James*, and the lord *Bacon*, that the duke of *Buck-*
 ‘ *ingham* was the cause of the lord chancellor’s downfall ; nor do I know
 ‘ any historian that asserts the same.

* *Quære.*

† See the
 following
 instrument.

‘ WHEN the great seal was taken from this lord, it was put into com-
 ‘ missioners hands for some time, till it fell very unexpectedly to the cu-
 ‘ stody of Dr *Williams*, the dean of *Westminster*. Upon the tenth of
 ‘ † *July* 1621, the king declares to his privy-council, the reasons of his
 ‘ choice. First, Because of the deans good parts, wherewith nature
 ‘ and education had enabled him for publick ministry, and the great ex-
 ‘ perience he had in chancery business under the lord *Ellesmere*. Second-
 ‘ ly, That being resolved to reform that court, and not to have a law-
 ‘ yer ; the dean being young and active, might take pains in the same :
 ‘ and being intended but for a probationer for a time, he might at the end
 ‘ be rewarded with a better bishoprick, than what he soon designed him :
 ‘ for which purpose, he resolved the dean should hold the place but a
 ‘ year and a half, unless it should prove very inconvenient to business ;
 ‘ and then, after so much longer time, positively to resign the same. His
 ‘ majesty farther declared, that he should be assisted in matters legal, by
 ‘ the two chief justices, judge *Dodderidge* and *Hutton* ; and that the
 ‘ placing of justices of peace, he would reserve to himself. These rea-
 ‘ sons I have extracted from the act of council ; but whether they were
 ‘ suggested

suggested by the dean himself, or were the result of his majesty's own, or others thoughts, I shall leave to the reader to judge from what has been said, and from what bishop *Hacket* declares in the history of the keeper's life: That to break the force of envy, likely to attend that action, he desired his majesty to abridge the grandeur of the place, by providing that no chancellor for the future, might continue above three years, and that he himself might be in the nature of a probationer for one year and a half: that he might have a learned master of the rolls to sit with him, and the assistance of two judges: but that all these proposals were rejected and made ineffectual, and probably by some curious persons, to see how the keeper could sustain himself. But I shall not digress any farther, the lord keeper's life and actions having been represented by his friends and enemies, whereby he does appear to have been — master of great learning and abilities, tho' like most other great jewels, he was not without his flaws.

MEMORANDUM quod die martis, primo die *Maii*, millesimo ^{Rymer.} sexcentesimo vicesimo primo, anno regni domini nostri *Jacobi*, Dei ^{Vol. XVII.} gratia, *Angliae, Franciae & Hiberniae*, decimo nono, & *Scotiae* quin- ^{p. 296, 1621.} quagesimo quarto, viri praenobiles, *Henricus* vicecomes *Maundeville*, dominus thesaurarius *Angliae*, *Lodovicus* dux *Lenox*, dominus seneschallus hospitii dicti domini regis, *Willielmus* comes *Pembrochiae*, camerarius hospitii dicti domini regis, & *Thomas* comes *Arundel* e secretioribus conciliis.

SINGULI, virtute mandati cujusdam, dicti domini regis iis directi, adscito etiam *Johanne Bendlowe* armigero, deputato clerico coronae, ad illustrissimum *Franciscum* vicecomitem *Sancti Albani*, cancellarium *Angliae*, in aedibus *Eboracensibus* morbo laborantem, & ad lectum suum decumbentem accesserint, ubi posteaquam praedicti dominus thesaurarius, dux *Lenox*, comes *Pembroch*, & comes *Arundell* mentem & propositum regiae majestatis de magno sigillo *Angliae* resumendo paucis explicassent, seque non alia de causa eo missos subinde monuissent; dominus cancellarius dictum sigillum candido quodam & pelliceo facculo, quem proprio annulo obsignasset, repositum, sibi afferri curavit, & circa horam quartam post meridiem ejusdem diei, idem sigillum praedictis domino thesaurario, duci *Lenox*, comiti *Pembrochiae* & comiti *Arundel*, omni qua decuit reverentia, in manus exhibuit.

QUOD quidem sigillum alio jam marsupio aureo serico & regiis insignibus affabre intexto impositum, praedicto deputato clerico coronae, ut idem deferret, tradiderunt viri illustrissimi, & ad palatium de *Whitehall*, ubi tunc commorata est regia majestas, se retulerunt, ubi praedictum sigillum in manus domini regis in camera quadam regio cubiculo proxima tum agentis, humillime tradiderunt.

REX vero statim facculum praedictum resignari, atque inde magnum sigillum extrahi jussit, & tres delegationes sive commissiones eodem formari & sigillari mandavit; harum una, domino *Julio Caesari* militi, magistro rotulorum, & diversis justiciariis de utroque banco, & aliis, pro causis in cancellaria audiendis pariter & judicandis, inscripta est; altera domino *Jacobo Ley* militi & baronetto, capitali justiciario dicti domini regis ad placita coram ipso tenenda, ad locum & officium domini cancellarii vel domini custodis magni sigilli *Angliae* in superiori domo parlamenti exequendum, concessa

concessa erat; tertia denique praefatis domino thesaurario, duci *Lenox*, comiti *Pembrochiae*, & comiti *Arundel*, demandata est; cujus quidem vigore, viris hisce illustrissimis, aut eorum sigillatim binis, amplissima, chartas, literas patentes, edicta, processus, decreta cancellariae, omnia denique brevia & rescrypta, a cancellario aut custode magni sigilli, jam olim subscribi, signari aut sigillari solita, subscribendi, signandi & sigillandi copia & facultas, usquedum regiae majestati aliter visum fuerit, delata est; & tum, una cum hac charta commissionis, praedictum magnum sigillum, in manus praefatorum dominorum ad hoc munus delegatorum, custodiri tradidit regia majestas.

QUI quidem domini delegati, in camera illa palatii regiae majestatis de *Whitehall*, quae secretioribus regni conciliis designata est, subinde convenientes, omnia brevia, commissiones, concessionem, proclamationes, & alia quaecunque, magno sigillo communienda, in conspectu suo, quotiescunque opus fuit, sigillari curarunt. Interea vero, die lunae, vicesimo quinto die *Junii*, anno supradicto, *Johannem Williams* sacrae theologiae professorem, jam olim celeberrimi illius cancellarii *Thomae Egerton* vicecomitis *Brackley* facellanum, atque, eo defuncto sed nondum sepulto, regiae majestati a sacris adscriptum, & ab eadem, primo beneficiis ecclesiasticis, dein *Sarisburyensi*, & nuper admodum *Westmonasteriensi* decanatu, munificentissime cumulatam, & jam in episcopum *Lincolniensem* designatum, regia majestas e secretioribus conciliis jam constituit, & ad mensam in camera illa apud *Whitehall*, ubi senatus haberi solet, eodem vicesimo quinto die *Junii*, eo quo reliqui consiliarii sacramento devinctum voluit.

NON multis post diebus; videlicet, die martis, decimo die *Julii* anno dicti domini *Jacobi* regis decimo nono, circa horam duodecimam ejusdem diei, eadem majestas regia, praedictum magnum sigillum *Angliae* sibi afferri mandavit, quod statim praefati domini delegati, una cum commissione & facultate praedictis domino regi in manus sursum reddiderunt; tum, advocato *Thoma Edwards* generoso, qui characterem imprimendi; & *Roberto Thornton* generoso, qui ceram digitis molliendi officium obtinet, sigillum e priori sacculo, a saepius dicto *Johanne Bendlowe*, deputato clerico coronae, eo ut de magno magni sigilli custode constituendo testimonium ferret, & in acta referret, evocato, extrahebatur; & statim, mos enim iste venit in consuetudinem, unum Breve de statuto stapulae coram ipso domino rege, regia majestas coram sigillari mandavit; nec multo post, rex augustissimus, in cathedra sua assidens, in aspectu & confesso senatorum, e repente praedictum decanum ad se evocat, eumque ad custodiam magni sigilli, praeter suam, & plurimorum etiam assistentium expectationem, aperte nominat; & postquam elegantissimam, gravissimam, prudentissimam, & plane *Nestoream* orationem de officio, integritate, sedulitate & industria in custode sigilli requirendis, habuisset, eidem decano magnum sigillum *Angliae*, propriis suis, iisque munificentissimis manibus, custodiendum tradidit, & hac antiquissima sigilli tradendi ceremonia, praedictum *Johannem Williams* decanum *Westm.* e privatis consiliariis unum, & ad episcopatum *Lincoln.* regiis literis nuper designatum, dominum custodem magni sigilli *Angliae* solemniter constituit; habendum & tenendum eidem *Johanni Williams*, cum omnibus & singulis feodis proficuis commoditatibus praeheminentiis & advantagiis eidem officio domini custodis magni sigilli *Angliae* quoquo modo pertinentibus sive spectantibus, in tam amplis modo & forma, prout *Nicolaus Bacon* miles, *Johannes Puckering* miles, *Tho-*

mas Egerton miles, Franciscus Bacon miles, aut aliquis alius custos magni sigilli Angliae antehac habuerit aut gavissus fuerit :

IPSE vero dominus custos, praedictum sigillum e regiis manibus plane augustissimis, mirabundus accipiens, brevem & humillimam orationem habuit, regiam benignitatem obstupescens extulit, propriam tenuitatem & infantiam agnovit, se a strepitu forensi natura abhorrentem, & in civilibus hisce occupationibus plane peregrinum, professus est; nec abstinere posse se dixit, quin illud augustissimo regi in mentem revocet, quod *Jacob olim Pharaoni, pastor ovium est servus tuus*: postremo, hoc voto & obsecratione sermonem finivit, quod si onus hoc, alii honorem vocant, suis humeris, quod valde veritus est, impar usu experiretur, veniam daret serenissima majestas ut hoc officio se sponte abdicaret, & desinere potius quam deficere eligeret.

QUAE omnia solemniter peracta fuerunt in praesentia, *Caroli principis Walliae, Georgii archiepiscopi Cantuar. Henrici vicecomitis Maundeville thesaurarii Angliae, Edwardi comitis Wigorn. custodis privati sigilli, Lodovici ducis Lenox seneschalli hospitii dicti domini regis, Georgii marchionis Bucks, magni admiralli Angliae, domini custodis amici fidelissimi & fautoris plane amantissimi, Jacobi marchionis Hamilton. Willielmi comitis Pembr. camerarii hospitii domini regis, Thomae comitis Arundel. Thomae comitis Kelly, Jacobi vicecomitis Doncastr. Henrici vicecomitis Falkland, Lanceloti episcopi Winton. Fulconis domini Brooke, Lionelli domini Cranfield, Thomae Edmonds militis, thesaurarii hospitii domini regis, Georgii Calvert militis, unius primariorum secretariorum, Julii Caesaris militis, magistri rotulorum cancellariae, & aliorum.*

POSTEA autem dictus dominus custos ad cameram senatoriam statim se contulit, & ibidem triplici jurejurando, suprematus nimirum, allegiantiae, & custodis magni sigilli Angliae devinctus, & consiliarios singulos tunc praesentes, porrectis invicem ut mos est manibus, salutatus, sedem suam ab ima in superiorem mensae partem, Dei & regis optimi favore eximio, dentavit: nec multo post praedictum magnum sigillum pelliceo illo sacculo de novo reconditum, sub proprio domini custodis annulo consignato, & marsupio illo aurato & intertexto impositum, praedicto deputato clerico coronae, qui idem coram deportaret, suis manibus tradidit; quo ante-ambulante, se in propriam domum recepit.

NEC multis inde elapsis mensibus, idem dominus custos decanus *Westm.* hunc enim decanatum, singulari munificentissimi regis clementia & indulgentia commendatus, retinuit, jam in episcopum *Lincolniensem* electus & confirmatus: die martis, nono die *Octobris* 1621. anno decimo nono *Jacobi* regis supradicto, primo die termini sancti *Michaelis*, a propriis aedibus, collegio nimirum *Westm.* primo ad ecclesiam collegiatam beati *Petri Westm.* profectus est: cumque ibi in celeberrimo illo *Henrici* septimi sacello preces & orationes publicas & privatas effudisset, aulam *Westm.* anno jam a remotione episcoporum plane climacterico, nimirum sexagesimo tertio, pedes, & propriis tantum famulis stipatus, ingressus est. Ibi autem domino custodi circa horam nonam ante-meridianam in curiae cancellariae sellam & tribunal conscenso, *Henricus* comes *Maundeville*, dominus praesidentis concilii privati regiae majestatis, (neque enim domini thesaurarii impleta adhuc erat inauguratio,) Novum Testamentum exhibuit, & praedictus *Johannes * Bend-*

* *Bendbrow,*
R.

gliae perlegit, ad quod dominus custos, tactis sacrosanctis Dei Evangeliiis, sanctissime juravit : & cum, pro consuetudine & more loci, illustrissimum dominum, dominum praesidentem, magistrum rotulorum, reliquosque primae formae clericos sive cancellariae magistros, salutasset ; proprio loco confedit ; & ubi, de curiae * istis scitis & placitis, ad praescriptum regium emendandis & corrigendis, & aliis rebus haud dissimilibus, orationem bene longam habuisset, domino praesidenti humanissime valedixit, officiariis ut figillarent mandavit, & se interim ad jurisconsultorum quaesita audiendum simul & terminandum placide composuit.

* f. istius.

QUAE peracta fuerunt solemniter in praesentia praedictorum vicecomitis Maundeville domini praesidentis concilii, Julii Caesaris militis, magistri rotulorum, diversorum magistrorum curiae cancellariae, & multorum aliorum.

ET memorandum quod, ad mandatum praehonorabilis & reverendi in Christo patris Johannis Williams domini episcopi Lincoln. ac domini custodis magni sigilli Angliae, ac praehonorabilis Julii Caesaris militis, magistri rotulorum in haec verba : *Let this be inrolled.*

Jo. Lincoln. Jul. Caesar. Scriptum praedictum de verbo in verbum ut praescribitur, irrotulatur ; *Irr' vicesimo die Octobris anno praedicto,*

* See Dr. Franklin's letter, N. IV. p. 130.

' AFTER the judgment given against the lord chancellor, and a short imprisonment in the * Tower, he retired from the light of an active life, which he had been called to much against his genius, to the shade of contemplation, which he had always loved. And here I shall consider him spending the remainder of his days in privacy, which in the respect of the works he revised or composed, may be esteemed *Nobile Quinquennium*, procuring as much honour to his name, and more benefit to the world, than the most celebrated parts of his life.

THIS great prelate seems here to malign his much greater predecessor: but I shall not farther interpose.

The lord keeper to the marquis of Buckingham, concerning the lord of S. ALBANS. Cabala, p. 287.

My most noble Lord,

* Rymer XVII. p. 325.

I HAVE received your lordship's expression, concerning the pause I made upon the two patents : The proclamation of [* drawing] writing to the king's hand, and my lord of St Alban's pardon. The former I have sealed this morning, in duty, and obedience to your lordship's intimation : the later I have not yet sealed ; but do represent (in all lowliness and humility) these few considerations by your lordship to his sacred majesty ; wherein let your lordship make no question, but I have advised with the best lawyers in the kingdom. And after this representation, I will perform whatsoever your lordship shall direct. 1. His majesty and your lordship do conceive, that my lord of St Alban's pardon, and grant of his fine, came both together to my hands ; and so your lordship directs me to pass the one and the other : but his lordship was too cunning for

for me. He passed his fine (whereby he hath deceived his creditors) ten days before he presented his pardon to the seal. So as now, in his pardon, I find his parliamentary fine excepted, which he hath, before the sealing of the same, obtained and procured. And whether the house of parliament will not hold themselves mocked and derided with such an exception, I leave to your lordship's wisdom. These two grants are opposite and contradictory (in this point) the one to the other.

2. THE king pardons in particular words, all sums of money, and rewards taken for false judgments, or decrees. And therefore the exception of the parliamentary censure (being inflicted but for the same taking of moneys and rewards) coming a good way after, falleth too late in law, and is of no force to satisfy the lords, (as I am informed;) and I believe this clause was never seen in any other pardon.

3. THE king pardoneth, in my lord of *St Alban*, the stealing away, altering, rasing and interlining of his majesty's rolls, records, briefs, &c. which are more in a lord chancellor's pardon, than the imbezelling of his majesty's jewels in a lord chamberlain's: and yet the lord chancellor *Ellesmere* could not endure that clause in my lord of *Somerset's* pardon, unless he would name the jewels in particular.

4. I WILL not meddle or touch upon those mistakings which may fall between the parliament and his majesty, or the misinterpretation that enemies may make hereof to your lordship's prejudice; because I see (in his majesty's great wisdom) these are not regarded. Only I could have wished, the pardon had been referred to the council-board, and so passed. I have now discharged my self of those poor scruples, which (in respect only to his majesty's service, and your lordship's honour) have wrought this short stay of my lord of *St Alban's* pardon. Whatsoever your lordship shall now direct, I will most readily (craving pardon for this not undutiful boldness) put in execution. Because some speech may fall of this days speech, which I had occasion to make in the common-pleas, where a bishop was never seen sitting there these seventy years: I have presumed to enclose a copy thereof; because it was a very short one.

YOUR lordship shall not need to take that great pains (which your lordship, to my unexpressible comfort, hath so often done) in writing. What command soever your lordship shall impose upon me, as touching this pardon, your lordship's expression to Mr *Packer*, or the bearer, shall deliver it sufficiently. God from Heaven continue the showering and heaping of his blessings upon your lordship, &c.

Octob. 27. 1621.

'THE first, or at least the greatest act of kindness the king extended ^{Stephens, p. 57.} to him, was the releasing the parliamentary fine, granting it to some friends of his lordships, which I conceive was done, in order to give him a little respite from his creditors: to whom I have somewhere seen, that he paid 8000 £. after his fall.' And he relates in Vol. IV. letter CXLIX. p. 691. 'that he had spread all his plate and jewels upon poor men. Upon the thirtieth of July, 1624. he implores of his majesty a total remission of his sentence, to the end that blot of ignominy might be removed from him, and from his memory with posterity: Which request I suppose was granted; because I find he was summoned to parliament, in the first year of king *Charles*.

* He had his
chaplain,
Nov. 1621.
See above
p. 131.

‘ It may be presum’d that the pressing of his creditors, and the ill payment of his pensions, upon his disgrace, compelled him to write to the king the hundred and forty-ninth, and some other complaining letters : but that he died in so low a condition, as * *Howel* has represented in one of his letters, and from him monsieur *Bayle* has inserted in his dictionary, and other learned persons in their works, is by no means to be granted. For tho’ his liberality and neglect of treasuring up money, and his great expence in making of experiments, seem to have exhausted the gains of his profession and preferments ; yet Dr *Rawley*, his domestick chaplain, and a person much trusted by his lordship, assures us, the king had given him out of the broad seal, and out of the alienation office to the value of 1800 *l. per annum* ; which with his manor of *Gorhambury*, and other lands adjoining, amounting to a third part more, he retained to his dying-day : and so I suppose he did the profits of the office of register in the star-chamber, computed at 1600 *l. per ann.* which was granted to him in reversion, by queen *Elizabeth*, tho’ it fell not unto him, ’till towards the later end of her successor’s reign. In his last will, which bears date the nineteenth of *December*, 1625. (besides what was settled, and left to his lady, answerable to her quality ;) he gives several large charities and legacies to his friends and servants, and makes an estimate of his estate, by which debts and legacies might be satisfied : and appoints that out of the remainder, a lecture should be founded in each university for natural philosophy, and the sciences, which he hoped would at least amount to 200 *l.* a year a-piece : wherein he directs his trustees to have regard to the † measures sir *Henry Savile* had lately taken in his ; and intreats his noble and constant friend, the duke of *Buckingham*, to be an overseer of his will, and that his executors would take some pains in the performance ; that considering what he had been, his good mind, by their good care, might effect that good work. Yet monsieur *Sorbier* takes upon him to tell the world, as from sir *William Boswel*, a friend of my lords, that his lordship made his will by way of gallantry, and that he therein left four hundred thousand *livres* to an imaginary college ; whereof he had designed the plan in his new *Atlantis*. But this was an imagination more wild and groundless, than any that had grown up in *Sorbier’s* brain. It was well known, that my lord *Bacon*, in the fable of the new *Atlantis*, exhibited a model, rather possible to be effected, than probable to be ever attempted by the greatest and most opulent prince. It is as true his lordships executors declined to act, finding I suppose his debts greater, and the estate less than the testator conceived : so that administration was granted to Mr *Meautys*, and another of his creditors.

† See the
charter, Ry-
mer, Vol.
XVII. p. 217.
drawn up
1620. when
our author
was chancel-
lor.

‘ I SHALL conclude this matter, with this short reflection, That if my lord of St *Alban’s* occasions, made him sometime write to the king in a pressing and supplicating manner ; yet the many works he composed, and designed, during his retirement, shew that his thoughts were still free, vigorous, and noble. What those were in particular, and upon what account written, the reader will in some measure collect from a letter Vol. III. p. 534. sent to the bishop of *Winchester*.

IN commendation of the lord *Bacon’s* proposal, &c. ‘ the late lord chief justice *Hale*, in his excellent preface to *Rolle’s* abridgement, hath left us his sense of the matter, in these words. “ It were to be wished, that

“ some

“ some compleat *Corpus juris communis* were extracted out of the many
 “ books of our *English* laws, for the publick use, and for contracting the
 “ laws into a narrow compass and method, at least for ordinary study.” But
 “ this is a work of time, and requires many industrious and judicious hands
 “ and heads to assist in it.

THE account of our author's fate, as printed by Mr *Busbel* in his Extract
 (postscript p. 19, 20.) ought not to be omitted: where speaking of the lord
Bacon's mineral prosecutions; he observes,

‘ BUT before this could be accomplished to his own content, there
 ‘ arose such complaints against his lordship, and * the then favourite at court;
 ‘ that for some days put the king to this query, whether he should permit
 ‘ the favourite of his affection, or the oracle of his council, to sink in his
 ‘ service? Whereupon his lordship was sent for by the king, who, after
 ‘ some discourse, gave him this positive advice, to submit himself to his
 ‘ house of peers, and that (upon his princely word) he would then restore
 ‘ him again, if they (in their honors) should not be sensible of his merits:
 ‘ now though my lord fore-saw his approaching ruin, and told his ma-
 ‘ jesty there was little hopes of mercy in a multitude, when his enemies
 ‘ were to give fire, if he did not plead for himself; yet such was his obe-
 ‘ dience to him from whom he had his being, that he resolved, his ma-
 ‘ jesty's will should be his only law, and so took leave of him, with these
 ‘ words, Those that will strike at your chancellor (its much to be feared)
 ‘ will strike at your crown; and wish'd that as he was then the first, so
 ‘ he might be the last of sacrifices. Soon after (according to his majesties
 ‘ commands) he wrote a submissive letter to the house, and sent me to
 ‘ my lord *Windsor* to know the result, which I was loth at my return to
 ‘ acquaint him with; for alas! his sovereign's favour was not in so high a
 ‘ measure, but he (like the *Phoenix*) must be sacrificed in flames of his
 ‘ own raising, and so perish'd (like *Icarus*) in that his lofty design; the
 ‘ great revenue of his office being lost; and his titles of honour saved but
 ‘ by the bishops votes; whereto he replied, that he was only bound to
 ‘ thank his clergy. The thunder of this fatal sentence did much perplex
 ‘ my troubled thoughts, as well as others, to see that famous lord, who
 ‘ * procured his majesty to call this parliament, must be the first subject of
 ‘ their revengful wrath; and that so unparalleled a master should be thus
 ‘ brought upon the publick stage for the foolish miscarriages of his own ser-
 ‘ vants, whereof (with grief of heart) I confess myself to be one. Yet short-
 ‘ ly after, the king dissolved the parliament, but never restored that match-
 ‘ less lord to his place; which made him then to wish the many years he
 ‘ had spent in state-policy and law-study, had been solely devoted to true
 ‘ philosophy: for (said he) the one at best doth but comprehend man's
 ‘ frailty in its greatest splendor; but the other the mysterious knowledge
 ‘ of all things created in the six days work.’

THE following letter making honourable mention of our noble author,
 and doing justice to the memory of Mr *Busbel*, I have thought fit to
 place it here. And tho' I am unacquainted with Mr *Busbel's* character
 in most views; yet his gratitude, integrity, and skill in his proper province,
 are so lively represented in this letter, as well as in his Extract, that I could
 not avoid paying him this respect: especially as he indeavoured to per-
 petuate the memory of our noble author, by gold and copper coins, which
 the reader will find neatly engraved in the title page from an original of
 my own.

P P

W E

* See
 Hacket's
 life of Bp
 Williams
 p. 49, 50.

* See
 Vol. IV.
 p. 681.

BRISTOL,
May 26. 1662.

WE exceedingly rejoyce to hear the long lookt for news, that his majesty hath given the royal assent to the bill confirming agreements between *Thomas Busbel* Esq; and the miners of *Rowpits* in the county of *Somerset*, for recovering those drowned and deserted works. It seems that act past among other acts of parliament the 19th of this instant *May*, by virtue of which supreme authority all men have a firm foundation to proceed on; so as we doubt not by God's blessing to make it manifest to the world, that these *Mendippe* works will be what the people themselves usually styled them, the *English Indies* for lead ore; and we desire that the honour of this great work may redound to God's glory, and the lord chancellor *Bacon's* philosophical theory in mineral discoveries, which (its confessed) did light the first candle to these and all other mines of like nature. Those who said Mr *Busbel* was poor in purse, do now begin to perceive why he refused all partnership in that affair, being confident from the practick of his own experience to repair by this, the ruin of his fortunes sustained in these last broken times, and prove a sufficient supply to perfect his enterprize of discoveries in foreign parts; which we can confidently say, although this work of *Rowpits* was generally reputed to have been the overthrow of forty rich families that went before him in the same enterprize, and were esteemed able artists in minerals. This we doubt not Mr *Busbel* will accomplish, since we never knew him to undertake any design, but what was accounted desperate in the judgment of others, and yet at the end reacht his own desires by the same means he now proceeds in this; which none will deny when they remember the erecting those groves and grottos at *Enstone* in *Oxfordshire*, all in one year, to entertain the late king and queen the next, and that as perfectly as if they had been planted twenty years before: his cutting through five mountains in *Cardiganshire* at the lowest level, to recover rich minerals out of the deserted works, which induced his late majesty, as a reward for that action to grant him a mint to coin the silver he had already got, and should get hereafter: his carrying air though the mountains by pipes and bellows without the vast charge of sinking shafts; his saving wood by melting the lead ore with turf and sea-coal charkt; his cloathing the kings army at *Oxford* with the same minerals proceed, and bringing the said mint to serve his majesty's present occasions in that royal garrison, when his other mint in the tower of *London* was denied him, with divers other services; all which we have seen attested under his late majesty's hand and seal. These particulars are well known to the miners and others, who have read Mr *Busbel's* remonstrances to his now majesty; so as his own experience in mineral affairs foreign and domestick ought to be cherish'd by all good subjects; as it hath already been by his majesty and both houses of parliament; especially since the honour and staple trade of this nation doth so much consist in prosecuting the recovery of these works, as well for a precedent to the future, as for the present publick good.

THE reader, I believe, would not have disallow'd my method had I here inserted, the proceedings in parliament against our noble author, his last will and testament, together with an original and authentic account of his debts

debts and incumbrances: But these upon choice and deliberation are printed *p.* 548. at the end of the second volume, that the several tomes might amount to a proportionate number of sheets.

I AM now advancing apace towards an account of this present edition; and yet I conceive I may prepare the reader for it by some paragraphs out of Dr *Tenison's* Introduction: to whose diligence and judgment I have already paid a proper deference and acknowledgment in *p.* 17. of these collections.

HE observes *p.* 21. 'I proceed to subjects upon which I can speak with more assurance, his inimitable writings.

'Now of the works of the lord *Bacon* many are extant, and some are lost, in whole or in part.

HIS *Abecedarium Naturae*, is in part lost, and there remaineth nothing of it besides the fragment ^a lately retrieved. But this loss is the less to be lamented, because it is made up with advantages in the second and better thoughts of the author, in the two first parts of his instauration. The world hath sustain'd a much greater loss in his *Historia Gravis & Levis*, which (I fear) is wholly perished. It is true, he had gone no farther than the general delineation of this work; but those out-lines drawn by so great an artist, would have much directed others, in describing those important *phaenomena* of nature.

TENISON.

^a See Vol. II. *p.* 14.

ALSO his collection of wise and acute sentences, intituled by him, *Ornamenta Rationalia*; is either wholly lost; or, in some obscure place, committed to moths and cobwebs. But this is, here in some sort supplied, partly out of his own works, and partly out of those of one of the ancients. See Vol. III. *p.* 294.

LOST, likewise, is a book which he wrote in his youth, he called it [*Temporis Partus Maximus*] ^b the greatest birth of time: or rather *Temporis Partus Masculus*, the masculine birth of time. For so *Gruter* found it called in some of the papers of Sir *William Boswell* ^c. This was a kind of embryo of the instauration: and if it had been preserved, it might have delighted and profited philosophical readers, who could then have seen the generation of that great work, as it were from the first egg of it.

^b See the *Epist. to Fulgen.* Vol. II.

^c *p.* 403. Vol. II. *p.* 215.

OF those works of the lord *Bacon's* which are extant, some he left imperfect, that he might pursue his design in others; as the *New Atlantis*: some he broke off on purpose, being contented to have set others onwards in their way; as the *dialogue of a holy war*. In some he was prevented by death; as in the History of *Henry* the eighth. Of some he despaired; as of the *Philosophia Prima*, of which he left but some few axioms. And lastly, some he perfected: as some parts of the *great Instauration*. And amongst all his works, that of his *Instauration*, deserveth the first place. He thought so himself, saying to Dr *Andrews*, then lord bishop of *Winchester* ^d, ^e "This is the work, which, in my own judgment, (*Si nunquam fallit imago*) I do most esteem.

^d Vol. III. *p.* 534.

IN this work, he designed to take in pieces the former model of sciences; to lay aside the rotten materials; to give it a new form, and much enlargement; and to found it, not upon imagination, but reason helped by experience. This *great Instauration*, was to consist of six parts.

THE first part proposed was, the *partitions of the sciences*: and this the author perfected in that golden treatise of the *advancement of learning*, addressed

TENISON addressed to king *James*; a labour which he termed ^c the comfort of his son. his other labours. This he first wrote in two books, in the *English* tongue, in which his pen excelled. And of this first edition that is to be meant, which, with some truth, and more modesty, he wrote to the earl of *Salisbury*; telling him ^f, 'That, in his book, he was contented to awake better spirits, being himself like a bell-ringer, who is first up to call others to church.' Afterwards he enlarged the second of those two discourses, which contained especially the above-said partition, and divided the matter of it into eight books. And, knowing that this work was desired beyond the seas, and being also aware, that books written in a modern language, which receiveth much change in a few years, wear out of use; he caused that part of it which he had written in *English*, to be translated into the *Latin* tongue, by Mr *Herbert*, [*Ben. Johnson*] and some others, who were esteemed masters in the *Roman* eloquence. Notwithstanding which, he so suited the style to his conceptions, by a strict castigation of the whole work, that it may deservedly seem his own. The translation of this work (that is, of much of the two books written by him in *English*) he first commended to Dr *Playfer*, a professor of divinity in the university of *Cambridge*; using, amongst others, these words to him.

^c In his letter to Sir T. Bodley Vol. IV. p. 561.
^f Letters Vol. IV. p. 562.

^e Collect. of letters Vol. IV. p. 564.

'THE ^e privateness of the language considered, wherein the book is written excluding so many readers; as, on the other side, the obscurity of the argument, in many parts of it, excludeth many others; I must account it, a second birth of that work, if it might be translated into *Latin*, without manifest loss of the sense and matter. For this purpose I could not represent to myself any man, into whose hands I do more earnestly desire that work should fall, than yourself: For, by that I have heard, and read, I know no man a greater master, in commanding words to serve matter.'

THE doctor was willing to serve so excellent a person, and so worthy a design; and, within a while, sent him a specimen of a *Latin* translation. But men, generally, come short of themselves when they strive to out-do themselves. They put a force upon their natural genius, and, by straining of it, crack and disable it. And so, it seems, it happened to that worthy and elegant man. Upon this great occasion, he would be over accurate, and he sent a specimen of such super-fine latinity, that the lord *Bacon* did not encourage him to labour farther in that work, in the penning of which, he desired not so much neat and polite, as clear, masculine, and apt expression.

THE whole of this book was rendred into *English* by Dr *Gilbert Watts*, of *Oxford*; and the translation has been well received by many. But some there were, who wished that a translation had been set forth, in which the genius and spirit of the lord *Bacon* had more appeared. And I have seen a letter, written by certain gentlemen to Dr *Rawley*, wherein they thus importune him for a more accurate version, by his own hand. 'It is our humble sute to you, and we do earnestly solicit you,—to give yourself the trouble to correct the too much defective translation of *de Augmentis Scientiarum*, which Dr *Watts* hath set forth. It is a thousand pities, that so worthy a piece should lose its grace and credit by any ill expositor; since those persons, who read that translation, taking it for genuine, and upon that presumption not regarding the *Latin* edition, are thereby robbed of that benefit which (if you would please to undertake the business) they might receive. This tendeth to the dishonour of that noble lord, and the hindrance of the advancement of learning.'

THIS

‘ THIS work hath been also translated into *French*, upon the motion of the **TENI-**
 ‘ *Marquis Fiat*. But in it there are many things wholly omitted, many things **SON.**
 ‘ perfectly mistaken, and some things (especially such as relate to religion) —
 ‘ wilfully perverted. Insomuch that in one place, he makes his lordship to
 ‘ magnify the legend; a book sure of little credit with him, when he thus
 ‘ began one of his ^h essays; I had rather believe all the fables in the legend, ^h *Essay of*
 ‘ and the talmud, and the alcoran, than that this universal frame is without *Atheism,*
 ‘ a mind. *Vol. III.*
p. 323.

‘ THE fairest, and most correct, edition of this book in *Latin*, is that in
 ‘ folio, printed at *London*, anno 1623. And whosoever would understand
 ‘ the lord *Bacon*’s cypher ⁱ, let him consult that accurate edition. For, in some ⁱ *In l. 6.*
 ‘ other editions which I have perused, the form of the letters of the alphabet, ^{c. 1. Vol. I.}
 ‘ in which much of the mystery consisteth, is not observed: *where the Roman* ^{p. 163.}
 ‘ and *Italick* shapes of them are confounded: [But now rectified.]

‘ To this book we may reduce the first four chapters of that imperfect
 ‘ treatise, published in *Latin*, by *Isaac Gruter* ^k, and called *The descri-* ^k *Inter*
 ‘ *ption of the intellectual globe*; they being but a rude draught of the parti- ^{scripta}
 ‘ tion of the sciences, so accurately and methodically disposed in this book ^{philos.}
 ‘ of the advancement of learning. To this work, also, we may reduce the ^{Vol. II.}
 ‘ treatise called *thema coeli*, published likewise in *Latin*, by *Gruter*, [and re- ^{p. 288.}
 ‘ printed *Vol. II. p. 312.*] And it particularly belongeth to the fourth chapter,
 ‘ and the third book of it; as being a discourse tending to an improvement
 ‘ of the system of the heavens, which is treated of in that place; the houses
 ‘ of which (had God granted him life) he would have understood as well al-
 ‘ most as he did his own. For the same reason we may reduce, to the same
 ‘ place of the advancement, the fifth, sixth, and seventh chapters of the *De-*
 ‘ *scriptio globi intellectualis*, above remembered ^l.

‘ THE second part of his *great Instauration* (and so considerable a part of
 ‘ it, that the name of the whole is given to it) is his *Novum Organum Sci-*
 ‘ *entiarum*, written by himself in the *Latin* tongue, and printed also most ^{See Ve-}
 ‘ beautifully and correctly in folio, at *London* ^m. This work he dedicated to ^{ulamii}
 ‘ king *James*, with the following excuse; That if he had stolen any time for ^{scripta}
 ‘ the composure of it, from his majesty’s other affairs, he had made some sort ^{philos.}
 ‘ of restitution, by doing honour to his name and his reign. The king wrote ^{Vol. II. p.}
 ‘ to him, then chancellor, a letter of thanks with his own hand ⁿ; and this was ^{293.}
 ‘ the first part of it. My lord, I have received your letter, and your book, ^m 1620.
 ‘ than the which you could not have sent a more acceptable present to me, ^{and in Re-}
 ‘ How thankful I am for it, cannot better be expressed by me, than by a firm ^{fusc. p. II.}
 ‘ resolution I have taken; first, to read it through with care and attention, ^{part of}
 ‘ though I should steal some hours from my sleep; having otherwise as little ^{this Or-}
 ‘ spare time to read it, as you had to write it: and then to use the liberty ^{gan. is}
 ‘ of a true friend, in not sparing to ask you the question in any point, ^{published}
 ‘ whereof I stand in doubt, (*nam ejus est explicare, cujus est condere*;) as, ^{in an Engl.}
 ‘ on the other part, I will willingly give a due commendation to such places ^{version.}
 ‘ as, in my opinion, shall deserve it. In the mean time, I can with com- ⁿ *Dated*
 ‘ fort assure you, that you could not have made choice of a subject more ^{Octob. 16.}
 ‘ befitting your place, and your universal and methodical knowledge. ^{1620. See}
 ‘ *THREE* copies of this *Organum* were sent by the lord *Bacon* to Sir *Henry*
 ‘ *Wotton*, one who took a pride (as himself saith) in a certain congeniality ^{Collect. of}
 ‘ with his lordship’s studies. And how very much he valued the present, we ^{letters,}
p. 680.

TENI-
SON.

o Sir H.
Wotton's
letter,
Vol. IV.
p. 680.

' may learn from his own words. Your lordship (saith he^o) hath done a
' great and ever-living benefit to all the children of nature, and to nature
' herself in her uttermost extent of latitude: who, never before, had so
' noble, nor so true, an interpreter, or (as I am readier to style your lord-
' ship) never so inward a secretary of her cabinet. But of your work
' (which came but this week to my hands) I shall find occasion to speak more
' hereafter; having yet read only the first book thereof, and a few apho-
' risms of the second. For it is not a banquet that men may superficially
' taste, and put up the rest in their pockets; but, in truth, a solid feast,
' which requireth due mastication. Therefore, when I have once, myself,
' perused the whole, I determine to have it read, piece by piece, at certain
' hours, in my domestic college, as an ancient author: for I have learned
' thus much by it already, that we are extreemly mistaken in the computa-
' tion of antiquity, by searching it backwards; because, indeed, the first
' times were the youngest; especially in points of natural discovery and
' experience.

' THIS *Novum Organum* containeth in it, instructions concerning a better
' and more perfect use of reason in our inquisitions after things. And there-
' fore the second title which he gave it was, *Directions concerning interpre-*
' *tations of nature*. And, by this art, he designed a logick more useful than
' the vulgar, and an organon apter to help the intellectual powers, than that
' of *Aristotle*. For he proposed here, not so much the invention of argu-
' ments, as of arts; and in demonstration, he used induction more than con-
' tentious syllogism; and in his induction, he did not straitway proceed from
' a few particular sensible notions, to the most general of all; but raised axioms
' by degrees, designing the most general notions for the last place; and insi-
' sting on such of them as are not merely notional, but coming from nature
' do also lead to her.

' THIS book containeth three parts, the *preface*; the *distribution* of the
' work of the great *Instauration*; *Aphorisms*, guiding to the interpretation
' of nature.

' THE *preface* considereth the present unhappy state of learning, together
' with counsels and advices to advance and improve it. To this preface there-
' fore are to be reduced the *indicia*, and the *proem* in Gruter^p, concerning the
' interpretation of nature; the first book *de augmentis scientiarum*, which
' treateth generally of their dignity and advancement; and his lordship's *cogi-*
' *tata & visa*^q, written by him in *Latin*, without intention of making them
' publick in that form, and sent to Dr *Andrews*^r, as likewise to Sir *Thomas*
' *Bodley*, with a desire to receive their censures and emendations.

' THE later returned him a free and friendly judgment of this work, in a
' large and learned letter, published Vol. IV. p. 575. in the *English* tongue,
' and by Gruter in the *Latin*^r. The like, perhaps, was done by the former,
' though his answer be not extant.

' To the *distribution*, belongeth that *Latin* fragment in Gruter^r, called
' the delineation and argument of the second part of the *Instauration*. So
' doth that^u of the philosophy of *Parmenides* and *Telefius*, and (especially)
' *Democritus*. For (as he sheweth in the beginning of that part) he de-
' signed first to consider the learning of which the world was possessed; and
' then to perfect that; and that being done, to open new ways to farther
' discoveries.

p Vol. II.
p. 243.

q Publ. by
Gruter,
now re-
printed
Vol. II.
p. 266.
r Anno.
1607.
See Vol.
IV. p. 573.
575.

s Inter
scripta.
Vol. II. p.
284.
t Inter
scripta. p.
246.
u Ibid.
p. 319.

' To

‘ To the *Aphorisms* is reducible his letter to Sir *Henry Savil*, touching *helps for the intellectual powers*, written by his lordship in the *English* tongue. A part of knowledge then scarce broken ^v, men believing that nature was here rather to be followed than guided by art; and as necessary (in his lordship’s opinion) as the grinding and whetting of an instrument, or the quenching it, and giving it a stronger temper.

TENI-
SON.

^x Vol. IV.
p. 585, &c.
^y See *Spinoza* on
the subject.

‘ Also there belong to this place, the fragment, called *Aphorismi & consilia, de auxiliis mentis*: And *Sententiae duodecim de interpretatione naturae*; both published by *Gruter* in the *Latin* tongue, in which his lordship wrote them ^z.

^z See *Scrip.*
Vol. II.

‘ In the bringing this labour to maturity, he used great and deliberate care; insomuch that Dr *Rawley* ^a saith, he had seen twelve copies of it, revised year by year, one after another; and every year altered and amended in the frame thereof, till at last it came to the model in which it was committed to the press. It was like a mighty pyramid, long in its erection; and it will, probably, be like to it in its continuance.

^a Dr. Raw.
in life of
Ld Bacon.
See above,
p. 11.

‘ Now he received from many parts beyond the seas, testimonies touching this work, such, as beyond which he could not (he saith ^b) expect at the first, in so abstruse an argument; yet nevertheless (he saith again) he had just cause to doubt that it flew too high over *mens heads*: he purposed therefore (though he broke the order of time) to draw it down to the sense by some patterns of natural story and inquiry.

^b In *Ep.*
to *Bishop*
Andrews.
Vol. III.
p. 535.

‘ AND so he proceeded to

‘ THE third part of the *Instauration*, which he called the *phaenomena* of the universe, or the history natural and experimental, subservient to the building of a true philosophy.

‘ THIS work consisteth of several sections:

‘ AND begins with ‘his *parasceve*, or preparatory to the history natural and experimental. It is a short discourse written in *Latin*, by the author, and annexed to the *Novum Organum Scientiarum*. There is delivered in it, in ten aphorisms, the general manner of framing a natural history. After which followeth a catalogue of particular histories of celestial and aëreal bodies, and of those in the terrestrial globe, with the species of them: such as metals, gems, stones, earths, salts, plants, fishes, fowls, insects; man, in his body, and in his inventions mechanic and liberal.

‘ A LATE pen has travelled in the translation of this little description of natural history; and it is extant in the second part of the resuscitation.

‘ To this *parasceve*, it is proper to reduce the fragment of the *Abecedarium Naturae*; and a short discourse written in *Latin* by his lordship, and published by *Gruter* ^c: it being (what also its title shews) a preface to the *phaenomena* of the universe; or, the natural history.

^c See *Ver.*
Scrip. Vol.
II. p. 21.

‘ NEITHER do we here unfitly place the fable of the new *Atlantis*: for it is the model of a college to be instituted by some king, who philosophizeth for the interpreting of nature and the improving of arts. His lordship did, it seems, think of finishing this fable by adding to it a frame of laws, or a kind of *Utopian* common wealth; but he was diverted by his desire of collecting the natural history, which was first in his esteem.

‘ This supplement has been made by another hand ^d; a great and hardy adventure to finish a piece after the lord *Verulam*’s pencil. This fable of the new *Atlantis*, in the *Latin* edition of it, and in the *Frankfort* collection goeth under the false and absurd title of *Novus Atlas*: As if his

^d See *R. H.*
contin. of
N. Atlan-
tis, 8vo.
Lond.
1660.

‘ his lordship had alluded to a person, or a mountain, and not to a great island, which, according to *Plato*, perished in the ocean.’

II. **I** Now come to give some account of the order or method of digesting our noble author's works; wherein I shall occasionally represent both the accession of new treatises, and the improvements and collations of those formerly published to the world.

I NEED not make an apology for ranging the *Latin* and *English* works separately by themselves; the reader will presently observe, that the direction of the author, and their natural order, have in a great measure assigned them the place they stand in; and the propriety of printing *Latin* works intire speaks for itself.

THE method in which these works are printed is in general the same which our noble author himself has laid down. In his distribution of the work, *Vol. I. p. 12.* he gives us this order. I. *Partitiones scientiarum.* II. *Novum Organum, sive indicia de Interpretatione Naturae.* III. *Phaenomena universi, sive Historia naturalis & experimentalis ad condendam Philosophiam.* IV. *Scala Intellectus.* V. *Prodromi, sive anticipationes philosophiae secundae.* VI. *Philosophia secunda, sive scientia activa.* So that the partition of the sciences, the *Novum Organum*, or interpretation of nature, and natural history, are obviously to follow in their order.

AGAIN, the order of the natural history is thus by the author's own appointment, *Vol. II. p. 21. Tituli historiarum & inquisitionum in primos sex menses destinatarum.* I. *Historia Ventorum.* II. *Historia Densi & Rari, necnon coitionis & expansionis materiae per spatia.* III. *Historia Gravis & Levis.* IV. *Historia Sympathiae & Antipathiae rerum.* V. *Historia Sulphuris, Mercurii, & Salis.* VI. *Historia Vitae & Mortis;* and this is a guide and direction for placing treatises of a like subject. And to these directions may be added *Epistola ad Fulgentium*, printed *Vol. II. p. 403.* and his letter to bishop *Andrews*, printed before his advertisement touching an holy war, *Vol. III. p. 534.*

HAVING given this first design I shall descend more particularly.

MY care at the entrance upon this work was to remove the first preface and distribution from the *Novum Organum*, where they were originally printed in the year 1620, and to place them before the beginning of the *Instauration*. This was plainly pointed out by the direction of archbishop *Sanicroft*, who seldom dismiss'd any author but what was the better for his perusal, either in emendations or explications, or both. I remember a *Latin* instrument drawn up by this venerable archbishop and illustrious confessor, constituting Dr *Floyd* the then bishop of *Norwich* his vicar-general, &c. which in my humble opinion comes up to the purity and politeness of the *Augustan* age; and many of those who are acquainted with *Emmanuel* college library *Cambridge*, where the greatest part of his books were deposited by the directions of his last will, say, that his judgment and elegance, both as a critic and fine writer, shine so bright throughout that collection, in marginal notes and illustrations under his own hand, that he appears to have excelled in sense and diction as much as he did in station. I have been contented to speak thus much, because this great prelate had form'd a design, in which he had made some progress, of publishing an edition of our author's works, and had in great measure settled the text and disposition of them,

them, and this present edition will appear to be purged of many hundreds of errors by means of his great diligence and judgment. To which I must add, that as the rights of mankind are the common care of all benevolent tempers; and as the rights of princes are the common interest of all those princes that are not degenerated and abandoned; so there is a kind of sympathy and solicitude in all great minds to support the memory and reputation of those of the like rank and elevation.

BUT the reader himself at first view will see the propriety of this order: for the preface, now printed *Vol. I. p. 7.* is concerning the state of the sciences; which therefore belongs to the partition of the sciences: and the distribution, now printed *Vol. I. p. 12.* is the distribution of the whole *Instauration*; which consequently ought to be ranged before the first part of the *Instauration*, which is *de Augmentis scientiarum*; and not before the *Novum Organum*.

BESIDES, our noble author himself has not obscurely intimated this method and disposition, if the edition of the *Novum Organum* in 1620. be at all observed. For there the reader will find, by a repeated title, that the second part of the *Instauration* or *Novum Organum* begins at *p. 35.* of that edition; and all that precedes does properly belong to the first part of the *Instauration*, and is called the *Instauration*: and more plainly still at the end of the distribution, *Deest pars prima Instaurationis, quae complectitur partitiones scientiarum: Illae tamen ex secundo libro de Progressibus faciendis in doctrina divina & humana, nonnulla ex parte, peti possunt.* So that indeed the placing this preface and distribution immediately before the *Novum Organum* appears to be merely casual and accidental: for these being finish'd in 1620. when the *Novum Organum* was published, were printed along with it, and when the *de Augmentis Scientiarum* was enlarged and printed in 1623, they, having so lately appeared in a part of the same work, and being printed in the same form, were not thought fit to be reprinted and consigned to their proper station. I have nothing farther to add concerning the first and second part of the *Instauration*, having both had their author's last hand, but that they are printed from the best editions at *London*, 1623 and 1620, and that they are more correct even than those hitherto best editions: and the few escapes of the printer will be taken notice of at the conclusion of this account.

II. As to the order of the second volume, the *Parasceve*, the *Abecedarium*, and *Praefatio*, as just hinted, *p. 155.* do naturally claim the first place.

DR Tenison's account of the *Abecedarium* seems to be very just, *p. 94.*

' A fragment of his lordship's *Abecedarium Naturae*. This is commonly
' said to be lost; and it is well nigh so, the later part of it only remaining.
' But where the whole is good, each part is of value: And antiquaries who
' travel in the dominions of the *grand signior*, do not despise the ancient
' statues which they find there, though *Mahometan* superstition hath broken
' off their heads.

' THIS work is said to be a metaphysical piece; but it is not so in the
' strictest sense. Its principal design is the partition of things into their se-
' veral classes; a design which his lordship brought to more perfection in his
' *Organon*, and book *De Augmentis scientiarum*. And though in it were
' handled *conditions of being*, yet not abstractly from all body, but with
' reference to it. And therefore his lordship did not call it *abecedarium*
' *hyperphysicum*, but the *alphabet of nature*. And his lordship giveth express

* De aug.
scient.
Vol. I. l. 3.
c. 2. p. 99.

caution, in his book of advancement*, that where he speaks of conditions of entities, which are called transcendental; (such as, *much, little, the same, divers, possible, impossible*) he be not interpreted in a *logical*, but *physical* sense. His lordship was much averse to high and useless speculations; and he was wont to express that averfeness in the following comparison. The *lark* (said he) is an high flier, and in its flight does nothing but sing: but the *hawk* flies high, and thence descends and catches its prey.

AND again he truly observes, p. 36.

THE first section [of natural history] is, the history of winds, written in *Latin* by the author, and by R. G. gentleman, turned into *English*. It was dedicated to king *Charles*, then prince, as the first-fruits of his lordship's natural history; and as a grain of mustard-seed, which was, by degrees, to grow into a tree of experimental science. This was the birth of the first of those six months, in which he determined (God assisting him) to write six several histories of natural things. To wit, of *dense and rare bodies*; of *heavy and light bodies*; of *sympathy and antipathy*; of *salt, sulphur and mercury*; of *life and death*; and (which he first perfected) that of winds, which he calls the wings by which men fly on the sea, and the besoms of the air and earth. And he, rightly, observeth concerning those *postnati* (for, as he saith, they are not a part of the six days works, or primary creatures;) that the generation of them has not been well understood, because men have been ignorant of the nature and power of the air, on which the winds attend, as *Æolus* on *Juno*.

A *English* translation of this book of winds, was printed in the second part of the *resuscitation*, as it is called, though improperly enough; for it is rather a collection of books already printed; than a *resuscitation* of any considerable ones, which before slept in private manuscript.

* Reprint-
ed Vol. II.
p. 67.

THE second section is, the history of *density and rarity*, and of the expansion and coition of matter in space. This discourse was written by his lordship in *Latin*, and was published very imperfectly by *Gruter*, amongst other treatises, to which he gave the title of *impetus philosophici*; and very perfectly and correctly by Dr *Rawley*, *London* 1658. out of whose hands none of his lordship's works came lame and ill shapen into the world.

IN this argument, his lordship allowing that nothing is subtracted or added to the total sum of matter, does yet grant that in the same space there may be much more or less of matter; and that (for instance sake) there is ten-times more of matter in one tun of water, than in one of air. By which his lordship should seem to grant, what yet I do not find he does in any other place; either that there is a *vacuum* in nature, or penetration of parts in bodies.

* De aug.
scient. l. 5.
c. 3. Vol. I.
p. 149.

THE third section is, the history of *gravity* and *levity*, which (as before was said) was but designed; and remaineth not (that I can hear of) so much as in the rude draught of its designation. Only, there are published his lordship's topics, or articles of inquisition, touching gravity and levity, in his book of advancement†; and a brief *aditus* to this history annexed to the *historia densi & rari*, Vol. II. p. 106. In that *aditus*, or entrance, he rejecteth the appetite of heavy bodies to the center of the earth, as a scholastic fancy: he taketh it for a certain truth; that body does not suffer but from body, or that there is any local motion which is not solicited, either from the parts of the body itself; which

‘ which is moved; or from bodies adjacent, either contiguously, or in the
 ‘ next vicinity, or at least within the orb of their activity: and lastly, he
 ‘ commendeth the magnetic virtues introduced by *Gilbert*; whom yet in
 ‘ this he disalloweth, that he made himself as it were a magnet, and drew
 ‘ every thing to his hypothesis.

‘ THE fourth section is, the history of *sympathy and antipathy*. Of this
 ‘ we have only the *aditus* annexed to that of *historia gravis & levis*; and
 ‘ a few instances in his *sylva sylvarum*^g. In this history he designed to a-
 ‘ void, magical fancies, which raise the mind in these things to an un-
 ‘ due height; and pretence of occultness of quality, which layeth the mind
 ‘ a sleep, and preventeth farther inquiry into these useful secrets of nature.

^g See
 Vol. III.
 exper. 95,
 96, 97.
 462, 480,
 to 498.

‘ THE fifth section is, the history of *salt, sulphur, and mercury*, the three
 ‘ principles of the common chymists; of which three, he thought the first
 ‘ to be no primordial body, but a compound of the two others, knit to-
 ‘ gether by an acid spirit. The *aditus* to this is annexed to that of *historia*
 ‘ *sympathiae & antipathiae rerum*, but the treatise itself was (I think) never
 ‘ written.

‘ THE sixth section is, the history of *life and death*; written by his
 ‘ lordship in *Latin*; and first turned into *English* by an injudicious trans-
 ‘ lator; and rendred much better a second time, by an abler pen, made
 ‘ abler still by the advice and assistance of Dr *Rawley*.

‘ THIS work, though ranked last, amongst the six monthly designations;
 ‘ yet was set forth in the second place: his lordship (as he saith) inverting
 ‘ the order, in respect of the prime use of this argument, in which the
 ‘ least loss of time was, by him, esteemed very considerable. The subject
 ‘ of this book, which Sir *Henry Wotton*^h calleth, none of the least of his
 ‘ lordship’s works, and the argument (of which, some had before under-
 ‘ takenⁱ; but to much less purpose) is the first of those, which he put in his
 ‘ catalogue of the *magnalia naturae*. And doubtless, his lordship under-
 ‘ took both a great and a most desirable work, of making art short, and
 ‘ life easy and long. And it was his lordship’s wish, that the nobler sort of
 ‘ physicians might not employ their times wholly in the sordidness of cures,
 ‘ neither be honoured for necessity only; but become coadjutors and in-
 ‘ struments of the divine omnipotence and clemency, in prolonging and re-
 ‘ newing the life of man: and in helping christians who pant after the land
 ‘ of promise, so to journey through this world’s wilderness, as to have their
 ‘ shoes and garments, (these of their frail bodies) little worn and impaired.’

^h Remains,
 p. 455.

ⁱ Panfa de
 propag.
 vita. 8vo
 Lips.
 1615.

HITHERTO the method of this second volume both in reason and
 authority is unalterable: and as these treatises have had our author’s last
 hand as he proceeded, I have had no other solicitude about them, save the
 printing them correctly from the *London* editions. The immediately fol-
 lowing pieces viz. *Historia Soni & Auditus*, p. 189. *Articuli Quaestionum*
circa Mineralia p. 203. *Inquisitio de Magnete* p. 208. *Inquisitio de Versi-*
onibus, Transmutationibus, Multiplicationibus & Effectionibus Corporum,
 p. 210. and his *Topica Inquisitionis de Luce & Lumine*, do naturally here
 follow from their similitude of titles and subjects; and Dr *Rawley* having
 placed them in this order at the end of the *Historia Densi & Rari*
 printed at *London* by *R. Daniel*, 1658. gives a kind of sanction to this
 method.

THUS far, being under necessary directions, the clew now leads us to
 give the rest of the *Latin* philosophical pieces, which have a relation to
 some

some or other of the three parts of the instauration preceding: so that the chain and connexion carries us to the *Scripta Philosophica*, communicated to Gruter by Sir William Boswell or Bosvile, one of our noble author's executors. Vol. II. p. 559.

BUT of these, the reader will find the preface remov'd and plac'd at the head of this volume p. 16. under its proper title, viz. *Historiae Naturalis ad condendam philosophiam Praefatio*: and the treatise following in Gruter, viz. *Tabula coitionis & expansionis materiae*, &c. intirely dismiss'd, being only a skeletos, or first draught, and either intirely contain'd; or improv'd and amended in the *Historia Densi & Rari*: and the *Topica Inquisitionis de Luce & Lumine*, which is the last piece among these *Scripta*, is consign'd to the station, which I lately said Dr Rawley gave it.

AND now I owe that justice to the reader, as to declare that partly upon advice, and partly on the evidence of the matter, I have intirely changed the method and mostly the running titles of those pieces publish'd by Gruter; being certain that he has offended in method as glaringly and frequently as he has done in grammar and orthography. This abundantly appears from his placing the *Scala Intellectus* &c. and the *Prodromus* or *Prodromi sive Anticipationes Philosophiae secundae* almost in the middle of these *Scripta*; whereas in truth they ought visibly to come last of all, being the only fragments in these *Scripta* which belong to the fourth and fifth part of the Instauration.

I COULD here bring in a long reckoning; but I have said more already than is to my own liking; only so remarkable a departure from a first publisher ought to be supported by very evident reasons: and my sole and simple view is, if I can be so fortunate, to recommend my own method to the approbation of the judicious; and not to descend to the office of a scavenger.

RECOLLECTING therefore that this volume in its necessary order had hitherto wholly consisted of natural history, it occur'd to me that the chain and connection would be the longer, and consequently the chasms and interruptions the fewer by continuing the natural history: accordingly method seem'd to direct me to print *Inquisitio legitima de Motu*, p. 218. *De Sectione Corporum, Continuo & Vacuo*, p. 222. and *de Fluxu & Refluxu Maris*, p. 234.

HAVING continued the natural history, I observ'd a great number of treatises scattered among these *Scripta*, concerning the interpretation of nature; and I thought they would support and illustrate each other by being brought together. I have placed them in this order, *Indicia vera de interpretatione naturae*, p. 243. *Partis Instaurationis secundae delineatio & argumentum*, p. 246. *Aphorismi & consilia de auxiliis mentis & accensione luminis naturalis*, p. 255. *De interpretatione naturae sententiae duodecim*, p. 256. *De interpretatione naturae prooemium*, p. 264. *Cogitata & visa de interpretatione naturae*, p. 266. *Bodlei epistola, in qua candide expendit cogitata & visa*, p. 284. Then follows the *Descriptio globi intellectualis*, *Thema Coeli*, *Parmenidis*, *Telefii & Democriti philosophia*, *Tractata in fabula*, of which some account has been rendered already: and as I have met with no MS. copies of these works, all I have been able to perform was to correct the grammatical and typographical errors, which I have done in great abundance. And as to the placing the *Scala intellectus* towards the close of these *Scripta* p. 342. and the *Prodromus*
or

or *Prodromi*, p. 344. be pleas'd to take the following account from Dr *Tenison* p. 48. near the bottom.

' THE fourth part of the *Instauration* designed, was *Scala Intellectus*.

' To this there is some sort of entrance in his lordship's distribution *Vol. I. p. 12.* and in a page or two under that title of *Scala*, published by *Gruter*, [and reprinted *Vol. II. p. 342.*] But the work itself passed not beyond the model of it in the head of the noble author.

' THAT which he intended, was a particular explication, and application of the second part of the *Instauration*, (which giveth general rules for the interpretation of nature) by gradual instances and examples.

' HE thought that his rules, without some more sensible explication, were like discourses in geometry, or mechanicks, without figures, and types of engines. He therefore designed to select certain subjects in nature or art; and, as it were, to draw to the sense a certain scheme of the beginning and progress of philosophical disquisition in them; shewing by degrees, where our consideration takes root, and how it spreadeth and advanceth. And some such thing is done by those who, from the *cicatricula*, or from the *punctum saliens*, observe and register all the *phaenomena* of the animal unto its death, and after it also in the medical, or culinary, or other use of its body; together with all the train of the thoughts occasioned by those *phaenomena*, or by others in compare with them.

' AND because he intended to exhibit such observations, as they gradually arise; therefore he gave to that designed work, the title of the *scale*, or *ladder of the understanding*. He also expressed the same conceit by another metaphor ^l, advising students to imitate men, who by going by degrees from several emencies of some very high mountain, do at length arrive at the top, or pike, of it.

^l See
Scripta,
Vol. II. p.
343.

' THE fifth part of the *Instauration*, designed, was, what he called *Prodromi sive Anticipationes philosophiae secundae*. To this we find a very brief entrance, in the *distribution* ^m, and the *Scripta*, published by *Gruter* ⁿ. And though his lordship is not known to have composed any part of this work by itself, yet something of it is to be collected from the axioms, and greater observations interspersed in his natural histories, which are not pure but mixed writings. The anticipations he intended to pay down as use, till he might furnish the world with the principal; in

^m In Di-
strib. *Vol.*
I. p. 18.
ⁿ Verul.
Scrip. *Vol.*
II. p. 344.
Prodromus, &c.

' THE sixth and last part of his *Instauration*, designed, which was, *Philosophia secunda sive Scientia activa*. This general philosophy, founded upon sensible nature, or artificial experiments, and built up by degrees in observations and axioms, he at length despaired of, and commended to posterity. Time only can thoroughly finish what his lordship began, and sufficiently commend his diligence and sagacity, who collected so many materials, and disposed them into such order; and made in so short a time, and (for the most part) in the midst of civil business, such mighty preparations towards the building of the *House of Wisdom*.

HAVING given such evidence for the placing these fragments in the conclusion of our noble author's philosophical writings; I had less scruple what should follow. For the treatise *De Sapientia veterum* being of a mixt nature, viz. philosophical, poetical and political, I was under no hesitation whether it should immediately follow the purely philosophical works.

works. Accordingly it is printed p. 346, &c. What Dr *Tenison* says of it, p. 55. take as follows:

° See his letter to Mr Matthews, Vol. IV. p. 580.

‘ IN the — place, I may reckon his book *De Sapientia veterum*, written by him in *Latin*°, and set forth a second time with enlargement; and translated into *English* by sir *Arthur Gorges*: a book in which the sages of former times, are rendered more wise, than it may be they were, by so dextrous an interpreter of their fables. It is this book which Mr *Sandys* means, in those words which he hath put before his notes on the *metamorphoses of Ovid*, p. 18. Of modern writers, I have received the greatest light from *Giraldus*, *Pontanus*, *Ficinus*, *Vives*, *Comes*, *Scaliger*, *Sabinus*, *Pierius*, and the crown of the later, the viscount of *St Albans*.

‘ IT is true, the design of this book was, instruction in natural and civil matters, either couched by the ancients under those fictions, or rather made to seem to be so, by his lordship’s wit, in the opening and applying of them. But because the first ground of it is poetical story, therefore let it have this place, till a fitter be found for it.

THEN follow in order of time his lordship’s *Latin* historical pieces: viz. *Imago civilis Julii Caesaris*: *Imago civilis Augusti Caesaris*, published by Dr *Rawley* among the *opuscula*, 1658. which are short personal characters, and not histories of their empire.

IN p. 389. the treatise, *In felicem memoriam Elizabethae Angliae reginae*, occurs, taken from the same *opuscula*:

p See ibid. Anno 1651. 160.

DR *Tenison* p. 52. calls this ‘ a memorial of the felicities of queen *Elizabeth* p. This was written by his lordship, in *Latin* only. A person of more good will, than ability, translated it into *English*°, and called it, in the singular, *Her Felicity*; but we have also a version, much more accurate and judicious, performed by Dr *Rawley*; who was pleased to take that labour upon him, because he understood the value his lordship put upon this work, for it was such, that I find this charge given concerning it, in his last will and testament. In particular, I wish the elogie which I writ, † *in felicem memoriam Elizabethae*, may be published.

† This appears to have been in a former will.

‘ FOR the occasion of it, his lordship telleth it thus, in a letter to Sir *George Carew*, then in *France*, to whom he sent it. [Vol. IV. p. 572.]— ‘ Because one must begin, I thought to provoke your remembrance of me by a letter: and thinking to fit it with somewhat besides salutations, it came to my mind, that this last summer vacation, by occasion of a factious book that endeavoured to verify *Misera Foemina*, (the addition of the pope’s bull) upon queen *Elizabeth*; I did write a few lines in her memorial, which I thought you would be pleased to read; both for the argument, and because you were wont to bear affection to my pen. *Verum ut aliud ex alio*: if it came handsomly to pass, I would be glad the president *de * Thou* (who hath written an history, as you know, of that fame and diligence) saw it: chiefly, because I knew not, whether it may not serve him for some use in his story: wherein I would be glad he did right to the truth, and to the memory of that lady; as I perceive by that he hath already written he is well inclined to do.’

* Thuanus.

IN p. 396. the *Meditationes sacrae* are printed, which were originally joined to his essays and dedicated to his brother Mr *Anthony Bacon* in the year 1597.

LASTLY,

LASTLY *p.* 403. our noble author's epistles in *Latin* conclude his works in that language, with additional ones by Dr *Rawley*, *Deodate*, and *Isaac Gruter*. And upon a careful review I do humbly hope that our method, hitherto, is tolerably exact, if not irreprovable: For the *Descriptio Globi*, &c. *Thema Coeli*, and *Parmenidis*, &c. *philosophia*, tho' they most properly belong to the first part of the *Instauration*, yet are purposely thrown towards the later end of the *Scripta*, partly that they might not interrupt the thread of the natural history, and partly that they might not have the precedence of the more correct pieces concerning the interpretation of nature.

OUR sailing thus far has either been constantly near known shores, within sight of land, or else our course has been steered by able and experienced pilots. We are now to launch out into the vaster ocean of our author's *English* works, where more difficulties arise, both from the danger of the sea and the darkness of the sky: however it is self-evident and undeniable that the *Advancement of learning* should have the precedence. This is the performance printed 1605. to which many of the letters in the fourth volume do refer, beginning *p.* 561. And though this work is intirely contained in the *de Augmentis*, yet I had the approbation of very good judges for the reprinting of it; and I conceive the reasons dictating this conduct are of weight.

No writing can challenge the credit and authority of an original better than this: no performance ever reflected more honour and reputation upon our mother tongue, considering it in its beautiful masterly expression, in its just and inimitable method, and in its surprizing and important discoveries.

AGAIN the *Advancement of learning* is the best preparatory for the reading of the *de Augmentis*: and as the *de Augmentis* has almost in every line a beauty of expression, or order, or penetration, and frequently all of them united; on this account I presume to think, that a person of very good literature and nice taste will not fully comprehend the design, method, and substance of the partitions of the sciences, without some such assistance; unless upon repeated readings: but when the optics are thus strengthened, I conceive they may sustain and collect the more brisk and copious rays. I might say more; but our noble author was always more delighted with weight than number: and if what I have offer'd has no weight, what might be added may be more superficial still.

I HAVE now a greater difficulty upon me touching the *Helps for the intellectual powers*, whether it should follow the advancement, or, as it was sent in a letter to Sir *H. Savil*, be placed in the collection of letters. I have placed it among the letters *Vol.* IV. *p.* 585. and perhaps unwarily: and truly I am more doubtful or dissatisfied about the order of this discourse, than I am with any treatise in the whole edition: and if it is misplaced it should come in here: though if I have succeeded amiss in the order, I trust I have made honourable amends by the correctness of the copy.

As to the proceedings in parliament, the last will and testament, and the account of our author's debts, I frankly own they are placed at the end of this volume, to reduce the several tomes to a nearer standard. And as I affect no disguises, I am the more just to myself thereby, and the reader needs not to suspect any damaged goods to be put off, where there is no darkening of the shop.

III. HAVING mentioned the *Advancement of learning*, and *Helps for the intellectual powers*, our necessary order begins the third volume with the Natural History. Dr *Tenison* observes, p. 41.

† See
Dr Raw-
ley's Pre-
face.

‘ THE greatest branch of the third part of the *Instauration*, is his *Sylva sylvarum*, or *Natural History*; which containeth many materials for the building of philosophy, as the *Organum* doth directions for the work. It is an history not only of nature freely moving in her course (as in the production of meteors, plants, minerals;) but also of nature in constraint, and vexed and tortured by human art and experiment. And it is not an history of such things orderly ranged; but thrown into an heap†. For his lordship, that he might not discourage other collectors, did not cast this book into exact method; for which reason it hath the less ornament, but not much the less use.

* Ephem.
Britan.

* Nat.Hist.
Cent. I.
Exper. 93.
Vol. III.
p. 25.

‘ IN this book are contained experiments of light, and experiments of use (as his lordship was wont to distinguish;) and amongst them some extraordinary, and others common. He understood that what was common in one country, might be a rarity in another: for which reason, * Dr *Caius*, when in *Italy*, thought it worthy his pains to make a large and elegant description of our way of brewing. His lordship also knew well, that an experiment manifest to the vulgar, was a good ground for the wise to build farther upon: And himself rendered common ones, extraordinary by admonitions, for farther trials and improvements. Hence his lordship took occasion to say^r, that his writing of *Sylva sylvarum*, was (to speak properly) not a natural history, but a high kind of natural magic: because it was not only a description of nature, but a breaking of nature into great and strange works.

† Amstel.
1661. in
16°. See
Vol. II. p.
403.

‘ THIS book was written by his lordship in the *English* tongue, and translated by an obscure interpreter into *French*, and out of that translation into *Latin*, by *James Gruter*, in such ill manner, that they darkened his lordship's sense, and debased his expression. *James Gruter* was sensible of his miscarriage, being kindly advertised of it by Dr *Rawley*: and he left behind him divers amendments, published by his brother *Isaac Gruter*, in a second edition^r. Yet still so many errors have escaped, that the work requireth a third hand.

‘ MONSIEUR *Aelius Deodatus* had once engaged an able person in the translation of this book; one who could have done his lordship right, and obliged such readers as understood not the *English* original. He began, and went through the three first centuries, and then desisted; being desired by him who set him on work, to take his hand quite off from that pen, with which he moved so slowly. His translation of the third century is now in my hands; but that of the two first I believe is lost.

‘ HIS lordship thus began that third century in *English*. “ All sounds (whatsoever) move round; that is to say, on all sides; upwards, downwards, forwards, and backwards. This appeareth in all instances.

“ SOUNDS do not require to be conveyed to the sense in a right line, as visibles do, but may be arched. Though it be true, they move strongest in a right line; which nevertheless is not caused by the rightness of the line, but by the shortness of the distance; *linea recta brevissima*. And therefore we see, if a wall be between, and you speak on the one side,

“ you

“ you hear it on the other ; which is not because the sound passeth through the wall, but archeth over the wall.”

‘ THESE words are thus turned by *James Gruter*, in his last edition, and tolerably well ; especially if we compare them with some other places in his translation.

‘ *OMNES soni, qualescunque sint, in circulum moventur ; hoc est, in omnes partes, sursum, deorsum, antrorsum, retrorsum ; quod omnes docent instantiae.*

‘ *SONI non requirunt ut recta linea ad sensum devehantur, quemadmodum visibilia, sed potest esse arcuata ; quamvis verum sit, quod fortissime per rectam lineam moveant : neque tamen id lineae debetur rectitudini, sed minori intervallo ; linea enim recta est brevissima. Hinc, si quis ab altera interjecti parietis parte vocem proferat, ab altera queat exaudiri ; non quod vox parietem transeundo penetret, sed quod arcuata ultra parietem ascendat.*

‘ BUT the translator, employed by Monsieur *Deodate*, turned them after this better manner.

‘ *OMNES in universum soni in orbem feruntur. In omnem videlicet partem ; sursum, deorsum, antrorsum, & retrorsum. Hoc in omnibus exemplis cernitur.*

‘ *SONI non in recta tantum linea ad sensum deferri necesse habent, quemadmodum visibilia ; sed & inflexa & arcuata devehipossunt : quanquam in recta linea fortissime moveantur. Ubi tamen non hoc imputandum rectitudini lineae, sed brevitati intervalli. Recta enim linea eadem brevissima est. Itaque experimur, muro interjecto, vocem ex adversa parte muri exaudiri, quae ex altera ejus parte prolata fuerit. Auditur autem, non quod per murum penetret, sed quod eum transcendat motu flexuoso.*

‘ THE judicious reader may discern by this little, how much this later translator excelled the former, in comprehending and expressing his lordship’s sense. And yet I cannot say, that throughout those three centuries in which he hath laboured, he hath every where truly hit his conceit. His lordship had a very peculiar vein with him ; and I may resemble it to the singularity in the face of *Cardan* ; who tells us, in his own life, that he set to painters of divers countries, yet could never have the air of it taken by them.

‘ WHILEST I am speaking of this work of his lordship’s, of *Natural history*, there comes to my mind a very memorable relation, reported by him who bare a part in it, the reverend Dr *Rawley*. One day his lordship was dictating to that doctor, some of the experiments in his *Sylva*. The same day, he had sent a friend to court, to receive for him a final answer, touching the effect of a grant which had been made him by king *James*. He had hitherto only hope of it, and hope deferred ; and he was desirous to know the event of the matter, and to be freed, one way or other, from the suspense of his thoughts. His friend returning, told him plainly, that he must thenceforth despair of that grant, how much soever his fortunes needed it. Be it so, said his lordship ; and then he dismissed his friend very chearfully, with thankful acknowledgments of his service. His friend being gone, he came straitway to Dr *Rawley*, and said thus to him. Well, Sir ! *Ton business won’t go on ; let us go on with this, for this is in our power.* And then he dictated to him afresh, for some hours, without the least hesitancy of speech, or discernible interruption of thought.

ⁱ Now re-
printed
from Dr
Rawley,
Vol. II. p.
189. &c.

^u Scripta
Philoso-
phic. Vol.
II. p. 234.
* Nov.
Org. Vol. I.
p. 352.

* De Aug.
Scien.
Vol. I. l. 2.
c. 3. p. 68.

^v Nat. Hist.
Vol. III.
cent. 1.
exp. 25.
p. 6.

‘ To this work of *Natural history*, may be reduced his lordship’s treatise
‘ *de Sono & Auditu*; *de Metallis & Mineralibus*; *de Magnete*; *de Ver-*
‘ *sionibus, Transmutationibus, Multiplicationibus, & Effectionibus Corpo-*
‘ *porum*; *de Luce & Lumine*: All published by Dr Rawley, in the colle-
‘ ction called *Opuscula Varia Posthuma* Francisci Baconi, Lond. 1658.

‘ WE may likewise reduce to the same place, the paper *de Fluxu &*
‘ *Refluxu Maris*, published by Isaac Gruter, amongst the *Scripta*^u; and
‘ that other *De ratione inveniendi causas fluxus & refluxus maris**; as also
‘ the *Baconiana Physiologica & Medica*, in the remains, now reprinted
‘ Vol. III. p. 210.

‘ THERE may be farther added, his *Cogitationes de Natura Rerum*;
‘ *de Sectione Corporum, Continuo & Vacuo*; and the fragment called *Filum*
‘ *Labyrinthi, sive legitima inquisitio de Motu*: all published by the same
‘ Mr Gruter, [and reprinted Vol. II. p. 218, &c.] likewise the treatises, *de*
‘ *Motus sive virtutis activae variis speciebus*, Nov. Org. p. 318, 373. in
‘ Vol. I.

‘ FOR it was his lordship’s design, not merely to exhibit a history of bodies,
‘ but moreover to procure a distinct and comparative one of their virtues,
‘ such as those of density and rarity; consistency and fluidity; gravity and
‘ levity; heat and cold. *Distrib. Operis*, Vol. I. p. 12, &c.

‘ SUCH a collection of *Natural history*, was of necessity to be undertaken
‘ a-new. For the collections, which were before in mens hands, were but
‘ a small and inconsiderable heap, when the chaff and fable were sifted from
‘ them; though the more considerable for that separation. And farther, as his
‘ lordship noteth^x, too many of these histories were at first framed rather
‘ for delight and table-talk, than for philosophy. Stories were feigned for
‘ the sake of their morals; and they were frequently taken upon groundless
‘ trust; and the later writers borrowed out of the more ancient, and were not
‘ experimenters but transcribers: and such a one was *Pliny* himself, both in
‘ his larger and lesser work; I mean that of *Solinus*, who is but *Pliny* con-
‘ tracted.

‘ THERE are who have accused the lord *Bacon* himself, for taking expe-
‘ riments too readily upon trust, and without deliberation and discreet
‘ choice. To such I will return answer in his own words: ^y “The rejection
‘ which I continually use of experiments, though it appeareth not, is infi-
‘ nite; but yet if an experiment be probable in the work and of great use,
‘ I receive it, but deliver it as doubtful.”

THE fragments following have a manifest relation to the natural history;
and as they are printed by Dr Tenison in the remains, his account of them is
the more authentic. *Introd.* p. 95.

‘ THE — paper about natural things, is his lordship’s inquisition touch-
‘ ing the compounding of metals.

‘ THEN follow, in the next place, his articles of questions, touching
‘ minerals. Of these, the first inquireth about the same subject with the
‘ foregoing paper; but finding them distinguished by his lordship, I have
‘ not joined them together.

‘ THESE questions were turned into *Latin*, and in that tongue published
‘ by Dr Rawley, amongst his lordship’s *Opuscula*; but the *English* originals
‘ are now, the first time, set forth. And having by me three copies, I pub-
‘ lish them by that one on which his lordship had endorsed with his own hand,
‘ *This is the clean copy.*

‘ Now

‘ NOW these inquiries being in themselves imperfect, and without much solution of his lordship’s adjoined; I have here added to them the several answers of Dr *Meverel*, to whom they were proposed by his lordship. It has not been in my power, as yet, to inform myself duly about this doctor; but doubtless, he was a *Chymist*, as those times went, of the first order. It was his lordship’s manner, on divers mornings, to set down inquiries for the following days in some loose papers: And in one of them, I find this among other *memoranda*. To send to Dr *Meverel*. Take iron and dissolve it in *aquafortis*, and put a loadstone near it, and see whether it will extract the iron: put also a loadstone into the water, and see whether it gather a crust about it.

‘ AFTER the questions of his lordship, about minerals, and the answers of Dr *Meverel*, there follows, in the fourth place, an inquisition concerning the versions, transmutations, multiplications, and effections of bodies, not hitherto published in the *English* tongue, in which his lordship wrote it².

² See Dr Rawley’s translation among the *Opuicula*.

‘ FIFTHLY, there is annexed a certain speech, touching the recovery of drowned mineral works; prepared, as Mr *Busbell* saith, for that parliament under which he fell. His lordship, no doubt, had such a project; and he might prepare a speech also, for the facilitating of it: But that this is a true copy of that speech; I dare not avouch. His lordship’s speeches were wont to be digested into more method; his periods were more round, his words more choice, his allusions more frequent; and managed with more decorum. And as no man had greater command of words, for the illustration of matter, than his lordship; so here he had matter which refused not to be cloathed in the best words.

‘ THE sixth paper about natural things, containeth certain experiments about weight in air and water.

‘ THE seventh containeth a few proposals to the countryman, called experiments for profit. The eighth, experiments about the commixture of liquors. The ninth, a catalogue of bodies attractive and not attractive, with experimental observations about them.

‘ UNDER the third head of medical remains, is contained in the first place, a paper which he called *Grains of youth*. In it he prescribeth divers things, as means to keep up the body in its vigour. Amongst these is the receipt of the *Methusalem water*, against the driness of age, which his lordship valued and used.

‘ NEXT follows a catalogue of astringents, openers, and cordials, instrumental to health. Then comes, in the third place, an extract, by his lordship, for his own use, out of the history of life and death, together with some new advices in order to health.

‘ † LAST of all, there are added four medical receipts.

† Receipt for the gout is prefixed to these.

‘ THE first is, his lordship’s broth and fomentation against the stone, which I judged acceptable to the publick, seeing his receipt against the gout had been so, though it worketh not an infallible cure. And here it may seem strange, that his lordship does not mention spirit of nitre, which he so often used, and which a very ingenious experimenter³ hath noted, to be the best of acids against the stone.

³ Dr Grew of the fluctation arising from affus. of menstrua upon all sorts of bodies.

‘ THE second is the receipt of an ointment, called by his lordship, *Unguentum fragrans sive Romanum*. By this he meaneth an unguent which consisted of astringents, preventing excess of transpiration; and cordials

‘ comforting p. 102.

comforting the parts. And he called it (I suppose) the *Roman Unguent*; because that people did eminently make use of baths and anointings. He himself held, that the anointing with oil was one of the most potent operations to long life^b; and that it conduced to health, both in winter, by the exclusion of the cold air, and in summer by detaining the spirits within, and prohibiting the resolution of them, and keeping off the force of the air which is then most predatory. Yet it was his lordship's opinion, that it was best to anoint without bathing, though he thought bathing without anointing bad.

^b Vol. II.
p. 156.
§. 21.

* Reliq.
Wotton.
p. 473.

THE third and fourth are receipts to comfort the stomach. One of them he calleth a secret; and I suppose it might be communicated to him by sir *Henry Wotton*: For sir *Henry* speaks of his preparation of a certain wood * as of a rare receipt to corroborate the *viscera* and to keep the stomach in *tono*.

IN his preface to the *New Atlantis* Dr *Rawley* has determined that piece to attend the natural history by our noble author's own designation.

WE are left now to a more arbitrary and conjectural method: And I could not form to myself a better than this which I have taken upon deliberation and advice; *viz.* To begin with the short sentences or apophthegms; and then gradually to rise up to the *essaies* or short discourses: having gain'd this ground to proceed to the history, which is of a more mixed nature; after that to advance to the treatises concerning the law: and having finish'd the law pieces strictly speaking, I judg'd it proper to annex those that have a near relation or affinity with the law, such as the case of the *postnati*, of a general naturalization of the *Scotch* nation, the charges, the speeches, in parliament, and on other occasions: And then to print such pieces, of a miscellaneous nature as can't properly be rank'd under any of the foregoing heads: for our noble author himself has given us a kind of authority in the ninth book of the first part of the *Instauration*, to reserve his theological pieces, as he has done the partition of theology, towards the conclusion of his acknowledged writings, so that they amount to the bulk of a just treatise: then I have reprinted some pieces of a more doubtful and apocryphal nature: and last of all the letters. This is the general scheme to which I have reduced the remaining works.

THE *Apophthegms* come first in view: and what Dr *Tenison* says of them, p. 58, 59. and I believe justly, has given me a great deal of solicitude.

Now his lordship's writings in this argument of civil polity are either more general, or such as have more especial respect to the several dominions of the king of *England*. His political writings of a more general nature, are his apophthegms, and *essaies*, besides the *excerpta*, out of the advancement above remembred. Both these contain much of that matter which we usually call moral, distinguishing it from that which is civil: in the handling of which sort of argument his lordship has been esteem'd so far to excel, that he hath had a comment written on him as on an author in ethics^c, and an advancer of that most useful part of learning. Notwithstanding which, I am bold to put these books under this head of matter political: both because they contain a greater portion of that matter; and because in true philosophy, the doctrine of politics and ethics, maketh up but one body, and springeth from one root, the end of God Almighty in the government of the world.

^c See Vinc.
Placcii
comment in
l. 7. Aug.
scient. de
philosoph.
moral. au-
genda 8^{vo}
Franc. an.
1677.

THE

THE apophthegms, of which the first^d is the best edition, were (what^d he saith also^e of his essays) but as the recreations of his other studies. They were dictated one morning, out of his memory; and if they seem to any, a birth too inconsiderable for the brain of so great a man, they may think with themselves how little a time *he went with it*, and from thence make some allowance. Besides, his lordship hath received much injury by late editions^f, of which some have much enlarged, but not at all enriched the collection; stuffing it with tales and sayings, too infamous for a plough-man's chimney-corner.

AND particularly in the collection not long since^g published, and called the apophthegms of king *James*, king *Charles*, the marquis of *Worcester*, lord *Bacon*, and Sir *Thomas More*, his lordship is dealt with very rudely. For besides the addition of insipid tales, there are some put in which are beastly and immoral: *apoph.* 183, 184. such as were fitter to have been joined to *Aretine* or *Aloysia*, than to have polluted the chaste labours of the baron of *Verulam*.

THIS being the true, and, in the main, the whole state of the case, I was in great perplexity how to copy these apophthegms. The edition published during the author's life is all genuine and unquestionable; and yet there is full testimony of additions made after the first * collection. The copy of them in the *Resuscitatio* is exceedingly incorrect, and there are some apophthegms which I may not, cannot, think ever proceeded from our author's pen. But being unwilling to pluck up the wheat with the tares, I have compounded the matter thus, after printing a corrected copy of the *Resuscitatio*: first to give the numbers and initials in this present edition, which do not appear in the original draught; by which means every reader is enabled to acquit our noble author from any indecency, if he shall judge it to be contained in those numbers: and then to add at full length the apophthegms with their numbers which later editions have, to my apprehension, unaccountably suppressed: and I hope to be understood in this, to have done right to our noble author, since the adjusting these numbers has employ'd more hours than the transcribing of the whole would require.

THE numbers in the *Resuscitatio*, or rather this present edition, follow, which were not in the first draught or original copy. 3. His majesty king *James*, &c. 5. His majesty said, &c. 6. His majesty, &c. 7. His majesty, &c. 8. Sir *Edw. Coke*, &c. 9. The commissioners, &c. 10. His majesty, &c. 11. His majesty, &c. 13. Queen *Elizabeth* was importuned, &c. 17. King *Henry IV.* &c. 18. The said king, &c. 21. A great officer, &c. 27. The lord keeper sir *Nicolas*, &c. 28. My lord of *Leicester*, &c. 36. Sir *Nicolas Bacon*, &c. 37. Two scholars, &c. 45. A man and his wife, &c. 46. A thief being arraigned, &c. 48. A notorious rogue, &c. 50. A rough hewn seaman, &c. 54. A debauch'd seaman, &c. 62. A witty rogue, &c. 68. A woman being suspected, &c. 71. An apprentice, &c. 78. A company of scholars, &c. 79. A *Welshman*, &c. 85. A man being very jealous, &c. 86. A citizen of *London*, &c. 87. A tinker passing, &c. 88. A young maid, &c. 92. A nobleman of this nation, &c. 95. There were fishermen, &c. 96. A lady walking, &c. 97. His lordship, &c. 98. When sir *Francis Bacon*, &c. 99. One day queen *Elizabeth*, &c. 100. Mr *Bacon*, after he had, &c. 101. When sir *Nicolas Bacon*, &c. 102. When my lord president, &c. 102. When his lordship, &c. 104. *Rabelais*, &c. 121. There was an agent, &c. 122. They were wont to call, &c. 123. They feigned

^d *Apoph.*
printed in
8vo Lond.
1625. Vol.
III. p. 261.
^e See his e-
pistle to bi-
shop An-
drews.
Vol. III.
p. 534.
^f Even by
that added
(but not by
Dr Raw-
ley) to the
*Resuscita-
tio*, edit. 3.
^g Lond. 8o
1669.

* See
Vol. III.
p. 291.

a tale, &c. 124. Sir *Nicolas Baton*, &c. 125. The same sir *Nicolas*, &c. 126. Mr. *Howland*, &c. 148. Archbishop *Grindall*, &c. 178. *Titus Quinctius*, &c. 179. *Plato* was amorous, &c. 208. *Themistocles* after he was, &c. 266. A seaman coming, &c. 288. A certain friend of sir *T. M.* &c. 295. A gentleman that was punctual, &c.

I SHALL now add the apophthegms contained in the original edition which later copies have intirely suppressed.

1. WHEN queen *Elizabeth* had advanced *Rawleigh*, she was one day playing on the virginals, and my lord of *Oxford*, and another nobleman, stood by. It fell out so, that the ledge before the jacks was taken away, so as the jacks were seen: my lord of *Oxford*, and the other nobleman smiled, and a little whispered: the queen marked it, and would needs know, *What the matter was?* My lord of *Oxford* answered; *That they smiled to see, that when jacks went up, heads went down.*

22. SIR *Thomas More*, (who was a man, in all his life-time, that had an excellent vein in jesting) at the very instant of his death, having a pretty long beard, after his head was upon the block, lift it up again, and gently drew his beard aside, and said; *This hath not offended the king.*

27. *DEMONAX* the philosopher, when he died, was asked touching his burial. He answered, *Never take care for burying me, for stink will bury me.* He that ask'd him, said again; *Why, would you have your body left to the dogs and ravens to feed upon?* *Demonax* answered; *Why, what great hurt is it, if having sought to do good, when I lived, to man; my body do some good to beasts when I am dead?*

30. *PHOCION*, the *Athenian*, (a man of great severity, and no ways flexible to the will of the people) one day, when he spake to the people, in one part of his speech, was applauded: whereupon he turned to one of his friends, and asked, *What have I said amiss?*

34. *BION* was wont to say; *That Socrates, of all the lovers of Alcibiades only held him by the ears.*

37. THERE was a philosopher about *Tiberius*, that looking into the nature of *Caius*, said of him; *That he was mire mingled with blood.*

42. THERE was a bishop, that was somewhat a delicate person, and bathed twice a day. A friend of his said to him; *My lord, why do you bathe twice a day?* The bishop answered; *Because I cannot conveniently bathe thrice.*

89. WHEN sir *Thomas Moore* was lord chancellor, he did use, at mass, to sit in the chancel, and his lady in a pew. And because the pew stood out of sight, his gentleman-usher, ever after service, came to the lady's pew, and said; *Madam, my lord is gone.* So when the chancellor's place was taken from him, the next time they went to church, sir *Thomas* himself came to his lady's pew, and said, *Madam, my lord is gone.*

104. A *GRECIAN* captain advising the confederates, that were united against the *Lacedaemonians*, touching their enterprise, gave opinion, that they should go directly upon *Sparta*, saying; *That the state of Sparta was like rivers; strong when they had run a great way, and weak towards their head.*

108. ONE was examined upon certain scandalous words spoken against the king. He confessed them, and said; *It is true, I spake them, and if the wine had not failed, I had said much more.*

110. *TRAJAN* would say; *That the king's exchequer was like the spleen; for when that did swell the whole body did pine.*

III. CHARLES

111. *CHARLES* the bald allowed one, whose name was *Scottus*, to sit at the table with him, for his pleasure: *Scottus* sat on the other side of the table. One time the king being merry with him, said to him; *What is there between Scot and sot?* *Scottus* answered; *The table only.*

113. *THERE* was a marriage made between a widow of great wealth, and a gentleman of a great house, that had no estate or means. *Jack Roberts* said; *That marriage was like a black pudding; the one brought blood, and the other brought suet and oatmeal.*

149. *CROESUS* said to *Cambyfes*; *That peace was better than war; because in peace the sons bury their fathers; but in the wars, the fathers did bury their sons.*

154. *CARVAFALL*, when he was drawn to execution, being four-score and five years old, and laid upon the hurdle, said; *What, young in cradle, old in cradle?*

161. *DIOGENES* was asked in a kind of scorn, *What was the matter, that philosophers haunted rich men, and not rich men philosophers?* He answered; *Because the one knew what they wanted, the other did not.*

162. *DEMETRIUS* king of *Macedon*, had a petition offered him divers times by an old woman, and still answered; *He had no leisure.* Whereupon the woman said aloud; *Why then give over to be king.*

175. *THERE* were two gentlemen otherwise of equal degree, save that the one was of the ancients house. The other, in courtesy, asked his hand to kiss; which he gave him, and he kiss'd it: but said withal, to right himself, by way of friendship; *Well, I and you, against any two of them;* putting himself first.

198. *THEMISTOCLES* would say of himself; *That he was like a plane tree, that in tempests men fled to him, and in fair weather, men were ever cropping his leaves.*

199. *THEMISTOCLES* said of speech; *That it was like arras, that spread abroad shews fair images, but contracted is but like packs.*

211. *LYCURGUS* would say of divers of the heroes of the heathen; *That he wondred that men should mourne upon their days, for them, as mortal men, and yet sacrifice to them as gods.*

213. *THERE* is an ecclesiastical writer of the papists, to prove antiquity of confession, in the form that it now is, doth note, that in very ancient times, even in the primitive times, amongst other foul slanders spread against the christians, one was; *That they did adore the genitories of their priests.* Which (he saith) grew from the posture of the confessant, and the priest in confession: which is, that the confessant kneels down, before the priest sitting in a raised chair above him.

216. *FABRICIUS*, in conference with *Pyrrhus*, was tempted to revolt to him; *Pyrrhus* telling him, that he should be partner of his fortunes, and second person to him. But *Fabricius* answered, in a scorn, to such a motion; *Sir, that would not be good for yourself: for if the Epirotes once know me, they will rather desire to be governed by me than by you.*

221. *THALES* said; *That life and death were all one.* One that was present asked him; *Why do not you die then?* *Thales* said again; *Because they are all one.*

223. An *Egyptian* priest having conference with *Salon*, said to him; *You Grecians are ever children; you have no knowledge of antiquity, nor antiquity of knowledge.*

227. *DIO-*

227. **DIOGENES** was one day in the market-place, with a candle in his hand; and being asked, *What he sought?* He said, *He sought a man.*

228. **BIAS** being asked, *How a man should order his life?* answered; *As if a man should live long, or die quickly.*

229. **QUEEN Elizabeth** was entertained by my lord **Burleigh** at **Theobalds**: and at her going away, my lord obtained of the queen, to make seven knights. They were gentlemen of the countrey, of my lord's friends and neighbours. They were placed in a rank, as the queen should pass by the hall; and to win antiquity of knighthood, in order, as my lord favoured; though indeed the more principal gentlemen were placed lowest. The queen was told of it, and said nothing; but when she went along, she passed them all by, as far as the skreen, as if she had forgot it: and when she came to the skreen, she seemed to take herself with the manner, and said, *I had almost forgot what I promised.* With that she turned back, and knighted the lowest first, and so upward. Whereupon Mr **Stanhope** of the privy-chamber, a while after told her; *Your majesty was too fine for my lord Burleigh.* She answered; *I have but fulfilled the scripture; the first shall be last, and the last first.*

235. **SIR Fulke Grevill** had much private access to queen **Elizabeth**, which he used honourably, and did many men good: yet he would say merrily of himself; *That he was like Robin Goodfellow; for when maids spilt the milk-pans, or kept any racket, they would lay it upon Robin: So what tales the ladies about the queen told her, or other bad offices that they did, they would put it upon him.*

240. **THERE** was a politic sermon, that had no divinity in it, was preached before the king. The king, as he came forth, said to bishop **Andrews**: *Call you this a sermon?* The bishop answered; *And it please your majesty, by a charitable construction, it may be a sermon.*

244. **HENRY NOEL** would say; *That courtiers were like fasting days; they were next the holy days, but in themselves, they were the most meagre days of the week.*

247. **CATO** said; *The best way to keep good acts in memory, was to refresh them with new.*

259. **ARISTIPPUS** said; *He took money of his friends, not so much to use it himself, as to teach them how to bestow their money.*

260. **A STRUMPET** said to **Aristippus**; *That she was with child by him:* he answered; *You know that no more, than if you went through a hedge of thorns, you could say, this thorne prickt me.*

263. **DEMOCRITUS** said; *That truth did lie in profound pits, and when it was got, it needed much refining.*

266. **DIOGENES** said of a young man that danced daintily, and was much commended; *The better, the worse.*

271. **THERE** was a nobleman that was lean of visage, but immediately after his marriage he grew pretty plump and fat. One said to him; *Your lordship doth contrary to other married men; for they at first wax lean, and you wax fat.* Sir **Walter Rawleigh** stood by, and said; *Why, there is no beast, that if you take him from the common, and put him into the severall, but he will wax fat.*

272. **DIOGENES** seeing one that was a bastard casting stones among the people, bade him take heed, *He hit not his father.*

275. It was also said by many concerning the canons of that council; *That we are beholding to Aristotle for many articles of our faith.*

I MUST acknowledge one mistake, *Apoph.* 63. is reprinted in 175.

THEN

THEN *p. 88.* Dr *Tenison* has added an account of a ' collection of his ' remaining *Apophthegms*, inferior in number to those already published, ' but not in weight. Some of these he took from eminent persons, and ' some from meaner ones, having set it down from his observation ^h, that *Vol. II. p. 263.* ' *The bolt of a rustick, often hits the mark*; and that the sow, in rooting, may ' describe the letter A, though she cannot write an entire tragedy. *Rusticorum Proverbia nonnulla apposite ad veritatem dicuntur. Sus rostris, &c.*

' THE next is, a supply of his collection of judicious and elegant sentences, ' called by him *Ornamenta Rationalia*. He also gave to those wise and polite ' sayings, the title of *Sententiae Stellares*; either because they were sentences ' which deserved to be pointed to by an asterisk in the margin; or because ' they much illustrated and beautified a discourse, in which they were disposed ' in due place and order; as the stars in the firmament, are so many glorious ' ornaments of it, and set off with their lustre, the wider and less adorned ' spaces.

' THIS collection is either wholly lost, or thrown into some obscure corner; but I fear the first. I have now three catalogues in my hands, of the ' unpublished papers of sir *Francis Bacon*; all written by Dr *Rawley* himself. ' In every one of these appears the title of *Ornamenta Rationalia*, but in the ' bundles which came with those catalogues, there's not one of those sentences to be found. I held myself obliged in some sort, and as I was able, ' to supply this defect; it being once in my power to have preserved this ' paper. For a copy of it was long since offered me, by that doctor's only ' son, and my dear friend (now with God) Mr *William Rawley*; of whom, ' if I say no more it is the greatness of my grief for that irreparable loss, which ' causeth my silence. I was the more negligent in taking a copy, presuming ' I might, upon any occasion, command the original; and because that was ' then in such good hands. Now, there remains nothing with me, but a general remembrance of the quality of that collection. It consisted of divers ' short sayings, aptly and smartly expressed, and containing in them much of ' good sense in a little room.

' THESE he either made, or took from others, being moved so to do by ' the same reason which caused him to gather together his *Apophthegms*, ' which (he saith) *he collected for his recreation*; his lordship's diversions being ' of more value than some mens labours. Nor do such *Sentences* and *Apophthegms* differ much in their nature. For *Apophthegms* are only somewhat ' longer, and fuller of allusion, and tell the author, and the occasion of the ' wise saying; and are but the same kernel, with the shell and leaf about it. ' That which he saith of the one, is true of the other. They are both *micrones verborum*, ⁱ pointed speeches, or goads. *Cicero* (saith he) calleth ⁱ *Vol. III. p. 260.* ' them *salinas*, salt-pits, that you may extract salt out of, and sprinkle it where ' you will. They serve to be interlaced in continued speech; they serve to be ' recited, upon occasion, by themselves.

' SUCH *Ornaments* have been noted in all ages and places, and in many ' collected.

' AMONGST the *Hebrews*, they had (of old) the proverbs of *Agur* and ' *Solomon*.

' IN times more modern, there have been set forth the *Pirke-Avoth*; ' and the sentences, proverbs, apophthegms, and similitudes of the *Hebrew* ' writers, collected in the *Florilegium Hebraicum* of *Buxtorf*.

' AMONGST the *AEgyptians*, we find such aenigmatic proverbial forms ' as these; *He hath a wing of a bat*. That is, the man is impotent, yet

daring; and so like a *bat*, which adventures to fly, though it has no feathers.
The crab keeps the door of the oyster: that is, his friend destroys him. For
 the crab (they say) puts in his claw when the oyster gapes, and eats it up.

AMONGST the *Arabians*, we find the proverbs of *Lockman*, or *Æsop*; and those collected by *Erpenius*.

AMONGST the *Greeks*, we find the sentences of their seven wise men, of *Theognis*, and *Phocylides*, and of divers others, preserved by *Stobæus*.

Pythagoras had his *ὑποθήκαι*,¹ of which we should have known much more, if time had not denied us the book of *Aristotle* *περὶ τῶν Πυθαγορείων*.

THENCE, it is thought, *Laërtius*, and *Porphyrus*, cite certain *Pythagoric* * symbols, in which, among others, the *Pleiades* are called *the harp of the Muses*; and the *northern bears*, the *Hands of Rhea*. Which later symbol, is, for such a toy, pretty enough, if expounded of matter fixed, and detained from the course of its fluidity, by cold or rest. But I pretend not so much intimacy with the magical *Pythagoras*, as to be his interpreter. To *Henry Stephens* we owe a collection of *Greek* sentences, from the comic poets. The monk *Thalassius*, wrote an hundred sentences concerning charity and continence, after the way of the cloyster, that is, in a pious, but less acute manner.^m

AMONGST the *Romans*, *Julius Caesar* and *Macrobius* wrote collections of *Apophthegms*; and the sentences of *Laberius*, and also of *Publius*, (who was indeed, by birth, a *Syrian*, but by education and privilege a *Roman*) are to this day preserved.

SOME, a-while ago, have gathered and amassed the sentences of *Cicero*, and of both the *Seneca's*, though (I think) without much judgment, and as we gather fishes in a net, enclosing the good and bad together. Last year, the *seigneur de Laval* did publish his collection of the sentences of *St. Austin*.ⁿ And it is not long, since monsieur *Hache* set forth a whole folio of sentences, collected out of twelve of the tomes of the *Bibliotheca Patrum*.^o

AMONG the *Italians*, *Spaniards*, *French*, *Dutch*, and *Turks*, (which two last I put together, for the alike bluntness and coarseness of their sayings) there are divers collections of *Apophthegms* and proverbs.

AMONG ourselves, we have the like, and particularly the wise sayings by Mr *Camden*, and the *Facula Prudentum* in Mr *Herbert*; which later some have been bold to accuse, as having too much feather, and too little point. But the sense of that metaphor, may be more truly applied to the collection called *Flores Edwardi Coci*.^p Those sayings, as they are represented without the context of that eminent lawyer, are like the flowers in an herbal, of which no man would put the generality into his garden.

THE use of such little things, no man knew better than sir *Francis Bacon*, who could turn every saying to advantage; and if it wanted lustre in it self, he could by art create it, and by setting it well.

HIS own collection was (as I remember) gathered partly out of his own store, and partly from the ancients; and accordingly it is supplied out of his own works, and the *Mimi* of *Publius*.

DR *TENISON* observes, introduction p. 60:

ESSAYS. To those apophthegms, may be referred these now published. The *Essays*, or *Counsels civil and moral*, though a by-work also, do yet make up a book of greater weight by far than the *Apophthegms*: and coming home to mens business and bosomes, his lordship entertained this persuasion concerning

¹ See Salmaf. in Simplic. in Epict. ad calc. p. 12.
 * Vide Jonstium de script. hist. phil. p. 54. Also p. 76, &c. Iamblich. de vita Pythag. p. 131.

^m See them in the Mixop. περὶ σ. p. 106.

ⁿ Sent. titres des oeuvres de S. Aug. à Paris, 1677. 8o.
^o Sent. ex 12 Bibl. Patr. tom. selectae, per Fr. Hache, an. 1666.

^p By Tho. Ash. Lond. 1617. in 16o.

cerning them^a, that the *Latin* volume might last as long as books should
 last. His lordship wrote them in the *English* tongue, and enlarged them
 as occasion served, and at last added to them the *colours of good and evil*,
 which are likewise found in his book *de Augmentis*^r. The *Latin* translation
 of them was a work performed by divers hands; by those of Dr *Hacket*^r
 (late bishop of *Lichfield*) Mr. *Benjamin Johnson* (the learned and judi-
 cious poet) and some others, whose names I once heard from Dr *Rawley*;
 but I cannot now recal them. To this *Latin* edition, he gave the title
 of *Sermones Fideles*, after the manner of the *Jews*, who called the words
Adagies, or observations of the *wise, faithful sayings*; that is, credible
 propositions worthy of firm assent, and ready acceptance. And (as I
 think) he alluded more particularly, in this title, to a passage in *Eccle-*
siastes^s, where the preacher saith, that he sought to find out *verba delecta-*
bilia, (as *Tremellius* rendreth the *Hebrew*) *pleasant words*, (that is, perhaps,
 his book of *Canticles*); and *verba fidelia* (as the same *Tremellius*) *faithful*
sayings; meaning, it may be, his collection of *proverbs*. In the next verse,
 he calls them *words of the wise*, and so many goads and nails given *ab eodem*
pastore, from the same shepherd [of the flock of *Israel*.]

IN a late *Latin* edition of these essays, there are subjoined two discourses,
 the one called *de Negotiis*, the other *Faber Fortunae*. But neither of these
 are works newly published, but treatises taken out of the book *de Aug-*
mentis^t.

TO this book of *Essays* may be annexed, that fragment of an *Essay* of
fame, which is extant already in the *Resuscitatio*^u.

I HAVE only a few words to add concerning this edition of the *Essays*, ha-
 ving already accounted for the order of them. I have given all the dedications
 which were prefixed before the several births of this work: I have printed the
 whole correctly from the best enlarged copy published by our noble author
 the year before his death, and dedicated to the duke of *Buckingham*: I have
 inserted from the remains, an essay of a king, p. 317. N. XIV. of this volume:
 and my reason is, it is so collated and corrected by archbishop *Sancti*'s well-
 known hand, that it appears to be a new work; and tho' it consists of short
 propositions, mostly, yet I will be so presumptuous as to say, that I think it
 now breaths the true spirit of our author: and there seems to be an obvious
 reason why it was omitted before. The fragment of an essay upon fame
 closes this work.

THE colours of good and evil were annexed to the *Essays* by our author,
 and the present dress in which they appear, will at least equal them to any
 former edition.

OUR method now directs us to our author's historical writings in *English*:
 the account of them in the Introduction, so often mention'd, p. 51, 52, 54.
 runs in these terms.

AFTER having mentioned the several parts of this great work, which
 concerneth, especially, body natural; we proceed to enumerate others
 of his lordship's writings, which concern civil or religious matters. And
 though most of them are of a mixed nature, and history is seldom written
 without some political reflections; yet to those who are not over nice,
 the division of them into historical and political, may be passable.

HIS historical works are these:

THE first, is the history of *Henry VII.*^x, written elegantly by his
 lordship in the *English* tongue, and addressed to his highness the prince
 of

^a See Vol.
 III. epist.
 ded. to the
 duke of
 Bucks, p.
 300.
^r Lib. vi.
 c. 3. p.
 171.

^s Eccles.
 xii. 10, 11.

^t Lib. viii.
 c. 2. p.
 216, &c.
^u Reprint-
 ed Vol. III.
 p. 383.

History of
HENRY
VII.
^x Publish-
 ed first in
 1622. now
 Vol. III. p.
 397.

of *Wales*; and turned afterwards into *Latin*. An history which required such a reporter: those times being times both of great revolution, and settlement, through the division and union of the roses.

THIS was the first book which he composed after his retirement from an active life^y. Upon which occasion he wrote thus to the bishop of *Winchester*. "Being (as I am) no more able to do my country service, it remaineth unto me, to do it honour: which I have endeavoured to do in my work, of the reign of king *Henry VII*. See *Vol. III. p. 536*.

THIS work was carefully revis'd by Dr *Sancroft*. *Vol. III. p. 407*.

HENRY
VIII.

THE second is, the fragment of the history of *Henry VIII*. printed *Vol. III. p. 507*. This work he undertook upon the motion of king *Charles I*. but, a greater king not lending him time, he only began it; for that which we have of it, was it seems but one morning's work.

THE beginning of the history of *Great Britain*. This was an essay sent to king *James*, whose times it considered. A work worthy his pen, had he proceeded in it; seeing, as he saith^z, he should have written of times, not only since he could remember, but since he could observe; and by way of introduction, of times (as he farther noteth) of strange variety; the reign of a child; the offer of an usurpation by the lady *Jane*, though it were but as a diary ague; the reign of a lady married to a foreigner, and the reign of a lady solitary and unmarried.

^z *Vol. III. p. 509. See Vol. IV. p. 566. in the letter to king James and p. 565. to the lord chancellor Egerton on this subject.*

HIS lordship who had given such proof of his skill in writing an history of *England*, leaving the world to the unspeakable loss of the learned part of it; his late majesty [*Charles I*.] a great favourer of that work, and wise in the choice of fit workmen, encouraged sir *Henry Wotton* to endeavour it, by his royal invitation, and a pension of 500*l. per annum*. This proposal was made to that excellent man, in his declining years; and he died after the finishing some short characters of some few kings; which characters are published in his remains^a. But this new undertaking diverted him from a work, in which he had made some considerable progress, the life of *Luther*, and in it, the history of the reformation, as it was begun and carried on in *Germany*: of which work, the papers (as they say) are lost, and in a current of time, of no great depth, sunk beyond all possible recovery.

^a *Reliq. Wotton. p. 100.*

THEN follow several pieces partly historical and partly political: namely, considerations touching a war with *Spain*, *p. 512*. And an advertisement touching an holy war, *p. 534*. both published by Dr *Rawley*: which last though it carries the face of a religious subject, yet is discussed, in the form of a dialogue, upon principles of natural reason, and from the maxims of the civil law. To which are annexed, *p. 548*. questions about the lawfulness of a war for the propagating of religion. In the next place, succeeds an historical account of the Alienation office, now first published; and at the close of this third volume, our author's advice to sir *George Villiers*. The date of this treatise, or letter as it may be called, seems to be early after sir *George*'s appearance at court, since in a professed account of his station, it only mentions his being a bed-chamber-man, *p. 565*. and yet if the reading be not faulty, it was penned after the death of the queen [1618.] *p. 585*. One edition begins, Noble Sir; and another, My noble Lord: and I am to acquaint the reader, there are three several copies of this performance. The first in 4^{to}, as a single pamphlet, printed 1661. The second printed in *Lloyd's Worthies*, *p. 845*. under the title of *Buckingham*, in the year 1670. And the third

third in the *Cabala*. The second and the third vary very little, inſomuch as they appear only to be two transcripts of one original; tho' they differ vaſtly from the firſt. But the worſt circumſtance in which they all agree is, that they are incorrect. As they have paſſed through ſo many dreſſes under our author's name, and without contradiction, there ſeems no reaſon to raiſe a doubt of their deſcent: what then could be done in this ſituation? There is however more than *Stat magni nominis umbra*: and though the jewels are not ſet to their utmoſt advantage; yet that juſtneſs of order and maſterly obſervation, which runs through the whole, to my apprehenſion, renders it more perfect than moſt of the great men then living were capable of forming it. The method I have obſerved in the publication is this. I have taken the copy in the *Cabala* for my text, collated it with the other editions; in ſettling and correcting the copy, as I went along, wherever I obſerved a material variation of the ſenſe or ſubſtance, in the quarto of 1661, I have included it in crotchets thus [] and inſerted it.

BEFORE we enter upon an account of the fourth volume, I ſhall take leave to inſert the following character of the lord *Bacon*, both as a philoſopher and a lawyer, chiefly for the ſake of what is ſaid in it relating to the law part of the work.

' THOUGH the lord *Bacon* has not brought his works into that perfect form which he intended; yet, by the foot of this *Hercules* we now may judge of his proportions, and conclude, he was one of the greateſt men that ever lived: of whom we may with better reaſon ſay than *Lucretius* of his old maſter;

— *genus humanum ingenio ſuperavit, & omnes
Praeſtinxit ſtellas, exortus uti aetherius ſol.*

' HIS univerſal genius has turned all learning and philoſophy into their proper chanel, and brought them home to mens boſoms, and to the uſes of life. He was born for philoſophy: into his ſtate employments, and profeſſion of the law, he was forced: and he excelled in both. In one, he was not inferiour to *Plato* or *Ariſtotle*: he was more than equal in the other to his enemy the lord *Coke*.

' NOR can ſuch a comparison be thought unjuſt: on the wrong ſide of which; however unwilling we may be to name thoſe great lights of antiquity: it muſt needs be owned of the firſt, that he made of humane knowlege a ſtep to ſomething higher, and out of man's reach; his ſcholar contented himſelf to make a ſyſtem of it as it was, and went no farther. But it is our *Bacon*, and he only, that has made a juſt review of humane forces, and ſhewed what more may be attained; who opened the way to true knowlege, and to encrease the powers of mankind. Yet what he did was in the courſe and hurry of an active life: and they were men of leiſure, who had little elſe to do. They had their different ſects; for neither of them was in the right: he will have all mankind for his followers; and whoever ſhall hereafter do any thing to purpoſe, muſt work under him.

' THIS praiſe can never be too much: for if we look back on all the late improvements in natural philoſophy, are they not owing chiefly to the rules and deſign of his *Inſtauration*? Is not moſt of the later criticiſm that was good on any part of learning found to bottom ſome where or other

in the *Advancement*? From the fifth book of which, and the *Novum Organum*, Mr Locke's essay is plainly drawn: that admirable essay, which, as it ought, in spite of great opposers, has at last found it's way into our universities. Were the rest of the *Advancement*, and some other of his lordship's works so explained, and brought in use there by tutors; it would be perhaps a better introduction for young scholars, than what has yet possessed those excellent schools.

BUT between him and the best of our lawyers, may we not safely say there is this difference? His active mind, his happy penetration, which before had mastered the great difficulties of natural knowledge, could compass easily the whole of that profession, but not stay in it: while some that had no higher views went on; not with such discretion and clear judgment; but to say truth, with something more of pains and application.

WITH respect therefore to his *work of laws*, * *proposing a character of justice in a middle term between the speculative discourses of philosophers, and the writings of lawyers*, let it be now said: that, what we have of it is, for the true principles and foundations of law, of greater weight and authority, and of more extensive use, than those celebrated volumes of the lord Coke. And surely so it is, if to instruct lawgivers, and to form a *Solon* or *Lycurgus*, be greater praise than to comment on a single writer of law in one island. One from his stand, the top of all philosophy, saw at once the rights of all mankind; and how they square with, and are the ground of laws in particular states. The other busied himself in the gain and compass of his own practice; and looked no farther than his own countrey. If he writes upon a thinking author, he does not pursue and explain his excellent reasoning; but is ever running away with a single word, to tell all he knew of it, and do the office of a dictionary. *Fremant omnes licet: dicam quod sentio*. The matter may be in Coke; but the art and use of it is in Bacon: who, had he presided to form a digest of our laws; they might have been a standard afterwards, to be copied like those of the *Spartans* and *Athenians*, by all countries, and all ages.

WITH what reverence then should we look up to this man, such a perfect judge of universal learning, and so sure guide of our enquiries! And what care is owing to the least of his remains! To gather them into one body, and into a proper order, will be not only a piece of great justice to his memory: but especially, a work of excellent use and advantage to posterity,

By this account it should seem as if the lord Bacon was the architect and lord Coke the artificer: and in support of these sentiments I presume to copy a paragraph of our noble author, *Vol. IV. p. 7.*

FOR the auxiliary books that conduce to the study and science of the law, they are three: Institutions; a treatise *De regulis juris*; and a better book, *De verborum significationibus*, or terms of the law. For the Institutions, I know well there be books of introductions (wherewith students begin) of good worth, especially *Littleton* and *Fitzherbert's Natura brevium*; but they are no ways of the nature of an institution; the office whereof is to be a key and general preparation to the reading of the course. And principally it ought to have two properties; the one a perspicuous and clear order or method; and the other, an universal latitude or comprehension, that the students may have a little pre-notion of every thing, like a model to-
wards

* De aug.
scient., 18.
c. 3.

wards a great building. For the treatise *De regulis juris*, I hold it, of all other things, the most important to the health (as I may term it) and good institutions of any laws: it is indeed like the ballast of a ship, to keep all up-right and stable; but I have seen little in this kind, either in our law, or other laws, that satisfieth me. The naked rule or maxim doth not the effect: It must be made useful by good differences, ampliations, and limitations, warranted by good authorities; and this not by raising up of quotations and references, but by discourse and deducement in a just tractate. In this I have travelled myself, at the first more cursorily, since with more diligence, and will go on with it, if God and your majesty will give me leave. And I do assure your majesty, I am in good hope, that when sir *Edward Coke's* reports, and my rules and decisions shall come to posterity, there will be (whatsoever is now thought) question, who was the greater lawyer? For the books of the terms of the law there is a poor one, but I wish a diligent one, wherein should be comprised not only the exposition of the terms of law, but of the words of all antient records and precedents.

IV. THE fourth volume will entertain us with greater variety than any of the preceding: and at its entrance it distinguishes our noble author in his own profession. The introduction observes, *p. 69.* 'Touching these — pieces which may be termed writings in juridical polity, and which he wrote as a debtor to his profession; it is beyond my skill, as well as out of the way of my studies to pass a special judgment on them. Only I may note it in the general, that if he reached not so far in the common law as sir *Edward Coke* and some other ornaments of the long robe; the prepossession of his mind by philosophical notions, and his regard to matters of estate, rather than to those of law, may be assigned as the true causes of it: for doubtless parts were not wanting. On this subject it is, that he thus writeth to sir *Thomas Bodley* ^b. I think no man may more truly ^{b Coll. of letters, Vol. IV. p. 561.} say with the psalm, *Multum incola fuit anima mea*, than myself: For I do confess, since I was of any understanding, my mind hath, in effect, been absent from that I have done: and, in absence are many errors, which I do willingly acknowledge: and among the rest this great one that led the rest; that knowing myself, by inward calling, to be fitter to hold a book than to play a part, I have led my life in civil causes, for which I was not very fit by nature; and more unfit by the preoccupation of my mind. To a like purpose is this, in a manuscript letter to the lord chancellor *Egerton*, which I have sometimes perused.

— 'I am not ^c so deceived in myself, but that I know very well, (and ^d MS. I think, your lordship is *major corde*, and in your wisdom you note it ^{letter.} more deeply than I can in myself,) that in practising the law, I play not my best game; which maketh me accept it with a *nisi quid potius*; as the best of my fortune, and a thing better agreeable to better gifts than mine; but not to mine.

AND it appeareth, by what he hath said in a letter to the earl of *Essex* ^d, that he once thought not to practise in his profession. "I am ^{d Coll. of letters, Vol. IV. p. 484.} purposed (said he) not to follow the practice of the law. — And my reason is only, because it drinketh too much time, which I have dedicated to better purposes.

IN

IN publishing the several treatises which our noble author wrote in his own profession, I would not be understood to assume to myself any merit, beyond a little attention in an orderly ranging of them, some diligence and exactness in reprinting from the best editions, which I think I have constantly been supplied with, and a little application in collating the sheets with authentic MSS, where they could be procur'd. I am sensible of the great nicety of printing references in law cases, where a man can never offend by an excess of caution; but as I am destitute both of books, abilities and leisure to travel through such a province, I am obliged to say, that I have only taken care in this view to copy the several editions or MSS, as they lay before me.

PROPO-
SITION
for amend-
ing the
law.

As to my method of placing the treatises in this noble and necessary science, I no sooner saw the two following tracts, than I determin'd to publish them in the entrance of this fourth volume, *viz.* A *proposition* to his majesty—touching the compiling and amendment of the laws of *England*: and an *offer* to king *James* of a digest to be made of the laws of *England*. For what better introduction or preparative can there be for to cultivate the study of the laws, than to be made acquainted with the defects and imperfections of them, and, be the matter of them ever so perfect, to be apprized of the consequence of having them digested or new modelled as to the form?

MAXIMS
of the law.

NEXT follow the elements of the common laws of *England*: containing, 1. A collection of some principal rules and maxims of the common law, with their latitude and extent. 2. The use of the common law, for the preservation of our persons, goods and good names; according to the laws and customs of this land. These were dedicated to queen *Elizabeth*; but, were not published till the year, 1635, 1636. by the assigns of *John Moore* esq; and that in a very faulty and scandalous edition: I have taken all the care in my power to remove this grievance, and particularly from p. 41. by the help of a very good MS. have restored many fractures and dislocations.

THAT I may not lie under the imputation of concealments, I presume now to reprint a digression, *Intr. p. 75, &c.*

‘ THUS far I have travelled in an account, (such as it is) of those genuine writings of the lord *Bacon*, which are already published; and which, being (like medals of gold) both rich in their matter, and beautiful in their form, have met with a very great, and well nigh, equal number of purchasers and admirers.

‘ THIS general acceptance of his works, has exposed him to that ill and unjust usage which is common to eminent writers. For on such are fathered, sometimes spurious treatises; sometimes most corrupt copies of good originals; sometimes their essays and first thoughts upon good subjects, though laid aside by them unprosecuted and uncorrected; and sometimes the very toys of their youth, written by them in trivial or loose arguments, before they had arriv'd either at ripeness of judgment, or sobriety of temper.

‘ THE veriest straws (like that of father *Garnet*) are shewn to the world as admirable reliques, if the least strokes of the image of a celebrated author does but seem to be upon them.

‘ THE press hath been injurious in this kind, to the memory of bishop *Andrews*, to whom it owed a deep and solemn reverence. It hath sent forth a pamphlet upon an idle subject, under the venerable name
‘ of

‘ of that great man; who (like the grafs in hot countries, of which they
 ‘ are wont to fay that it groweth hay) was born grave and sober: and
 ‘ still, farther to aggravate the injury, it hath given to that idle fubject,
 ‘ the idler title of the ex-ale-tation of ale.

‘ IN fuch an unbecoming manner it hath dealt, long ago <sup>‘ About
the year
1658.</sup>, with
 ‘ the very learned and ingenious author of the vulgar errors. It hath ob-
 ‘ truded upon him, whilst alive, a dull and worthlefs book, ftolen, for the
 ‘ moft part, out of the *physics* of *Magirus*, by a very ignorant perfon: a
 ‘ plagiarif fo ignorant and fo unskillful in his *Rider*, that not diftinguifhing
 ‘ betwixt *Laevis* and *Levis*, in the faid *Magirus*, he hath told us of the
 ‘ liver, that one part of it is gibbous, and the other light. And yet he
 ‘ had the confidence to call this fcrible, the cabinet of nature unlock’d:
 ‘ an arrogant and fanciful title, of which his true humility would no more
 ‘ have fuffered him to have been the father, than his great learning could
 ‘ have permitted him to have been the author of the book. For I can af-
 ‘ fure the reader upon my knowledge, that as he is a philofopher very in-
 ‘ ward with nature, fo he is one who never boafte of his acquaintance
 ‘ with her.

‘ NEITHER hath the lord *Bacon* gone without his fhare in this in-
 ‘ juftice from the prefs. He hath been ill dealt with in the letters print-
 ‘ ed in the *Cabala*, and *Scrinia*, under his name: for Dr *Rawley* profes-
 ‘ fed, that though they were not wholly falfe, yet they were very cor-
 ‘ rupt and embafed copies. This I believe the rather; having lately com-
 ‘ par’d fome original letters with the copies in that collection, and found
 ‘ them imperfect. And to make a particular inftance; in comparing the
 ‘ letter of fir *Walter Rawleigh* to fir *Robert Car*, of whom a fame had
 ‘ gone that he had begged his eftate; I found no fewer then forty dif-
 ‘ ferences, of which fome were of moment.

‘ OUR author hath been ftill worfe dealt with, in a pamphlet in *octavo*,
 ‘ concerning the trial of the earl and countefs of *Somerfet*: and likewise in one
 ‘ in *quarto*, which beareth the title of *Bacon’s Remains*, though there can-
 ‘ not be fpied in it, fo much as the *ruins* of his beautiful genius.

‘ HIS lordfhip, and other fuch memorable writers, having formerly been
 ‘ fubject to fuch abufes; it is probable that many will, at firft, fufpect the
 ‘ faithfulnefs of this * collection; and look upon that as adulterate ware, * *The
Remains.*
 ‘ which is of fuch a fudden here brought forth to them, out of the dark.

‘ BUT let them firft make trial, and then pafs fentence. And if they have
 ‘ fufficient knowledge of the peculiar *air* of this author, they will not only
 ‘ believe that thefe *Remains* are his, but alfo fet a value upon them as none of
 ‘ his moft ufelefs and wafte papers. They fay, the feather of a phoenix is of
 ‘ price: and here fuch will own, they have fome little of the body, as well as
 ‘ part of the plumage.

‘ IT is difficult to imitate fuch great authors, in fo lively and exact a form,
 ‘ as without fufpicion to pafs for them. They who are the moft artificial
 ‘ counterfeits in this way, do not refemble them as the fon does the father,
 ‘ but at beft as the dead picture does the living perfon: And thofe who have
 ‘ true skill in the works of the lord *Verulam*, like great mafters in painting,
 ‘ can tell by the design, the ftrength, the way of colouring, whether he was
 ‘ the author of this or the other piece, though his name be not to it.

† This
seems to be
a former
will.

|| Vol. IV.
p. 187.

* In 1679.

‘ FOR the reader, who has been less versed in his books, he may understand, that nothing is here offered to him as the labour of that lord, which was not written either by his own hand, or in copies transcribed by the most faithful pen of his domestic chaplain, Dr *William Rawley*: a person whom his lordship chiefly used in his life-time, in writing down, transcribing, digesting, and publishing his composures, and to whom, at his death, he expressed his favour, by bequeathing to him in money, one hundred pounds, and in books, † the great bibles of the king of *Spain*.

‘ I REFER him, who doubteth of my veracity in this matter, to my worthy friend Mr *John Rawley*, (the executor of the said reverend doctor) by whose care most of these papers have been preserved for the publick good; and who can bear me witness, (if occasion serveth) that I have not herein impos’d upon the world.

‘ IT is true, that Dr *Rawley*, in his preface to the *Opuscula* of his lordship, hath forbidden us to expect any more of his *Remains* in *Latin* or *English*: he addeth in express terms, that nothing farther remained in his hands. He meant, when he said this, that such writings of his lordship, were to be esteemed as not in being, which were not worthy to appear. This meaning of his, he more plainly delivered in his preface to the collection, called *Resuscitatio* ||.

‘ THERE he saith, “ That he had left nothing to a future hand, which he found to be of moment, or communicable to the publick, save only some few *Latin* works, soon after to be publish’d.” He delivered himself from the obligation of that promise in the year fifty eight; publishing then, with all due care, those *Latin* works. Soon after, he was accused by an obscure prefacer, to a new edition of the *Essays* in *octavo*, as one that had still concealed some of his lordship’s philosophical treasures. In vindication of himself from this censure, I find him using these words in one of his papers, wherein he animadverteth on that preface. “ I have published all I thought fit, or a well advised man would have thought fit to be published by me.” He judged some papers, touching matters of estate, to tread so near to the heels of truth, and to the times of the person’s concerned, from which now they are farther removed, by the distance of * twenty years. He thought his lordship’s letters concerning his fall, might be injurious to his honour, and cause the old wounds of it to bleed anew; whereas if the remembrance of them had not been fresh in the minds of many, and in the books of some, the collection of the *Cabala*, had revived part of it in a corrupt copy; and the matter of those letters is of such a nature, (as afterwards I shall shew) that it rather clearerth his lordship’s fame, than throws more dirt upon it. For the philosophical remains, he judged them unfit to be committed to the press, because they were but fragments; and such too, as his lordship’s last hand had not rendred correct. The excess of veneration which he had for his lordship, inclin’d him to think nothing worthy to bear his name, which was not a masterpiece. And for this reason, if surreptitious copies had not moved him to do his lordship right by printing the true ones, we had wanted divers papers which the world now enjoys, and receives with thankfulness. And where the substance is gold, men will readily accept it, though in the ore and unrefined: nor is it any disparagement to the inventory of his lordship’s philosophical goods, if there are numbred amongst them certain broken uncoined pieces of valuable metal.

‘ SOME

‘ SOME few imperfect papers, about his lordship’s private affairs, or of very little moment in philosophy, are still kept where they ought to be, in private hands. But those which have been judged worthy the light, by those learned and prudent men whom I have consulted, are now, with no small labour, communicated to the world. For so blotted were some of the papers, so torn, so disjointed, so intermixt in contents of a different nature; that the sense, as it now stands, may seem like *Mercury* reduced to its proper form, after its divers shapes and transmutations.

THE cases of treason seem to challenge the next place: And what has hitherto gone under this style in the title page, contains, Cases of treason, *p. 84, &c.* Cases of felony, *p. 87.* Cases of *Praemunire*, *p. 90.* Cases of the king’s prerogative, *p. 92.* and the office of constables, *p. 93.* These were very carefully and judiciously collated by archbishop *Sancroft*, and those who will take the pains to compare this with former impressions will be pleas’d with the exchange.

IN the next place follow four arguments in law, dedicated to the readers, ancients, utter barristers, and students of *Grays-Inn*. *p. 99.* Their titles are: The case of the impeachment of waste: *Lowe’s* case of tenures: The case of the revocation of uses: And the jurisdiction of the marches. Acknowledgments go no farther than the shell of gratitude: And as I am not accusom’d to offend in excess; I may be permitted to say, that the world is indebted for this treasure to the humanity of a worthy man, Mr *Thomas Richardson*, *Apothecary*, of *Aldersgatestreet*, who is a citizen of the world, a credit to his employ, and a blessing to his neighbourhood. Mr *Stephens* knowing these arguments to be authentic, and the unquestionable writings of our noble author, was so obliging as to peruse and examine them sheet by sheet, as the press delivered them: and I can vouch they are printed to a degree of nicety from the fair original. I have already disclaimed any pretensions to judge of them as points of law; yet I have not been able to discover that in the *English* tongue there are such arguments, pleadings, or speeches in judicial cases as these. I cannot punctually ascertain the time of this production: only the title determines them to be while our author was Solicitor-General.

NEXT follows the draught of an act against an usurious shift of gain, &c. in delivering commodities instead of money.

THE lord *Bacon’s* ordinances in chancery claim the next place. The reader will be surprized at the corrections of this piece, especially if he compare *p. 147, 148.* of this edition with the former. I dare not now say that it is perfect, though it is rescued from many scores of errors that shaded the former copies: And lately, a worthy friend has obliged me with the following collations, which I think are truly improvements; so that I could not omit them.

<i>p. 149. l. 20.</i>	continuity - - - -	<i>r.</i>	contumacy
<i>l. 24.</i>	<i>dele</i> of justice - - - -		
<i>p. 150. l. 4.</i>	lease - - - - -	<i>r.</i>	cause
<i>l. 20.</i>	those - - - - -	<i>r.</i>	such
<i>l. 42.</i>	cases - - - - -	<i>r.</i>	causes
<i>l. 36.</i>	- - - - -	<i>r.</i>	warrant of the order
<i>p. 151. l. 18.</i>	- - - - -	<i>r.</i>	upon the accounts
<i>l. 25.</i>	- - - - -	<i>r.</i>	pleadings, or any
<i>p. 152. l. 11.</i>	law - - - - -	<i>r.</i>	laid
<i>l. 16.</i>	- - - - -	<i>r.</i>	ought not
<i>p. 153. l. 22.</i>	granted - - - - -	<i>r.</i>	grounded
<i>l. 25.</i>	for the - - - - -	<i>r.</i>	forth
<i>l. 46.</i>	moved - - - - -	<i>r.</i>	proved

p. 154.

AN ACCOUNT OF

p. 154. l. 7. one - - - - -	r. once
l. 10. ballia - - - - -	r. Ballivo
l. 11. Seward. - - - - -	r. Sewar.
l. 12. <i>dele</i> as - - - - -	r. writs <i>ad quod</i> , &c.
l. 17. parties - - - - -	r. persons
l. 28. and the peace - - -	r. or the peace
l. 41. - - - - -	r. <i>Curia Canc.</i>
l. <i>antepenult.</i> - - - - -	r. in their
p. 155. l. 46. - - - - -	r. depositions; nor of depositions

Some readers may be in the opinion that a lucky guess might have discharged most of these errors: but I do not recollect that I have any where taken such freedom, having only amended orthography and pointings without the help of copies.

READ-
ING on
the statute
of Uses.

WE are now come to the learned reading upon the statute of uses: being Mr Bacon's double reading to the honourable society of *Grays-Inn*, 42 *Eliz.* When this piece was first published the state of printing resembled the state of monarchy, both being at a low ebb: and none of our noble author's works have been more miserably rack'd and disjointed than this before us. I have been fortunate in procuring a corrected copy of the whole; and farther still a second and much better copy in MS. which I take, upon comparison of hands, to be the character of our author's clerk or amanuensis: for as the proprietor of this MS. was a lawyer by profession, so being cotemporary with our author, the probability of its being an original is the stronger. However I presume to say, *meo periculo*, that the internal proofs of the excellency of this MS. so far as it goes (*viz.* to p. 169.) are such, that they make our author speak masterly sense, and render the work in a manner new.

POST-
NATI,
&c.

THE contents of the *Resuscitatio* now fall under our care, excepting some few articles which by the sketch of our method have already been accounted for. I have reduced these particulars under a few heads; and as in general they have a great affinity with the law treatises, I have given the precedence to the several pieces as they are more nearly allied to the subject of the law; and those which are more remote are postpon'd for the same reason. In the head of these I have placed the several pieces touching the union of the two kingdoms: the dignity and importance of the subject requires it. All these are well known, and have been printed in tolerable order; tho' in them I have given some material corrections of Dr *Sancroft*, and weeded a few minute errors of the press. They stand thus: The argument in the case of the *Postnati* of *Scotland*, in the exchequer-chamber, before the lord chancellor and all the judges of *England*, p. 190. II. A speech in the honourable house of commons, 5. *Jac.* concerning the article of the general naturalization of the *Scotish* nation, p. 214. III. A speech in the lower house of parliament, by occasion of a motion concerning the union of laws, p. 225. IV. A brief discourse of the happy union of the kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*: dedicated in private to his majesty, p. 228. V. Certain articles or considerations touching the union of the kingdoms of *England* and *Scotland*: collected and dispersed for his majesty's better service, p. 234.

OUR noble author's law-subjects will appear to be better connected by CHARGES. printing the *charges* in the next place. The introduction observes p. 66.

FOR his charges they were these following:

FIRST,

* FIRST, his* charge at the sessions, holden for the *verge* in the reign of king *James*, declaring the latitude and jurisdiction thereof, p. 245. ^{* Publish. 4^{to}. 1662.}

‘ BY the *verge*, is meant a plat of twelve miles round, laid to the king’s settled mansion-house, subject to special exempted jurisdiction, depending upon his person and great officers. This his lordship called an half-pace, or carpet spread about the kings chair of estate; and he judged that it ought to be cleared and void, more than other places of the kingdom, that offences might not seem to be shrowded under the king’s wings.

I HAVE next inserted the charge against the lord *Sanquhar*, as I conceive the order of time requires.

‘ SECONDLY, his charge in the star-chamber against duels; to which may be added the decree of the star-chamber in the same case, p. 255.

‘ THIRDLY, his charge in the star-chamber against *William Talbot*, touching the doctrine of *Suarez*, concerning the deposing and killing of excommunicated kings, p. 267.

‘ FOURTHLY, his charge in the same court against Mr *J. S.* for scandalizing and traducing in the publick sessions, letters sent from the lords of the council, touching the benevolence.’ Whether the initials *J. S.* were printed by design for a blind, or were a mistake I can’t tell. But the real person was *Oliver St John*, and I ask the readers pardon for copying the *Resuscitatio* here, and the introduction, in the running titles.

‘ FIFTHLY, his charge in the same court against *M. L. S. W.* and *H. J.* for traducing the king’s justice in the proceedings against *Weston*, one of the instruments in the impoisoning of sir *Thomas Overbury*, p. 282.’ Here is another slight omission in the introduction and *Resuscitatio*. The persons are Mr *Lumsden*, sir *John Wentworth*, and sir *John Hollis*. See collections above, p. 81.

‘ SIXTHLY, his charge in the king’s-bench against *Owen*, for affirming conditionally, that if the king were excommunicated, it were lawful to kill him. p. 279.

‘ SEVENTHLY, his charge in the king’s-bench against the lord *Sanquhar*, a *Scotish* nobleman, who in private revenge, had suborned *Robert Carlisle* to murder *John Turner* a master of fence. p. 253.

‘ EIGHTHLY, his charges before the lord high steward, lord *Ellesmere*, and the peers, against the countess and earl of *Somerset*,^b p. 288, &c.’ ^{b Now first reprinted from the Remains.}

AGAIN Introduction, p. 83.

‘ THE proper place for these charges was in the first part of the *Resuscitatio*, before his charge against three persons for scandal, and traducing of the kings justice, in the proceedings against *Weston*. But Dr *Rawley* (as appeared by a note of his, on the margin of those papers) did at that time forbear the inserting of them, lest they should be offensive to some then alive. Now more than sixty years[†] have passed, since the end of that tragedy; and the news of it was told in the ears of the world; and the story was made publick and lasting by the press, both before and after the doctor’s death. And what curtain soever our prudence would draw, we could not conceal so publick a matter. Nor is it fitting we should: For thereby we should endeavour to hide from men, one useful memorial of divine justice: a memorial apt to deter greatness from a practice, which if it were common, there would be no safe eating or drinking, or breathing in Courts.

^{† Viz. in 1679.}

^{c See it in Sir Wm Dugdale’s Baron. of Eng. Vol. II. p. 425, &c.}

^d In the pamphlet entitled, *A true and historical Relat. of the poison of Sir Th. Overbury*, in 12^o.
^e It is so said in the Title page.
^f Pag. 107, 108.

At the trial, some body, of bad memory, and no better pen, wrote down most imperfectly, a little of that which Mr *Attorney* had spoken, largely and elegantly, upon this solemn occasion: and in the year fifty one, (a time of general licence) this scribble was published^d. The publisher had the confidence to affirm, that the narrative was collected out of the papers of sir *Francis Bacon*^e, which, by the copies I set forth, 'tis manifest the relator never had seen. But a good name in the title-page, was an useful bush for the putting off the crude and unfin'd matter in the book itself.

LITTLE hath the relator told of much which was said by Mr *Attorney*; and that which he hath told, he hath repeated in such ill manner, that it is no longer sir *Francis Bacon's* but his own.

IN one place^f, he introduceth Mr *Attorney*, speaking thus: "this is the second time since the king's coming these thirteen years, that any peer have been arraigned; and both these times your grace hath had the place of high steward. The first was *Grey* and *Cobham*; and though they were convicted, yet execution followed not; no noble blood hath been spilt since his majesty's reign.

THE first was revenge of treason against male-contents; and this of the particular offence to a private subject, against those that have been so high in the king's grace and favour; and therefore deserves to be written in a sun-beam: but his being the best master in the world, hinders him not from being the best king; for *He can as well plane a hill as raise a wall*; a good lesson to put to my lords the peers: he is lieutenant to him who is no respecter of persons."

Now how curtailed, how incoherent, how mean and unelegant is this, in comparison of that which Mr *Attorney* spake? For he spake that which followeth.

IN all this mean time, the king hath reigned in his white robe, not sprinkled with any one drop of the blood of any of his nobles of this kingdom: nay, such have been the depths of his mercy, as even those noble-mens bloods (against whom the proceeding was at *Winchester*) *Cobham* and *Grey*, were attainted and corrupted, but not spilt, or taken away; but that they remained rather spectacles of justice in their continual imprisonment, than monuments of justice in the memory of their sufferings.

IT is true, that the objects of his justice then, and now, are very differing: for then it was the revenge of an offence against his own person and crown, and upon persons that were malecontents, and contraries to the state and government: but now it is the revenge of the blood and death of a particular subject, and the cry of a prisoner. It is upon persons that were highly in his favour; whereby his majesty, to his great honour, hath shewed to the world, as if it were written with a sun-beam, that he is truly the lieutenant of him with whom there is no respect of persons; that his affections royal are above his affections private; that his favours, and nearness about him, are not like *Popish sanctuaries* to privilege malefactors; and that his being the best master in the world, doth not lett him from being the best king in the world. His people on the other side may say to themselves, I will lie down in peace; for God, and the king, and the law, protect me against great and small. It may be a discipline also, to great men, especially such as are swoln in their fortunes from small beginnings; that *The king is as well able to level mountains, as to fill vallies*, if such be their desert."

IN

‘ IN another place⁸, he thrusteth into the speech of sir *Edward Coke*, a part of sir *Francis Bacon*’s, and (like the worser sort of thieves) he does not only rob, but mangle him. Sir *Francis Bacon* spake on this manner: “ My lords! He is not the hunter alone that lets slip the dog upon the deer; but he that lodges the deer, or * rouses him, or puts him out; or he that sets a toyl that he cannot escape.”

⁸ Pag. 119. of the arraignment of the lord of Somerset.
* Raifes, alibi.

‘ INSTEAD of which, the relator hath substituted this absurd sentence: “ It is not he only that slips the dog, but he that loves the toyl, that kills the deer.”

‘ THIS (I thought) was not unnecessary to be said in vindication of Mr *Attorney*’s honour; which is vilely traduced in this pamphlet, where the daw would personate the orator.

I THINK I need not attempt any thing farther on this subject; having, I presume, placed these charges in order of time, and printed them correctly. I must add, I have printed a *Charge* by some thought to be our author’s p. 594. of this volume, where I have placed it as a note at the end of letter LII. whither I refer the reader for a more particular account.

WE now descend to the speeches, p. 300. those excepted which we before gave among the pieces relating to the union of the two kingdoms. On this subject I apprehend no difficulty, having no better method to follow than the order of time; and here the dates are generally placed in the titles. The introduction says, that ’twas well for *Cicero* and the honour of his orations, that the lord *Bacon* compos’d his in another language, p. 62. The titles are, I. A speech in parliament 39 *Eliz.* upon the motion of a subsidy, p. 300. II. A speech when he was chosen by the commons to present a petition touching purveyors, deliver’d to his majesty in the withdrawing chamber in *Whitehall*, in the parliament held 1, and 2 *Jac.* the first session, p. 303. III. A report made of a speech, &c. p. 307. IV. A speech to the king by his majesty’s solicitor, being chosen by the commons as their mouth and messenger, for the presenting to his majesty the instrument or writing of their grievances in the parliament, 7 *Jac.* p. 317. V. A speech of the king’s solicitor used unto the lords at a conference, by commission from the commons, moving and persuading the lords to join with the commons in petition to the king, to obtain liberty to treat of a composition with his majesty for wards and tenures, in the parliament, 7 *Jacobi*, p. 318. VI. A speech of the king’s solicitor, persuading the house of commons to desist from farther question of receiving the king’s messages by their speaker, and from the body of the council, as well as from the king’s person; in the parliament, 7 *Jacobi*, p. 320. VII. A speech in the end of the session of the parliament, 7 *Jac.* p. 323. VIII. A speech by the king’s attorney in the lower house, when the house was in great heat, and much troubled about the undertakers, &c. in the parliament 12 *Jacobi*, p. 324. IX. The effect of that which was spoken by the lord keeper of the great seal of *England* at the taking of his place in the chancery, in performance of the charge his majesty had given him when he received the seal, 1617. p. 328. X. The speech which was used by the lord keeper of the great seal in the star-chamber before the summer circuits; the king being then in *Scotland*, 1617. p. 334. XI. The speech of the lord keeper of the great seal of *England* to sir *William Jones*, upon his calling to be the lord chief justice of *Ireland*, 1617. p. 336. XII. The lord keeper’s speech in the exchequer to sir *John Denham*, when he was called to be

SPEECHES.

one

one of the barons of the exchequer. p. 338. XIII. A speech in the common pleas, to justice *Hutton*, when he was called to be one of the judges of the common pleas. p. 339. XIV. Lord chancellor's speech to the speaker's excuse. p. 340. I think it is of little consequence now to acquaint the reader, how many of these speeches were made to the commons, to the lords, to the king, in the chancery, in the star-chamber, or the exchequer.

OBSER-
VATI-
ONS on a
libel.

WE now come to the miscellaneous pieces; and particularly to the *Observations on a libel, &c.* p. 345. The reverend Mr *Thomas Baker*, B. D. — of *S. John's college in Cambridge*, was so generous to present me with the performance to which this valuable piece of our author makes a reply. I should be inexcusable not to make some proper use of this great rarity and treasure, in its way: and though there may be very good reasons to reprint the whole, yet as my account is running out into length, I shall only make some extracts out of it. This very reverend gentleman observes of it: 'This book is a virulent libel, and was looked upon to be so dangerous a piece, as to receive an answer from *Bacon*, (afterwards lord *Verulam*) printed at large in the *Resuscitatio*, under this title, *Certain Observations upon a Libel, published this present year 1592. intituled, A Declaration of the true causes of the great troubles, presupposed to be intended against the realm of England*, in about fifty pages in folio; very well worth reading, being a good antidote against the poison contained in this book. The libel, I presume, was printed abroad, containing too much treason to be published in *England*: And yet the print is *English*.

'THIS book was probably wrote by *Parsons*, jesuite; the style is his; and and one thing runs through all his books, his affection to the *Spanish monarchy*.'

I SHALL not attempt any farther character of this treatise, after what my honoured and worthy friend has said; only it may not be amiss to print the title at large, the short preface, and a paragraph, and epitaph out of the body of the book, to fasten these things more strongly in the reader's memory.

THIS seditious piece consists of 77 pages in octavo.

The Title.

'A DECLARATION of the true causes of the great troubles, presupposed to be intended against the realme of *England*. Wherein the indifferent reader shall manifestly perceave, by whome, and by what meanes, the realme is brought into these pretended perills. Seene and allowed: Anno, M.D.LXXXII.

The Preface.

'TO the indifferent reader. The present estate, that the realme of *England* is in a few years come vnto, and the sundry aduersities sustained by the inhabitants of the same, are such, and so many, as the lamentable and generall cries and complaints of the oppressed multitude, can declare them to exceede all those of all ages past, in the memorie of man.

'AND yet of the redresse of these calamities, so little hope is giuen, that nought els, but the terrors of far greater troubles, are daily sounded in the eares of the afflicted people: which can be to no other end, then to enduce them to beare such further extreame misery, and pouertie, as by the newe intended exactions, pressures, & pillages, they are lyke to be brought vnto. But strange it is to consider, that the auoydance of such great dangers, as are pretended vnto the realme (and expected, as is insinuated, by a *spanish inuasion*) is neither sought nor desired, by geuing that king satisfaction of the manifeste iniuries don vnto him, nor in the restitution of his townes

townes and citieſ wrongfully poſſeſſed by the *Engliſh*: but falſly ſuppoſed to conſiſt in the perſecuting and killing of a fewe poore prieſts and leſuytes within the realme, that there do ſecretly praſtizze their prieſtly functions, to the conſolation of ſuch afflicted catholikes as liue within the ſame, or to the conuerſion of ſuch well mynded proteſtants, as will not obſtinately reſuſe to vnderſtand their owne errors, when they are made manifeſt vnto them, by which meanes many are confirmed in Catholike religion, and ſome numbers brought from hereſy to embrace the truthe. Which albeit the malice of the aduerſary hath not letted to withſtand, euen with the effuſion of bloud, yet conſidering that the force of truthe is great and dothe preuaile, the violence of the enemy is alſo mightely encreaſed, who directly ſeeking the lyues and goods of catholikes, for their conſeyence and religion, laboreth by all meanes poſſible, to make the cauſe of their ſufferance to ſeme to be for treaſon. Vnder pretext whereof, by a late proclamation publiſhed in London in Nouember laſt 1592. in the name of the queene, there are yet more exquisite meanes of inquiſition deuſed, to bring them vnto the ſlaughter, then were euer vſed afore.

AND becauſe all men can not without ſome demonſtration ſo rightly diſcerne the truthe of this caſe, and the cauſes of the ſuppoſed perills, as it is requiſyte for every man to know, and the ſway of the tyme not permitting the ſame otherwiſe to be vttered, they are in the enſuing treatiſe briefly ſet downe.

IN the which, albeit that euery fryuolous point of the aforeſaid proclamation be not expreſſly answered, yet is the intention of the inuentor thereof directly impugned, and the iuſt blame imputed where it is iuſtly deſerued. It may therefore pleaſe the diſcreet reader (laying aſyde all partialitie) with an indifferent eye, to behold the manifeſt truth, that ſhall in this treatiſe be laid open vnto him, the which for his owne ſafty he muſt vſe with ſecreſſie, and ſylence, becauſe of the great a-do, that the great Lord Threcherer will kepe, to depreſſe and conceile it from the ſight and knowlege of the world, the which may ſerue for one eſpecial motiue, to prooue that he knoweth himſelfe to be guilty in conſcience, yf he haue any at al. And thus leauing the reader out of the matter enſuing (with ſome addition of ſomthing here omitted) to make a commentarie vpon *Chaucers* prophēſie, I wiſh him well to fare from Colen the 26. of Marche 1592.

THE following paſſage mentions our author's mother, p. 12.

THUS was the proteſtanticall congregation of England created, & erected, moſt repugnant to the old catholike faith, participant of ſome newe hereſies, and yet not conſonant to any one religion els: but different and diſagreeing from all ſectes and religions, paſt & preſent, vnder heauen: and what conſuſion it hath ſince declyned vnto in it ſelf, ſhal here after be declared. The apologie of this church was written in Latin, & tranſlated into Engliſh by * A. B. with the comendation of † M. C. which twaine were ſiſters, & wiues vnto *Cecil*, and *Bacon*, and gave their aſſiſtance and helping hands, in the plot and fortification of this newe erected ſynagog.

* Ann Bacon.
† Mildred Cecil.

Pag. 54. AFTER his [*Leiceſter's*] death, a freind of his beſtowed vpon him this *Epitaphe*.

*Heere lies the woorthy warriar,
Heere lies the loyall courtier,
Heere lies his noble excellence,
Heere lies the Earle of Leiceſter,*

*That neuer bloodied ſword:
That neuer kept his woord:
That ruled all the ſtates:
Whome earth, and heauen hates.*

bbb

THE

AN ACCOUNT OF

THE Introduction, p. 102. ' observes it again as an argument of the im-
 ' partiality of his lordship's judgment and affection. He was zealous in
 ' bearing testimony to the wise administration of the publick affairs in those
 ' [Q. Elizabeth's] times, in which himself advanced little either in profit or
 ' honour. For he was hindred from growing at court by a great man, who
 ' knew the slenderness of his purse, and also feared that if he grew, he might
 ' prove taller than himself ^b. The little art used against him, was the repre-
 ' senting of him as a *Speculator*; though it is plain no man dealt better, and
 ' with kinder ways, in publick business than himself: and it generally ri-
 ' pened under his hands.' For in these observations he hath briefly set down
 the state of those times; having done the same more at large in his memo-
 rial of Q. Elizabeth.

^b See his
 letter to
 Sir R. C.
 in Vol. IV.
 Letters, p.
 488, 498.

' THE next is a true report of the treason of Dr *Roderigo Lopez* (a Spa-
 ' niard, and a physician attending upon the person of the queen;) who was
 ' in confederacy with certain *Spanish* agents, and hired by the king of *Spain*
 ' to poison her majesty. p. 381.

APOLO-
 GY of our
 author,
 &c.

THEN, p. 389. follows our author's *Apology* in certain imputations con-
 cerning the late earl of *Effex*: in which he clearth himself of ingratitude
 from the naked state of the case; and doth not, as many others have done,
 increase the suspicion by the very excuse. This *Apology* is printed correctly
 from the edition of 1605. though a worthy friend informs me it was first
 published in the year 1604.

PLAN-
 TATI-
 ONS, &c.

NEXT follow, p. 402. in order of time, certain *Considerations* touching
 the Plantation in *Ireland*, presented to his majesty, 1606. Our author had
 always exerted a noble care and solicitude for the improvement of that king-
 dom, as may be seen in his letters to the earl of *Effex*, p. 491. of this vo-
 lume. N. XXVII, XXVIII, XXIX. And again to Mr Secretary *Cecil*, p. 503.
 N. XXXIX. And again, in his letter to Mr *Pierce*, secretary to the lord de-
 puty, p. 561. N. XIV. he says: " This is not mere curiosity, for I have ever
 " (I know not by what instinct) wished well to that impolished part of this
 " crown."

ADVICE
 about Sut-
 ton's, &c.

THEN, *Advice* to the King touching *Sutton's* estate, as I conceive in order
 of time. The Introduction observes, p. 68. ' That in this *Advice* to king
 ' *James*, touching Mr *Sutton's* estate, in the settling of which, in the hospi-
 ' tal of the *Chartreux*; the event sheweth that his lordship was mistaken,
 ' when he called it a *sacrifice without salt*. He proposed four other ends of
 ' that great heap of alms, to the king's majesty. As first, the erection of a
 ' college for controversies, for the encountering and refuting of Papists. Se-
 ' condly, the erection of a *Receipt* (for the word *Seminary* he refused to
 ' make use of) for converts from the persuasions of *Rome*, to the reformed
 ' religion. Thirdly, a settlement of stipends for itinerary preachers, in
 ' places which needed them, as in *Lancashire*; where such care had been
 ' taken by queen *Elizabeth*. And lastly, an increase of salary to the pro-
 ' fessors in either university of this land. Wherefore his lordship manifest-
 ' ing himself, not against the charity, but the manner of disposing it, it was
 ' not well done of those who have publickly defamed him, by declaring
 ' their jealousies of bribery by the heir.

THE introduction observes p. 57. that our noble author's ' writings which
 ' relate to civil polity, are very considerable; yet they fall much short of
 ' that which he had sometimes in design. For he aimed at the compleat
 ' model of a common wealth; though he hath left only some preparations
 ' towards

‘ towards it in his doctrine of enlarging the bounds of empire; and in a few ¹ aphorisms concerning universal justice.

AGAIN, p. 56. ‘ for his lordship’s political writings, they are such as relate, either to ecclesiastical, or civil polity. His writings which relate to ecclesiastical polity, (for he was not willing ^k that all his labours should go into the city, and none into the church) are the three following.

‘ THE first is a discourse ^l, bearing the title of certain considerations, touching the better pacification and edification of the church of *England*; and dedicated to king *James*. The second ^m is, an advertisement, touching the controversies of the church of *England*. The third is, a dialogue touching an holy war: all written at first in *English*, by his lordship. The first of these toucheth the settlement of doctrine: the second, the settlement of discipline amongst the christians in *England*: the third the propagation of the faith amongst unbelievers. In all which it is plain, that his lordship dealt in the affairs of the church, as he was wont to do in civil matters, *suavibus modis*, and in the mean. Accordingly he was wont to compare himself to the Miller of *Granchester*, a village by *Cambridge*. Of him his lordship telleth, that he was wont to pray for peace among the *willows*: for whilst the winds blew, the wind-mills wrought, and his water-mill was less custom’d ⁿ. His lordship was for pacifying disputes, knowing that controversies of religion, would hinder the advancement of sciences.’ I have already in p. 176. accounted for placing the advertisement touching an holy war near the end of the third volume.

AGAIN p. 72. his pious subjects are ‘ his confession of faith, written by himself in *English*, and turned into *Latin* by Dr *Rawley* ^o.

‘ THE questions about an holy war, and the prayers, in these remains. And a translation of *David’s* psalms, into *English* verse. With this last pious exercise he diverted himself in the time of his sickness, in the year twenty five. When he sent it abroad into the world ^p, he made a dedication of it to his good friend, Mr *George Herbert*: for he judged the argument to be suitable to him in his double quality, of a divine, and a poet. His lordship had very great judgment in poetry, as appear’th by his discourse ^q about it; and he had some sort of talent that way also. Hence, when the queen had a purpose to dine at his lodgings at *Twickenham*-park, he prepared a sonnet ^r, tending to the reconciliation of her majesty to the earl of *Essex* then in disfavour. But it was very seldom that he courted these muses; and therefore his vein does not appear so elegant and happy, as exercise might have made it. The truth is, ‘tis one of the hardest things in the world, to excel in poetry; and to attempt, and not to excel, is to lose both time and reputation: for in this art, mediocrity will not pass for virtue. In this squeamish age, (as monsieur *Rapin* saith, in his judicious reflections) verses are ridiculous, if they be not admirable. They are, it seems, like some modern dishes, which if they have not an high taste, occasion disgust.

I HAVE already hinted that, in imitation of our noble author’s method in the ninth book of the Partitions of Sciences, or *De Augmentis*, I would reserve the *Theological* pieces for the conclusion of our author’s acknowledged treatises; having only postponed some few tracts, which are, according to some, of a doubtful nature, and his letters.

AT

ⁱ In Aug. scient. Vol. I. lib. 8. c.

3. p. 248, &c.

^k See the epistle to Bp. Andrews. Vol. III. p. 534. ^l Vol. IV. p. 418.

^m It was published without his lordship’s name in 4^{to}. 1640.

ⁿ Ibid. Vol. IV. p. 432.

^o See letter to Mr Matthew. Vol. IV. p. 580.

^p Publ. in Engl. at the end of the Resusc. and in Latin in the Opuscula. p. 207.

^q ‘Twas published in Lond. An. 1625. in 4^{to}. and has since been put into the 2^d. part of Resusc.

^r In l. 2. De augm. scient. c.

13. ^s See Apol. conc. the earl of Essex. p. 394.

CON-
FESSION
of faith.

AT the head of the *Theological* works, I have placed his *Confession* of Faith, p. 413. and need not to enlarge upon it after what the Introduction has said: The reader may be pleased to consult Dr *Roger Maynwaring's* account of it in his letter, N. CLXI. p. 698. of the fourth volume.

ADVER-
TISE-
MENT,
&c.

NEXT follows, an *Advertisement* touching the Controversies of the Church of *England*. p. 418. This treatise was originally printed in the year 1641. without the author's name and under a different title: Called, *A Wise and moderate discourse concerning Church affairs: As it was written long since, by the famous author of those Considerations, which seem to have some reference to this.* It is plain from p. 428. that it was wrote in the reign of Q. *Elizabeth*. Dr *Sancroft* had collated and corrected this piece in more than an hundred places: and I am to ask the readers pardon for mislaying the copy containing these his farther emendations.

p. 419. l. 23. parts - - - - -	r. some things, <i>bis</i> .
p. 420. l. 6. zeal - - - - -	r. hate
l. 38. resemble - - - - -	r. agree
p. 423. l. 33. - - - - -	r. pretend zeal
p. 424. l. 39. - - - - -	r. seduce the people
p. 428. l. 3. exercise - - - - -	r. waste
p. 429. l. 18. - - - - -	r. grope for

So that I conceive abundant justice is done to this part of our noble author's works.

CONSI-
DERA-
TIONS,
&c.

CERTAIN *Considerations* touching the better *Pacification* and *Edification* of the Church of *England*, dedicated to his most excellent majesty, take place here, both in order of time and of the subject matter, p. 432. The first edition of these *Considerations*, which I have seen, was printed in *quarto*, 1640. These are likewise in several places corrected by the same great man.

THEN follow our author's *Prayers*, p. 447. I shall only subjoin Mr *Addison's* introduction to the first prayer, *Tatler*, Vol. IV. N. 267.

' I WAS infinitely pleased to find among the works of this extraordinary man a prayer of his own composing, which, for the elevation of thought, and greatness of expression, seems rather the devotion of an angel than a man. His principal fault seems to have been the excess of that virtue which covers a multitude of faults. This betrayed him to so great an indulgence towards his servants, who made a corrupt use of it, that it stripped him of all those riches and honours which a long series of merit had heaped upon him. But in this prayer, at the same time that we find him prostrating himself before the great mercy-seat, and humbled under afflictions, which at that time lay heavy upon him, we see him supported by the sense of his integrity, his zeal, his devotion, and his love to mankind; which give him a much higher figure in the minds of thinking men, than that greatness had done from which he was fallen. I shall beg leave to write down the prayer itself, with the title to it, as it was found among his lordship's papers, written in his own hand; not being able to furnish my reader with an entertainment more suitable to this solemn time.'

THE translation of certain *Psalms* concludes the *Theological* works; dedicated to his very good friend Mr *George Herbert*: in which our noble author acknowledges the pains Mr *Herbert* had taken about his writings.

IN page 458, &c. I have added some fragments from the *quarto* edition of the Remains printed in 1648. That copy has been deservedly treated with great indignation and contempt, being notoriously printed in a surreptitious and negligent manner: However I do not remember a single page in this scandalous edition, excepting these fragments, and the essay of a king, which does not appear in a more correct dress in some part or other of our noble author's works. This seems to give them a little credit, and Dr *Sancroft* having corrected them with so much diligence, as to distinguish where he has done it from printed copies, I have some cause to apprehend that the other copies were amended by unquestionable MSS of our noble author. The order they appear in is, I. An *Explanation* what manner of persons those should be, that are to execute the power or ordinance of the king's prerogative, p. 3. This is corrected in very many places. II. Short notes for civil *conversation*, p. 6. interlin'd in many places, with apt divisions, not observed in the edition of 1648. III. An *essay* on death, p. 7. this is likewise corrected in very many places, and subdivided as if done from MS, and made a new work. IV. The *Characters* of a believing christian, in paradoxes and seeming contradictions: This in terms of abatement under the archbishop's own hand stands thus: *Compared with the other copy, printed Lond. anno 1645.* V. A prayer, corrected only in two places: which I must confess does not appear to be cast in the same mould with that printed above, p. 447.

I AM now arrived at the last stage of this work, the *Letters* of our noble author. What our author himself says of letters may be consulted at leisure by the reader, Vol. I. p. 79, 228. But I shall chuse to transcribe his sentiments from the *Advancement*, Vol. II. p. 463. 'There are also other parts of learning which are appendices to history—Orations, Letters, and brief Speeches or Sayings—Letters are according to all the variety of occasions, advertisements, advices, directions, propositions, petitions, commendatory, expostulatory, satisfactory; of complement, of pleasure, of discourse, and all other passages of action. And such as are written from wise men, are of all the words of man, in my judgment, the best; for they are more natural than orations and publick speeches, and more advised than conferences or present speeches. So again letters of affairs from such as manage them, or are privy to them, are of all others the best instruction for history, and to a diligent reader the best history in themselves. Again, p. 526. But this difference is not amiss to be remembered; that as history of times is the best ground for discourse of government, such as *Machiavel* handleth; so history of lives is the most proper for discourse of business, because it is more conversant in private actions. Nay there is a ground of discourse for this purpose fitter than them both, which is discourse upon *Letters*; such as are wise and weighty, as many are of *Cicero ad Atticum*, and others. For *Letters* have a great and more particular representation of business, than either chronicles or lives.

THE reader now will justly expect some account of our noble author's Letters how they come to swell to the bulk of no less than sixty sheets, and what care and diligence I have used in methodizing and digesting them.

THE bulk of them are taken from the *Resuscitatio*; the world is obliged to Mr *Stephens* for several of them, which are peculiarly distinguished with a  prefixed; those at the end of this volume, p. 700. are owing to

the great humanity of the reverend Mr *Thomas Baker*; so that there are very few which have not the highest attestation that the work is capable of.

OUR noble author's *Letters* in the *Resuscitatio* are in full credit: and yet these are in many instances corrected by Dr *Sancroft*, and that uncontestably from MSS. because the author's subscription under that prelate's hand is in several particulars added; as N. X. *Your lordship's most humbly in all duty.* N. XI. *Your lordship's in all humbleness to be commanded:* I say I conceive it evident that these subscriptions to the printed copy of 1657, do ascertain the additions to be made from original MSS. since they could not be added upon judgment or conjecture, but must be inserted from authority. And this gives sanction to the emendations of these letters contain'd in the *Resuscitatio*; so that I may presume to think this present edition is even more exact than what Dr *Rawley* himself publish'd.

MR *Stephens's Letters* I judge are well received as authentic; and I recollect no instance where I have made use of his notes without an express acknowledgment.

THE reverend Mr *Thomas Baker's* collections are next to records in history; his penetration and exactness are such that it will be difficult to find his superiour in these respects, dead or living. I trust I have printed them carefully: only I must here observe once for all, that in printing our noble author's *English* works, the orthography of MSS being so different, I have, on advice, reduced them all to the modern standard: And indeed I was necessitated to this method, unless I could have transcribed the whole *English* works from MSS. Dr *Rawley* himself having generally reduced them to an uniformity in spelling.

As to the order of digesting our author's letters be pleas'd to observe:

THE letters to the queen I have first brought together, except N. XX. which was wrote under the name of the earl of *Essex*. Three of these being mere matter of ceremony, and the other two having no certain marks to fix their dates, they could only have serv'd to interrupt the connection, I have aim'd at, had I printed them *sparsim* amongst the rest.

THE letters to the lord treasurer *Burghley* come next in order of time, p. 471. Excepting those communicated by the reverend Mr *Thomas Baker*, which ought to have been placed after N. VI. had not my own misfortune debarred me of that propriety of order, by their too late arrival. I have constantly followed the order of the printed copies, where no fresh dates or internal evidence disprove that order: I will give an instance or two by which the reader may form a judgment of my attention to this work. In the letter to my lord *Burleigh*, N. VI. the year is ascertained from our author's telling his age: And, though this letter ought for that reason demonstrably to go first, yet in the very best edition of these letters, printed 1657, this letter is the last but one to the treasurer, and cast off to the ninety fifth page. Again in letter XVI. to sir *Thomas Bodley*, p. 562. our author says of the Advancement, *the second copy I have sent unto you*; and yet the lord *Northampton's* which was the first, attending the dedication-book to the king, and sir *Thomas Bodley's*, which our author expressly says was the second, are in all the editions preposterously rank'd after the earl of *Salisbury's*, the lord treasurer *Buckburst's*, and the lord chancellor *Egerton's*: I have therefore made no scruple to put them into their right place. Again to name no more: In p. 581, 582. N. XLII, XLIII. all the editions hitherto make our author to
commit

commit this absurdity to the king; as, first to thank him for the promise of the attorney's place, and afterwards in a pretty long letter to beg the grant or promise of it! I need say no more than that I have changed the order. And wheresoever else I have made any discovery of dates or probabilities about them, I have, in very short notes throughout the whole, given in the evidence or conjecture.

IN particular I may not omit observing, That the *Considerations* touching the queen's service in *Ireland*, p. 504. and sir *Thomas Bodly's* letter, p. 575. are very much improv'd by archbishop *Sancroft's* judicious corrections.

THE placing the *Declaration* of the treasons of *Robert* earl of *Essex* between the letters in queen *Elizabeth's* and king *James's* reign illustrates many of those letters, and therefore seems a propriety, rather than calculated to give offence.

CHARACTERS of the Lord BACON.

I. *Mr Evelyn's description of our noble author, in his book of Medals; p. 340.*

IN my lord chancellor *Bacon*, a spacious forehead and a piercing eye, always (as I have been told by one who knew him well) looking upward, as a soul in sublime contemplation, and as the person who by standing up against Dogmatists, was to emancipate and set free the long and miserably captivated *Philosophia*, which hath ever since made such conquests in the territories of nature.

II. *THE lord Bacon's character by Benj. Johnson the poet in his discoveries, edit. 1692. p. 701.*

THERE happened in my time one noble speaker*, who was full of gravity in his speaking. His language, where he could spare or pass by a jest, was nobly censorious. No man ever spake more neatly, more prestly, more weightily, or suffer'd less emptiness, less idleness in what he utter'd. No member of his speech, but consisted of his own graces. His hearers could not cough or look aside from him without loss: He commanded where he spoke, and had his judges angry and pleased at his devotion. No man had their affections more in his power; the fear of every man that heard him, was, lest he should make an end.

*Dominus
Verulamius.

AND afterwards, lord *Egerton* the chancellor, a great and grave orator, &c. But his learned and able, tho' unfortunate successor the lord *Bacon*, is he who hath filled up all members, and perform'd that in our tongue, which may be compared or preferr'd, either to insolent *Greece*, or haughty *Rome*. In short, within his view, and about his time, were all the wits born, that could honour a language, or could help study. Now things daily fall; wits grow downwards, and eloquence goes backward: so that he may be named, and stand as the mark or ἀκμή of our language.

I HAVE ever observ'd it to have been the office of a wise patriot, among the greatest affairs of state, to take care of the commonwealth of learning. For schools they are the seminaries of state; and nothing is worthier the study of a statesman, than that part of the republick, which we call the advancement of letters. Witness the care of *Julius Caesar*, who, in the heat of the civil war, writ his books of Analogy, and dedicated them to *Tully*. This made the late lord *St Alban* entitle his work *Novum Organum*: which though,
by

by the most of superficial men, who cannot get beyond the title of *Nominals*, it is not penetrated, nor understood; it really openeth all defects of learning whatsoever, and is a book

HOR. de
Art. Poet.
Ver. 346.

Qui longum noto scriptori prorogat ævum.

MY conceit of his person, was never increased towards him, by his place or honours. But I have and do reverence him for the greatness, that was only proper to himself; in that he seem'd to me ever by his works, one of the greatest men, and most worthy of admiration, that had been in many ages. In his adversity I ever pray'd that God would give him strength; for greatness he could not want. Neither could I condole in a word or syllable for him; as knowing no accident could do harm to virtue, but rather help to make it manifest.

III. *A character of the lord Bacon, by Peter Heylin, D. D. in his life of archbishop Laud, at the conclusion of book I. p. 78. Ann. 1620.*

THE giving them over to the power of the parliament, not only weakened his own prerogative, but put the commons upon such a pin, that they would let no parliament pass without some such sacrifice. And so fell lord *Bacon* chancellor of *England*, lord *Verulam*, and viscount of *St Albans*; a Man--of a most strong brain, and a chymical head; designing his endeavours to the perfecting of the works of nature; or rather improving nature to the best advantages of life, and the common benefit of mankind. Pity it was, he was not entertained with some liberal salary, abstracted from all affairs both of court and judicature, and furnished with sufficiency, both of means and helps, for the going on in his design: which had it been, he might have given us such a body of *Natural Philosophy*, and made it so subservient to the publick good, that neither *Aristotle*, nor *Theophrastus*, amongst the ancients; nor *Paracelsus*, or the rest of our later chymists, would have been considerable.

IV. *THE lord Bacon's character by Mr Osborn, in the second part of his Advice to a son. Edit. 1689. p. 150.*

AND my memory neither doth, nor, I believe possibly ever, can direct me towards an example more splendid in this kind, than the lord *Bacon*, viscount *St Albans*: Who in all companies did appear a good proficient, if not a master in those arts entertained for the subject of every one's discourse. So as I dare maintain, without the least affectation of flattery or hyperbole, that his most casual talk deserveth to be written, as I have been told his first or foulest copies required no great labour to render them competent for the nicest judgments. A high perfection, attainable only by use, and treating with every man in his respective profession, and what he was most vers'd in: So as I have heard him entertain a country lord in the proper terms, relating to hawks and dogs; and at another time out-cant a *London* surgeon. Thus he did not only learn himself, but gratify such as taught him; who looked upon their callings as honoured through his notice. Nor did an easy falling into arguments (not unjustly taken for a blemish in the most) appear less than an ornament in him; the ears of the hearers receiving more gratification than trouble; and so no less sorry, when he came to conclude, than displeas'd with any that did interrupt him. Now this general knowledge he had in all things, husbanded by his wit, and dignified with so majestical a carriage he was known to own, struck such an awful reverence

reverence in those he questioned, that they durst not conceal the most intrinsic part of their mysteries from him, for fear of appearing ignorant or faucy. All which rendred him no less necessary than admirable, at the council-table; where in reference to impositions, monopolies, &c. the meanest manufactures were an usual argument: And as I have heard, did in this baffle the earl of *Middlesex*, that was born and bred a citizen, &c. yet without any great, if at all, interrupting his other studies; as is not hard to be imagined of a quick apprehension, in which he was admirable.

V. *A character of the lord Bacon, given by Dr Sprat, in his History of the Royal Society, part 1. §. 16. p. 35, 36.*

THE third sort of new philosophers have been those, who have not only disagreed from the ancients, but have also propos'd to themselves the right course of wiso and sure experimenting: and have prosecuted it as far as the shortness of their own lives, or the multiplicity of their other affairs, or the narrowness of their fortunes, have given them leave. Such as these, we are to expect to be but few: for they must divest themselves of many vain conceptions, and overcome a thousand false images, which lie like monsters in their way, before they can get as far as this. And of these, I shall only mention one great man, who had the true imagination of the whole extent of this enterprize, as it is now set on foot; and that is, the lord *Bacon*. In whose books there are, every where scattered, the best arguments that can be produced for the defence of experimental philosophy; and the best directions that are needful to promote it. All which he has, already adorn'd with so much art; that if my desires could have prevail'd with some excellent friends of mine, who engaged me to this work, there should have been no other preface to the history of the *Royal Society*, but some of his writings. But, methinks, in this one man, I do at once find enough occasion, to admire the strength of human wit, and to bewail the weakness of a mortal condition. For, is it not wonderful, that he, who had run through all the degrees of that profession, which usually takes up mens whole time; who had studied, and practis'd, and governed the common law; who had always lived in the crowd, and born the greatest burden of civil business; should yet find leisure enough for these retired studies, to excel all those men, who separate themselves for this very purpose? He was a man of strong, clear, and powerful imaginations: His genius was searching, and inimitable: And of this I need give no other proof, than his style it self: which as, for the most part, it describes men's minds, as well as pictures do their bodies; so it did his, above all men living: The course of it vigorous, and majestic: the wit bold and familiar: the comparisons fetch'd out of the way, and yet the most easy: in all, expressing a soul equally skill'd in men and nature. All this, and much more, is true of him: but yet his philosophical works do shew, that a single and busy hand can never grasp all this whole design, of which we treat. His rules were admirable: yet his history not so faithful as might have been wish'd in many places: he seems rather to rake all that comes, than to chuse; and to heap rather than to register. But I hope this accusation of mine, can be no great injury to his memory; seeing, at the same time, that I say he had not the strength of a thousand men, I do also allow him to have had as much as twenty.

VI. *A character of the lord Bacon's Philosophy, by
Mr Abraham Cowley, in his Poem to the Royal
Society.*

—SOME few exalted spirits this later age has shown,
That labour'd to assert the liberty
(From guardians, who were now usurpers grown)

Of this old minor * still, captiv'd philosophy;
But 'twas rebellion call'd to fight
For such a long oppress'd right.

Bacon at last, a mighty man, arose,
Whom a wise king and nature chose
Lord chancellor of both their laws,
And boldly undertook the injur'd pupils cause.

3.

AUTHORITY, which did a body boast,
Though 'twas but air condens'd and stalk'd about,
Like some old giant's more gigantick ghost,
To terrify the learned rout
With the plain magick of true reason's light,
He chac'd out of our sight,
Nor suffer'd living men to be misled
By the vain shadows of the dead:

To graves, from whence it rose, the conquer'd phantom fled.

He broke that monstrous God, which stood
In midst of th' orchard, and the whole did claim,

Which with an useless scythe of wood,
And something else not worth a name,

(Both vast for shew, yet neither fit

Or to defend, or to beget;

Ridiculous and senseless terror!) made

Children and superstitious men afraid.

The orchards open now, and free;

Bacon has broke that scare-crow deity.

Come, enter, all that will,

Behold the ripen'd fruit, come gather now your fill.

Yet still, methinks, we fain would be

Catching at the forbidden tree,

We would be like the deity;

When truth and falsehood, good and evil, we,

Without the senses aid within ourselves would see;

For 'tis God only who can find

All nature in his mind.

4.

FROM words, which are but pictures of the thought;

(Though we our thoughts from them perversly drew)

To things, the mind's right object, he it brought,

Like foolish birds to painted grapes we flew;

* *Herbert*
in *Autho-*
rem In-
staurati-
onis—
scientia-
rum, sub
pupillari
statu de-
gentium
olim,
emancipa-
tor. p. 202.

He fought and gather'd for our use the true :
 And when, on heaps, the chosen bunches lay,
 He press'd them wisely the mechanick way ;
 Till all their juice did, in one vessel join,
 Ferment into a nourishment divine,
 The thirsty soul's refreshing wine.
 Who to the life an exact piece would make,
 Must not from others work a copy take ;
 No, not from *Rubens*, or *Vandike* ;
 Much less content himself to make it like
 Th' ideas, and the images which lie
 In his own fancy, or his Memory.
 No, he, before his sight, must place
 The natural and living face ;
 The real object must command
 Each judgment of his eye, and motion of his hand.

5.

FROM these, and all long errors of the way,
 In which our wandering predecessors went,
 And like th' old *Hebrews* many years did stray
 In deserts but of small extent,
Bacon, like *Moses*, led us forth at last,
 The barren wilderness he past,
 Did on the very border stand
 Of the blest promis'd land,
 And, from the mountain's top of his exalted wit,
 Saw it himself, and shew'd us it.
 But life did never to one man allow
 Time to discover worlds, and conquer too ;
 Nor can so short a line sufficient be
 To fathom the vast depths of nature's sea.
 The work he did we ought t' admire,
 And 'twere unjust if we should more require
 From his few years, divided 'twixt th' excess
 Of low affliction, and high happiness :
 For who on things remote can fix his sight,
 That's always in a triumph, or a fight?

VII. *DUKE of Buckingham in his works*, Vol. I. p. 264.

ALL his works are, for expression as well as thought, the glory of our nation, and of all later ages.

VIII. *Mr Addison in the Tatler*, N. 267.

SIR *Francis Bacon*, a man, who for the greatness of genius, and compass of knowledge, did honour to his age and country ; I could almost say, to human nature itself. He possessed at once all those extraordinary talents which were divided amongst the greatest authors of antiquity. He had the sound, distinct, comprehensive knowledge of *Aristotle*, with all the beautiful lights, graces and embellishments of *Cicero*. One does not know which
 to

to admire most in his writings, the strength of reason, force of style, or brightness of imagination.

THIS author has remarked in several parts of his works, that a thorough insight into philosophy makes a good believer; and that a smattering in it naturally produces such a race of despicable infidels, as the little profligate writers of the present age; whom (I must confess) I have always accused to myself, not so much for their want of faith, as their want of learning.

Mr Addison in his Spectator, N. 554.

ONE of the most extensive and improved genius's we have had any instance of in our nation, or in any other, was that of sir *Francis Bacon*, lord *Verulam*. This great man, by an extraordinary force of nature, compass of thought, and indefatigable study, had amassed to himself such stores of knowledge, as we cannot look upon without amazement. His capacity seems to have grasped all that was revealed in books before his time; and not satisfied with that, he began to strike out new tracts of science, too many to be travelled over by any one man, in the compass of the longest life. These therefore he could only mark down, like imperfect coastings in maps, or supposed points of land, to be farther discovered and ascertain'd by the industry of after-ages, who should proceed upon his notices or conjectures.

IX. *Ex libro cui titulus, Φιλοθέου πάρεργα· autore eruditissimo Walachiae principe, Mauro Cordato. MS. penes J. Locker, Arm.*.*

Ἐπὶ πᾶσι τῇ ἰδιαιτέρᾳ τινὶ νοδὸς ῥοπήν προσέτινα ἢ βίβλοις ἢ συρρωτάτῃ Βακῶν. Οὐδ' ὀρίσκω προσήκοντας λόγους, ὅπως ἱκανῶς ἐπαυέσω ἢ ἀνδρὸς ἢ ἀγχινοῖαν, ἢ εὐρεσιν, ἢ φρένῃσιν, τὸ βάθος, ἢ κρίσιν, ἢ μεγαλόνοῖαν, ἢ πολυμάθειαν, ἢ οἰκονομίαν, τὰς καιρωτάτας ὁμοιότητας, ἐνὶ λόγῳ ἢ ἐν τῇ ἀνατομῇ, καὶ οἷς εἶπεν, μεταλλεία ἢ φύσιν ἀκρίβειαν, ἢ ἐν τοῖς πολιτικῇς πρίνοιαν, ἢ ἐν τοῖς ἡθικῇς γενεῇ, ἐντιμον, ἀκέραιον, καὶ ἀληθῆ διάκρισιν. Ἀλλ' ἐδὲ τὰ πηλικέτε ἀνδρὸς διεισέσσει τῷ ὄντι ὑπομνήματα ἀποδιδράσκει τὰ δῖνματ' ἢ φρόν'· περιεργότερον γὰρ ἐνιοὶ παρὰ τῶν ἑνῶν φάσιν ἀπὸ τε τῆς πάλαι καὶ τῆς νεωτέρας διφυῶς ἢ Βακῶν ἐραυζόμενον τὰ ἀνδρὶ τῇ οἰκονομίᾳ ὅπως ἐξίως διαπείκειν ἑαυτῷ ἢ παλαιοῖον τῆς δόξης ἐφάνον· καὶ ἐν τούτῳ ἢ ἀνδρὸς καὶ ἀπομόνοι, ὅπως ἐκινῶν φασιν αὐτὸν ὑπεράλλεξ' ῥοπήν καὶ συρρωτῇ τῷ τὰς ἢ ἰδίᾳ νοδὸς ἡνάς, καίτοι χαμπέροταται ἔσας, ὥστε πολυειδέει λόγων περὶ βολῇ κατακλάνοντα τὰ αὐτῇ νοήματα πικίλοις, ὡς ἐπὶ εἶπεν, ἡμετέροις ἡμετέροις, πολλάκις περὶ αὐτῶν ἐς μέσον. Ἰπποκρίτης δὲ καὶ τῶν ἐν τοῖς φυσικῇς παρὰ τῶν πολλῶν ἡμετέροις βεβαίαι ἐστὶν, καὶ ἀσφαλεῖς ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ πείρᾳ. οἷονταὶ δὲ ὡς περὶ τὰ παρὰ Διοσκορίδῃ τὰς πλείων μάλιστα τὸ πολλοῦ ἐν τῇ χρήσῃ ὅπως ἐκινῶν ἢ ὅπως ἐφαρμόζων αὐτοῖς δυνάμειν, τούτ' ἴσως ἀποβαίνειν καὶ τῶν περὶ τῶν ἰσορρομίων τῶν σφῶ Βακῶν. ὅτι πᾶσι δ' ἀσφαλέστερον ἀναλαμβάνειν ὑπεκλήφασιν τὰς τῶν ὄντων ἀρχάς, καὶ τὰ πρῶτα ἀπὸ αὐτῶν ἐκκρίνω δρόμῳ, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν λεωρότερον ἴσως ἢ φύσιν, ἢ ἐρεβλυμένης, καὶ τῇ βίᾳ μετ' ἡφαίτης μίξ' ἐκπτεωσέως μετὰ ὅσα τέρατα ἀμεννῇ, καὶ ἐφήμερα, ἢ γὰρ ἐξωθεν πεπαυμένης βίαι πάλιν διὐς ἀνατρέχειν φασιν εἰς αὐτὴν ἢ φύσιν, μὴ παρὰ χαράττεξ' τὰς πάλαι νόμους.

* I have been obliged to this Gentleman for a fine corrected copy of the English Advancement; and a MS. of the Ordinances in Chancery: besides, the character above, P. 177.

OF THE LORD BACON.
BURRHI Impetus Juveniles, p. 72.
LECTORI.

201

PHILIPPUS BACONUS mortuus est. Esto, inquires, quid hoc ad me? Imo ad te quisquis quisquis es. PHILIPPUS ille BACONUS claris ortus majoribus; ab ineunte aetate sancte institutus; ad bonarum artium apicem provectus. Adolefcens moribus niveis; virtute praestans; religioni parens: Cui musae in pectore, in vultu gratiae, in ore suada: Cui vegetum corpus; mens vivida; aetas florida; qui numen, homines, seipsum novit: Quo nemo unquam sanctius amicitiam coluit. PHILIPPUS BACONUS his adversus mortem amuletis omnibus instructus, mortuus est: Et tu immortalitatem ut speres, gloriari quicquam ultra potes? Ah! Lector, etiamsi potes, ne faxis tamen; nam certe, certo certius morieris. Si enim quisquam hominum capax fuisset immortalitatis, rutilans hoc sidus nunquam occidisset. Et vere ut sidus occidit PHILIPPUS, mox radiantius oriurus. Tu lector, magno hoc mortalitatis exemplo doctus, sic vitam instrue, ut vixisse te nec pigeat, nec metuas mori; & fido amore, fidum amicum compara, qui te, ut ego hunc meum mortuum, servet superstitem. Nam nomen famamque mei, charissimi mei, & unice chari PHILIPPI, deflorescere aut intercidere hominum e memoria nunquam, nunquam vivus patiar. Sic statuit, nec perfidus votum vovit.

Ad D. FRANCISCUM BACONUM Atturnatum Regis, Strena.

AUDI renascens tempus: audito impiger
Vorator anne: nec tibi favens pater,
Natis nec ex te; at saevus usque incondita
Ipsi tibi sepulchra, faxa, nomina,
Famamque teque volvis, & perdis simul.

Audi sacrum solenne, tempus insolens,
Vares, quod illi, illi patrono publico,
Meoque solvo: qui supra, infra se videns,
Mundumque teque mille gyris labilem,
Mutantium rotantiumque insanias;
Sibi interim suisque constans, exhibet
Firmamen ingens saeculo: cui post vagos
Trepidantium motus, redire pondera,
Curasque patriae necessitas jubet;
Et coget usus publicus, quicquid tenax
Lucri cupido, & livor in tempus negant.

Huic me columnae perpetis constantiae
Addico, voto perpeti, etiam quod tui
(Tyranne tempus) nulla vis mutaverit;
Saevis licet furisque. Nam dictum hoc puta:
Mutare me nequis, potes me perdere.

BURRHUS.

In Auctorem Instaurationis.

PER strages licet Auctorum, veterumque ruinas,
Ad famae properes vera trophaea tuae;
Tam nitide tamen occidis, tam suaviter, hostes,
Se quasi donatum funere quisque putet.
Scilicet apponit pretium tua dextera fato;
Vulnereque emanat sanguis, ut intret honos.

c c c

O quam

De eo-
dem.* See p.
198.

O quam felices sunt qui tua castra sequuntur,
Cum per te sit res ambitiosa mori!

QUIS iste tandem? Non enim vultu ambulat

Quotidiano. Nescis ignare? Audies:

Dux notionum; veritatis pontifex;

Inductionis dominus, & *VERULAMII*;

Rerum magister unicus, non artium;

Profunditatis pinus, atque elegantiae;

Naturae aruspex intimus; philosophiae

Aerarium; sequester experientiae

Speculationisque; aequitatis signifer;

* Scientiarum, sub pupillari statu

Degentium olim, emancipator; luminis

Promus; fugator idolorum & nubium;

Collega solis; quadra certitudinis;

Sophismatum mastix; *Brutus* literarius,

Auctoritatis exuens tyrannidem;

Rationis & sensus stupendus arbiter;

Repumicator mentis; *Atlas* physicus,

Alcide succumbente *Stagiritico*;

Columba *Noae*, quae in verustis artibus

Nullum locum requiemve cernens, perstitit

Ad se suamque mentis arcam regredi;

Subtilitatis terebra; temporis nepos

Ex veritate matre; mellis alveus,

Mundique & animorum sacerdos unicus;

Securis errorum; inque naturalibus

Granum sinapis, acre aliis, crescens sibi.

O me probe lassum, juvate poster!

Comparatio Cancellariatus & Libri.

MUNERE dum prodes nobis, libroque futuris,

In laudes abeunt saecula quaeque tuas.

Munere dum nobis prodes, libroque remotis,

In laudes abeunt jam loca quaeque tuas.

Hae tibi sunt alae laudum: cui contigit unquam

Longius aeterno, latius orbe decus?

GEORGIUS HERBERTUS,
Orator Publicus Acad. Cant.

Viro omni laude majori FRANCISCO BAGONO, Patrono mihi
unice observando.

ITA est, poetæ, fors quibus nascentibus

Artes inanes absque re, lare & penu,

Indixit, & zonis modestis utier,

Haud consciis nummi loquacis tinnitus,

Mensaque pressa, carnis exili insula

Vasto mari juris natante; prodiga

Si tantulum gustare Bacchum siverit,

(Dum scilicet vivunt suo) quantum riger

Siccum parum, sed sobrium artis daemonem;

Hi nempe, condimenta qui vitae aucupant,

Et

Et velitares qui artium pugnās cient,
 Si quid receptant, illico versus canunt,
 Et creditum putant satisfactum ampliter
 Si facta ficta laude pensant carminis.
 Hinc non inique dispares remur viros
 Virtutibus, quos fufius sub incude
 Cudit poëfis, gnara verborum artifex.

Ast horum ego quid pertimescam? Sistite,
 Audite, fastus, livor, assentatio;
 Audite vos, merces malae: nam non pudet,
 Vobis vel invitis, sacra haec persolvere.

BACONE, fidus literarum, mel merum,
 Facundiae & legum decus, scientiae
 Spiransque museum, paterna nobilis
 Propage, propriae sed indolis magis
 Virtute, quae haud est fortis arbitrariae:

Jam sospites vivant Britannorum licet
 In posterum leges, solutae opprobrio,
 Antiquitas quod pridem inussit, scilicet
 Quod barbare doctae fient, ac nos uti
 Apollinares lixae, & indoctum genus
 Doctissimorum simus, artis rudera.

At vos miselli, nostra qui sic studia
 Vappam vocatis, somnia, & deliria,
 Audite Sermones, libros BACONIDAE,
 BACONIDAE, qui vel pudorem provocat
 Priscis, & admirationem posteris.

Nusquam illa, nusquam augusta majestas viget,
 Dulcore verborum imperans, suadens, decens;
 Nec multiplex sensus brevi compendio,
 Sermonis arctatus sereno vinculo;
 Nec trita vulgi flexim adaptata usui
 Novo ac inaudito, ita ut apparent nova:
 Nusquam ista praeterquam tuis, dico, tuis,
 Patrone, splendent libris, sermonibus.
 Sic namque sunt plerunque literariam
 Rem qui fatigant, induunt aut stoicum,
 Aut incidunt in vile paedagogicum.
 Et certe praesto est causa differentiae;
 Hi literis subserviunt, illae tibi.

Hinc est, quod unus sic lepore seria,
 Sic mitiori docta perfundis sale,
 Mensaeque praesidens tot infers ingenî
 Scientiaeque rarioris indices,
 Ut negligentes quicquid est mensa dapum,
 His figimur, sententiam experti novam,
 Nutrire posse verba quam cibos magis.

Quis vinculis his, serî amator aut salis,
 Non tradat ultro seque vinciri & sua;
 His liberis vinclis? At est quod insuper
 Me necit arctius: quod ipse scilicet

MANES VERULAMIANI

Vir destinatus faustitati publicae,
 Et rei literariae, mihi tamen
 Non diffiteris te & tui notitiam;
 Mihi immerenti, qui facultates meas,
 Qui corporis mentisque librans indoles,
 Et quicquid impoti cadit, sub ingenî
 Severiore lance, nil frugi tamen
 Occurrit usquam te patrono maximo
 Ac optimo dignum: at benignius meum
 Rus forsan astrum consequens fruges dabit
 Perenniores. Interim quicquid cluit,
 Quicquid potest, aut quicquid est *Burrhus* tuus,
 Id omne dedicat, dicat, vovet tibi.

Nomini tuo deditissimus,

JOHANNES BURRHUS:

*postea Eques Auratus, & principalis
 Heraldus, Garterius dictus.*

Memoriae honoratissimi domini FRANCISCI, baronis de *Verulamio*, vicecomitis *Sancti Albani* sacrum. *Londini* in officina *Johannis Haviland*. 1626. Lectori S.

QUOD praecipuum sibi duxit honoratissimus dominus meus, vicecomes *Sancti Albani*, academiis, & viris literatoribus ut cordi esset, id (credo) obtinuit; quandoquidem insignia haec amoris & moestitiae monumenta indicant, quantum amissio ejus eorundem cordi doleat. Neque vero parca manu symbolum hoc conjecerunt in eum musae; (plurimos enim, eosque optimos versus apud me contineo;) sed quia ipse mole non delectabatur, molem haud magnam extruxi. Satis etiam sit, ista veluti fundamenta, praesentis saeculi nomine, jecisse; fabricam (puto) hanc exornabit & amplificabit unumquodque saeculum; cuinam autem saeculo ultimam manum imponere datum sit, id Deo tantum & fatis manifestum. G. RAWLEY. S.T.D.

Deploratio obitus omnia doctissimi & clarissimi viri D. FRANCISCI
 BACON S. Albanensis.

ALBANI plorate lares, tuque optime martyr,
 Fata *Verulamii* non temeranda senis.
 Optime martyr & in veteres i tu quoque luctus,
 Cui nil post dirum tristius *Amphibalum*.

BACONI opera literaria vocantur ad Rogum.

INSTAURATIO magna; dicta acute;
 Augmentum geminum scientiarum,
 Et scriptum patrie, & dein latine
 Auctu multiplici, profunda Vitae
 Mortisque Historia, ut lita anne lota
 Rivo nectaris Atticive mellis!
Henricus neque septimus tacetor;
 Et quicquid venerum politiorum, &
 Siquid praeterii inscius libellum
 Quos magni peperit vigor BACONI.

Plus

Plus novem edecumata musa musis,
Omnes funebribus subite flammis,
Et lucem dare liquidam parenti.
Non sunt saecula digna quae fruantur
Vobis, ah domino, ah nefas, perempto.

S. Collins, R. C. P.

In obitum incomparabilis FRANCISCI vicecomitis Sancti Albani,
baronis Verulamii.

DUM longi lentique gemis sub pondere morbi,
Atque haeret dubio tabida vita pede;
Quid voluit prudens fatum, jam sentio tandem:
Constat, Aprile uno te potuisse mori:
Ut flos hinc lacrymis, illinc philomela querelis,
Deducant linguae funera sola tuae.

GEORGIUS HERBERT.

In obitum honoratissimi viri ac domini, D. FRANCISCI de Verulamio, vicecomitis Sancti Albani, nuperi Angliae cancellarii.

ADHUC superbis insolente purpura
Feretri rapinis inclytos in tot viros
Sterile tribunal? cilicio dicas diem,
Saccumque totam facito luxuriam fori.
A themide libra nec geratur pensilis,
Sed urna, praegravis urna VERULAMII,
Expendat. Eheu! Ephorus haud lancem premit,
Sed Areopagus; nec minor tantus sophos,
Quam Porticus braccata. Nam vester, scholae,
Gemiscit axis, tanta dum moles ruit:
Orbis solutus cardo litterarii,
Ubi studio coluit togam & trabeam pari.
Qualis per umbras ditis Eurydice vagans
Palpare gestiit Orpheum, quali Orpheus,
Saliēte tandem, vix prius crispa, Styge,
Alite fibras lyrae titillavit manu;
Talis plicata philologon aenigmati
Periit BACONUM vindicem, tali manu
Lactata cristas extulit philosophia:
Humique foccis reptitantem comicis
Non proprio ardelionibus molimine
Sarsit, sed Instauravit. Hinc politius
Surgit cothurno celsiore, & Organo
Stagirita virbius reviviscit Novo.

CALPEN superbo Abylamque vincit remige
Phoebe Columbus, artibus novis novum
Daturus orbem; promovet conamina
Juvenilis ardor, usque ad invidiam trucem
Fati minacis. Quis senex, vel Hannibal,
Oculi superstitis timens caliginem,
Signis suburram ventilat victricibus?
Quis Milo inultus quercubus bilem movet,

fff

Senecca

MANES VERULAMIANI

Senecta tauro gibba cum gravior premit?
 Dum noster heros traderet scientias
 Aeternitati, prorsus expeditior
 Sui sepulchri comperitur artifex.
 Placida videtur ecstasis speculatio,
 Qua mens tueri volucris ideas boni
 In lacteos properat *Olympi* tramites :
 His immoratur sedibus domestica,
 Peregrina propriis : Redit : Joculariter
 Fugax vagatur rursus, & rursus redit.
 Furtiva tandem serio, se subtrahit
 Totam; gementi, morbido, cadaveri,
 Sic defuescit anima : sic juber mori.

AGITE lugubres musae, & a *Libani* jugis
 Cumulate thura. Sidus in pyram illius
 Scintillet omne; scelus sit accendi rogam,
 Rogum *Prometheo*, culinari foco.
 Et si qua forte ludat in cineres sacros
 Aura petulantior, fugamque suadeat,
 Tunc flete; lacrymis in amplexus ruent
 Globuli sequaces. Denuo fundamine
 Ergastuli everso radicitus tui,
 Evehere felix anima, *Jacobum* pete;
 Ostende & illuc civicam fidem sequi.
 E Tripode juris, dictites oracula
Themidos alumnis. Sic, beati coelites,
Astraea pristino fruatur vindice,
 Vel cum *BACONO* rursus *Astraeam* date.

R. P.

Memoriae meritisque honoratissimi D. FRANCISCI D. *Verulamii*,
 vicecomitis *Sancti Albani*.

LUGETE fletu turbulenta flumina,
 Sub calce nata *Pegasi*,
 Rivoque nigrum vix trahente pulverem
 Limo profana currite :
 Viridisque *Daphnes* decidens ramis honos
 Arescat infelicibus.
 Quorsum *Camoenae* laureas inutiles
 Moeesti colatis hortuli ?
 Quin vos severis stipitem bipennibus
 Vanae secatis arboris!
 Vivos reliquit, cui solebat unico
 Coronam ferre lauream,
 Divum potitus arce *Verulaminus*
 Corona fulget aurea :
 Supra coeli terminos sedens amat
 Stellae videre cernuus :
 Sophiam qui Sede coelitem reconditam
 Invidit immortalibus,
 Aggressus orbi redditam cultu novo
 Mortalibus reducere :

Quo

Quo nemo terras incolens majoribus
 Donis pollebat ingenî :
 Nec ullus aequè gnaviter superstitum
Themîn maritat *Palladi*.
 Adductus istis, dum vigeat, artibus
Aonidum sacer chorus,
 In laude totam fudit eloquentiam,
 Nihil reliquit fletibus.

Posui WILHELMUS BOSWELL.

In obitum honoratissimi domini FRANCISCI BACONI, magni
 nuper totius *Angliae* cancellarii, &c.

AUDAX exemplum, quo mens humana feratur,
 Et saeculi vindex ingeniose tui,
 Dum senio macras recoquis feliciter artes,
 Subtrahis & prisco libera colla iugo :
 Quo deflenda modo veniunt tua funera? quales
 Exposcunt lacrymas, quid sibi fata volunt?
 An timuit natura parens ne nuda jaceret,
 Detrahit vestem dum tua dextra sacram?
 Ignotique oculis rerum patuere recessus,
 Fugit & aspectum rimula nulla tuum?
 An vero, antiquis olim data sponsa maritis,
 Conjugis amplexum respuit illa novi?
 An tandem, damnosa piis atque invida coeptis,
 Corripuit vitae fila (trahenda) tuae?
 Sic ultra vitreum * *Siculus* ne pergeret orbem,
 Privati cecidit militis ense senex.
 Tuque tuos manes ideo, FRANCISCE, tulisti,
 Ne non tentandum perficeretur opus.

* Archi-
med.

In eundem.

SUNT, qui defuncti vivant in marmore, & aevum
 Annosis credant postibus omne suum :
 AERE micant alii, aut fulvo spectantur in auro,
 Et, dum se ludunt, ludere fata putant.
 Altera pars hominum, numerosa prole superstes,
 Cum *Niobe* magnos temnit iniqua deos :
 At tua coelatis haeret nec fama columnis,
 Nec tumulo legitur, *Siste viator iter* :
 Siqua patrem proles referat, non corporis illa est,
 Sed quasi de cerebro nata *Minerva Jovis* :
 Prima tibi virtus monumenta perennia praestat,
 Altera, nec citius corruiura, libri :
 Tertia nobilitas; ducant jam fata triumphos,
 Quae, FRANCISCE, tui nil nisi corpus habent.
 Utraque pars melior, mens & bona fama supersunt;
 Non tanti ut redimas vile cadaver, habes.

T. VINCENT, T. C.

In

MANES VERULAMIANI.

In obitum nobilissimi domini FRANCISCI baronis *Verulamii*, &c.

VISA mihi pridem nec in uno vivere posse
 Tot bona sunt, unquam nec potuisse mori;
 Queis, quasi sideribus coelum, tua vita refulsit,
 Et quae sunt fatum cuncta secuta tuum;
 Ingenium, & largo procurrens flumine lingua,
 Philosophi pariter, juridicque decus.
 Nunc video potuisse quidem; sed parcite amici,
 Hic si non redeat, non reditura puto.

J. VINCENT. T. C.

In obitum illustrissimi clarissimiq; herois, domini FRANCISCI
 BACONI, baronis de *Verulamio*, &c.

MUSAE fundite nunc aquas perennes
 In threnos, lacrymasque; *Apollo* fundat
 Quas vel *Castalium* tenet fluentum:
 Nam letho neque convenire tanto
 Possint naenia parva, nec coronent
 Immensa haec modicae sepulchra guttae:
 Nervus ingenii, medulla suadae
 Dicendique *Tagus*, reconditarum
 Et gemma pretiosa literarum,
 Fatis concidit, (heu trium sororum
 Dura stamina) nobilis BACONUS.
 O quam te memorem, BACONE summe,
 Nostro carmine! & illa gloriosa
 Cunctorum monumenta saeculorum,
 Excusa ingenio tuo, & *Minerva*?
 Quam doctis, elegantibus, profundis,
Instauratio magna, plena rebus!
 Quanto lumine tineas sopherum
 Dispellit veterum tenebricosas,
 Ex chao procreans novam *σοφία*;
 Sic ipse Deus inditum sepulchro
 Corpus restituet manu potenti:
 Ergo non moreris, BACONE, nam te
 A morte, & tenebris, & a sepulchro,
Instauratio magna vindicabit.

R. C. T. C.

In obitum honoratissimi baronis *Verulamensis*, &c.

EN iterum auditur (certe *Instauratio magna* est!)
Stellata Camera fulgidus ore BACON:
 Nunc vere albatus, iudex purissimus audit;
 Cui stola, *Christe*, tuo sanguine tineta datur.
 Integer ut fiat, prius exuit ipse seipsum:
 Terra, habeas corpus; dixit, & astra petit.
 Sic, sic *Astraeam* sequitur praenobilis umbra,
 Et *Verulam* verum nunc sine nube videt.

De connubio rosarum.

SEPTIMUS *Henricus* non aere & marmore vivit;
Vivit at in chartis, magne *BACONE*, tuis.

Junge duas, *Henrice*, rosas; dat mille *BACONUS*;

Quot verba in libro, tot reor esse rosas. T. P.

In obitum nobilissimi doctissimique viri dom. *FRAN. BACON*,
baronis *Verulamensis*, &c.

SIC cadit *Aonii* rarissima gloria coetus?

Et placet *Aoniis* credere semen agris?

Frangantur calami, disrumpanturque libelli,

Hoc possint tetricae si modo jure deae.

Heu quae lingua filet, quae jam facundia cessat,

Quo fugit ingenii nectar & esca tui?

Quomodo musarum nobis contingit alumniis

Ut caderet nostri praeses *Apollo* chori?

Si nil cura, fides, labor, aut vigilantia possint,

Sique feret rapidas, de tribus una, manus;

Cur nos multa brevi nobis proponimus aevo?

Cur putri excutimus scripta sepulta situ?

Scilicet ut, dignos aliorum a morte labores

Dum rapimus, nos mors in sua jura trahat.

Quid tamen incassum nil proficientia fundo

Verba? quis optabit, te reticente, loqui?

Nemo tuam spargat violis fragrantibus urnam;

Nec tibi Pyramidum mole sepulchra locet;

Nam tua conservant operosa volumina famam;

Hoc satis; haec prohibent te monumenta mori.

WILLIAMS.

In obitum honoratissimi domini D. FRANCISCI vicecomitis
Sancti Albani, baronis *Verulamii*, viri incomparabilis.

PARCITE: noster amat facunda silentia luctus,

Postquam obiit solus dicere qui potuit:

Dicere, quae stupeat procerum generosa corona,

Nexaque sollicitis solvere jura reis:

Vastum opus! At nostras etiam *Verulamius* artes

INSTAURAT veteres, condit & ille novas.

Non qua majores: penitos verum ille recessus

NATURAE audaci provocat ingenio.

Ast ea, *Siste gradum*, serisque nepotibus, inquit,

Linque quod inventum saecula minora juvet.

Sit satis, his sese quod nobilitata inventis,

Faetent ingenio tempora nostra tuo.

Est aliquid, quo mox ventura superbiat aetas;

Est soli notum quod decet esse mihi:

Sit tua laus, pulchros corpus duxisse per artus,

Integra cui nemo reddere membra queat:

Sic opus artificem infectum commendat Apellem,

Cum pingit reliquam nulla manus Venerem.

g g g

Dixit,

MANES VERULAMIANI.

Dixit, & indulgens caeco natura furori,
 Praefecuit vitae filum operisque simul.
 At tu, qui pendentem audes detexere telam,
 Solus, quem condant haec monumenta, scies.

H. T. Coll. Trin. Socius.

In obitum nobilissimi viri, FRANCISCI domini *Verulam*,
 vicecomitis *Sancti Albani*.

TE tandem extincto secum mors laeta triumphat,
 Atque ait; hoc majus sternere nil potui;
Hectora magnanimum solus laceravit *Achilles*,
 Obrutus ac uno vulnere *Caesar* obit:
 Mille tibi morbos dederat mors, spicula mille:
 Credibile est aliter te potuisse mori?

THO. RHODES, Col. Regal.

In clarissimi viri FRANCISCI BACON, baronis de *Verulamio*,
 vicecomitis *Sancti Albani*, memoriam.

NATURAE vires pandens, artisque labores,
 Arte potens quondam studio indagavit anhelos
Anglus, *Rogerius Bacon*, celeberrimus olim:
 Optica qui chymicis, physicisque mathemata jungens,
 Perspectiva, suae praeclara molimina mentis,
 Vivit in aeternum praeclarae munere famae.
Anglus & alter erat clarus *Bacon Ioannes*,
 Abdita scripturae referans oracula sacrae.
 Stirps BACONIADUM quamvis generosa Britannis
 Pignora plura dedit, longe celebrata per orbem;
 FRANCISCUM tandem tulit hunc: generosior alter
 Ingenio quisquamne fuit? majora capeffens?
 Ditiore eloquio? compluraque mente revolvens?
 Scripta docent; veterum queis hic monumenta sophorum
 Censura castigat acri; exiguoque libello
 Stupendos ausus docet *Instauratio magna*,
Ventorum Historiae, *Vitaeque & Mortis* imago.
 Quis mage magnanimus naturam artesque retexens?
 Singula quid memorem, quae multa & clara supersunt?
 Pars sepulta jacet; parti quoque visere lucem
 RAWLEYUS praestat FRANCISCO fidus *Achates*.

ROBERTUS ASHLEYUS Medio-Templarius.

In domini FRANCISCI BACONI jam mortui Historiam
 Vitae & Mortis.

HISTORIAE scriptor *Vitae Mortisque* BACONE,
 Sere mori, ac semper vivere digne magis;
 Cur adeo aeternas praefers extincte tenebras,
 Nosque haud victuros post te ira tecum aboles?
 Nostrum omnium *Historiam Vitae Mortisque*, BACONE,
 Scripti; quaeso tuam quis satis historiam?
 Vel Vitae, vel Mortis, io? quin cedite *Gravi*,
 Cede *Maro Latia* primus in historia.

Optimus

MANES VERULAMIANI.

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Optimus & fandi, & scribendi, & nomine quo non
Inclytus, eximius consilio atque schola;
Marte idem, si *Mars* artem pateretur, & omni
Excellens titulo semihomoque ac studio;
Temptor opum, atque aurum tenui dum posthabet aurae;
Terrea regna polo mutat, & astra solo.

In eundem virum eloquentissimum.

VIDERIT UTILITAS, moniti meliora, sed adde
Ex *Ithaca*, fandi fidor, & omne tenes.

E. F. REGAL.

In obitum literatissimi juxta ac nobilissimi viri FRANCISCI
domini *Verulam*, vicecomitis *Sancti Albani*.

OCCIDIT ante diem musarum phosphorus! ipsa
Occidit ah *Clarii* cura, dolorque Dei.
Deliciae, natura, tuae; mundique BACONUS:
Mortis, quod mirum est, ipsius ipse dolor.
Quid non crudelis voluit sibi parca licere?
Parcere mors vellet, noluit illa tamen.
Melpomene objurgans hoc nollet ferre; deditque
Insuper ad tetricas talia dicta deas.
Crudelis nunquam verè prius *Atropos*; orbem
Totum habeas, *Phoebum* tu modo redde meum.
Hei mihi! nec coelum, nec mors, nec musa, BACONE,
Obstabant fati, nec mea vota tuis.

In obitum ejusdem.

SI repetes quantum mundo musisque, BACONE,
Donasti, vel si creditor esse velis;
Conturbabit amor, mundus, musaeque, *Jovisque*
Arca, preces, coelum, carmina, thura, dolor;
Quid possunt artes, quidve invidiosa vetustas?
Invidiam tandem desinat esse licet.
Sustineas felix, maneatque, BACONE, necesse est,
Ah natura nihil, quod tibi solvar, habet.

In obitum ejusdem, &c.

SI, nisi qui dignus, nemo tua fata, BACONE,
Fleret, erit nullus, credito nullus erit.
Plangite jam vere *Clio*, *Cliusque* sorores;
Ah decima occubuit musa, decusque chori.
Ah nunquam vere infelix prius ipse *Apollo*?
Unde illi, qui sic illum amet, alter erit?
Ah numerum non est habiturus; jamque necesse est,
Contentus musis ut sit *Apollo* novem.

Ad utrasque academias carmen Παράμυθον.

SI mea cum vestris valuissent vota sorores,
(Ah venit ante suum nostra querela diem!)
Non foret ambiguum nostri certamen amoris;
Et pia nonnunquam lis in amore lateret:

Nos

MANES VERULAMIANI.

Nos nostrum lacrymis, & te potiremur *Apollo*
 Delicium patriae, docte BACONE, tuae.
 Quid potuit natura magis, virtusve? dedisti
 Perpetui fructum nominis inde tui.
 Cum legerent nostri pars te prudentior aevi,
 Unum jurabant usque decere loqui.
 Hunc nimium retricae nobis vobisque negârunt,
 Ah sibi quid nolunt saepe licere, deae.
 Dignus erat coelo, sed adhuc tellure morari,
 Pro tali quae sunt improba vota viro?
 O felix fatum! cum non sit culpa, BACONE,
 Mortem, sed felix gloria, flere tuam.
 Sistite jam meritos fletus gemitusque sorores;
 Non potis est moestos totus inire rogos.
 Et noster vesterque fuit: lis inde sequuta est,
 Atque uter major sit dubitatur amor.
 Communis dolor est, noster vesterque: jacere
 Uno non potuit tanta ruina loco.

GUILLIEL. LOE. Coll. Trinit.

In obitum illustrissimi domini *Verulamii*, vicecomitis *Sancti Albani*.

DUM scripturavit multum *Verulaminus* heros,
 Imbuit & crebris saecula voluminibus:
 Viderat excultos mors dudum exosa libellos,
 Scripta nec infelix tam numerosa tulit.
 Odit enim ingenii monumenta perennia, quaeque
 Funereos spernunt aemula scripta rogos.
 Ergo dum calamum libravit dextera, dumque
 Lassavit teneras penna diserta manus;
 Nec dum finitam signarat pagina chartam
 Ultima, cum nigrum *Theta* coronis erat:
 Attamen & vivent seros aditura nepotes,
 Morte vel invita, scripta, BACONE, tua.

JACOBUS DUPORT. T.C.

Ad viatorem, honoratissimi domini, FRANCISCI domini
Verulam, monumentum insipientem.

MARMORE *Pieridum* gelido *Phoebique* choragum
 Inclusumne putes, stulte viator? abi:
 Fallere: jam rutilo *Verulamia* fulget Olympo:
 Sidere splendet *APER magne JACOBE tuo.

* V. In-
 signia
 gent. Ba-
 con.

In obitum illustrissimi & spectatissimi tum a literis tum a pruden-
 tia & nativa nobilitate viri, domini FRANCISCI BACON,
 vicecomitis *Sancti Albani*, &c.

NON ego, non *Naso* si viveret ipse, literet
 Exequiis versu, magne BACONE, tuis.
 Deducti veniunt versus a mente serena,
 Nubila sunt fato pectora nostra tuo.
 Replesti mundum scriptis, & saecula fama,
 Ingredere in requiem, quando ita dulce, tuam.

Et

MANES VERULAMIANI.

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Et tibi doctrinae exaltatio scripta, BACONE,
Exaltat toto jam caput orbe tuum.
Curta cano, quin nulla magis; sin carmina, vitae
Te reparare tuae quanta, BACONE, darem?

C. D. Regal.

In obitum honoratissimi domini, domini FRANCISCI baronis
de *Verulamio*, vicecomitis *S. Albani*.

QUI fuit legis moderator, illa
Lege solutus, reus ipse mortis
Sistitur, nostram politeia turbat
Sic *Rhadamanthi*.

Qui *Novo* summum sophiae magistrum
Organo tandem docuisset uti,
Mortis antiqua methodo coactus

Membra resolvit.

Quippe praemissis valide nocivis,
Parca conclusum voluit supremum
Huic diem; sensus ratiove fati

Insit iniquis?

Multa qui haud uno revelanda saeclo
Keumla naturae patefecit, ipse
Iusta naturae facili novercae

Debita solvit.

Artium tandem meliore vena
Occidit plenus, moriensque monstrat
Quam fiet longa ars, brevis atque vita,

Fama perennis:

Qui fuit nostro rutilans in orbe
Lucifer, magnos & honoris egit
Circulos, transit, proprioque fulget

Fixus in orbe.

Carmen sepulchrale.

SUB tumulo est corpus, non debita praeda sepulchri,
Virtutum exterius nomina marmor habet;
Sic pia saxa loqui docuit vestigia figens
Marmore in hoc virtus, ipsa datura fugam:
Nostra dabunt tumulumque aeternum corda, loquantur
Ut famam illius saxa hominesque simul.

HENR. FERNE, Trin. Coll. Soc.

Ad statuam literatissimi vereque nobilissimi viri domini
FRANCISCI BACON.

OCTOGINTA negat qui te numerasse *Decembres*,
Frontem, non libros inspicit ille tuos:
Nam virtus si cana senem, si sarta *Minervae*,
Reddant; vel natu *Nestore* major eras.
Quod si forma neget, *veterum sapientia* monstret;
Longaevae aetatis tessera certa tuae.

h h h

Vivere

MANES VERULAMIANI.

Vivere namque diu, cornicum condere lustra,
Non est; sed vita posse priore frui.

G. NASH Aul. Pemb.

De inundatione nupera aquarum.

SOLVERAT *Eridanus* tumidarum flumina aquarum:
Solverat; & populis non levis horror erat:
Quippe gravis *Pyrrhae* metuentes tempora cladis
Credebant simili crescere flumen aqua.
Ille dolor fuerat saevus, lacrymaeque futuri
Funeris, & iustis dona paranda novis.
Scilicet & fluvios tua, vir celeberrime, tangunt
Funera, nedum homines moestaque corda virum.

JAMES.

In obitum honoratissimi viri FRANCISCI BACON, vicecomitis
Sancti Albani, baronis de *Verulam*, &c.

ERGO te quoque flemus? & aeternare *Camoenas*
Qui poteras, poteras ipse, BACONE, mori?
Ergo nec aetherea fruerere diutius aura?
Indigni scriptis *Ventus* & *Aura* tuis:
Scilicet indomiti tandem vesania fati
Placari voluit nobiliore rogo:
Saevaque vulgares jam dedignata triumphos
Ostendit nimio plus licuisse sibi:
Unaque lux tanti nunc luctus conscia, peste
Insolita, quanti nec prior annus erat.

R. L.

In obitum nobilissimi viri, FRANCISCI BACONIS, olim
magni sigilli *Angliae* custodis.

QUID? an apud deos coorta lis fuit?
An aemulum senex *Saturnus* filium
Jovem vocavit in jus, rursus expetens
Regnum? sed illic advocatum non habens
Relinquit astra, pergens in terras iter,
Ubi cito invenit parem sibi virum,
BACONEM scilicet; quem falce demetens
Jus exequi coëgit inter angelos,
Et ipsum se *Jovemque* filium suum.
Quid? an prudentia BACONIS indigent
Dei? vel liquerit deos *Astraea*?
Ita est: abiit: ipsaque astra deserens,
Ministrabatur huic BACONI sedule.
Saturnus ipse non felicioribus
Degebat aevum saeculis, quibus nomen
Vel aureum fuit, (sunt haec poëtica)
Quam, judicante nos BACONE, degimus:
Beatis ergo nobis numina invidentia,
Volebant gaudium hoc commune demere:
Abiit, abiit: sat hoc doloribus meis

Est

Est protulisse: non dixi est mortuus:
 Quid est opus jam vestimentis atris? en en
 Arundo nostra tinctura fluit nigra;
Camoenarumque fons siccum se fecerit,
 In lacrymas minutas se dispertiens:
 Frequentibusque nimbis *Aprilis* madet
 Dolores innuens: quippe insolentius
 Furit fraterna ventorum discordia:
 Uterque scilicet gemens, non desinit
 Ab intus altius suspirium trahens.
 O omnibus bone, ut videntur omnia
 Amâsse te vivum, & dolere mortuum!

HENR. OCKLEY C. Tr.

In languorem diuturnum, sed mortem inopinatam, nobilissimi
 domini sui, vicecomitis *Sancti Albani*.

MORS prius aggressa est, fuit inde repulsa; putabam
 Incepti & sceleris poenituisse sui.
 Callidus obsecras ut miles deferat urbes,
 Incautis posito quo ferat arma metu;
 Mors pariter multum hunc vulnus defendere doctum,
 Averso a musis lumine, saeva ferit.
 Quam cupiam lacrymis oculos absumere totos;
 Nostra sed heu libris lumina servo suis.
 Sic maculis chartam lugentem emittere cordi est;
 Nil salis hic, nisi quod lacryma falsa dedit.

GUIL. ATKINS *dominationis suae servus domesticus.*

In obitum domini FRANCISCI BACONI, baronis de *Verulamio*,
 & totius *Angliae* nuperi cancellarii.

DUM moriens tantam nostris *Verulanius* heros
 Tristitiam musis, luminaque uda facit:
 Credimus heu nullum fieri post fata beatum,
 Credimus & *Samium* desipuisse senem.
 Scilicet hic miseris felix nequit esse *Camoenis*,
 Nec se quam musas plus amat iste suas.
 At luctantem animam *Clotho* imperiosa coëgit,
 Ad coelum invitos traxit in astra pedes.
 Ergone *Phoebeias* jacuisse putabimus artes?
 Atque herbas *Clarii* nil valuisse dei?
Phoebus idem potuit, nec virtus abfuit herbis,
 Hunc artem atque illas vim retinere putes:
 At *Phoebum* (ut metuit ne rex foret iste *Camoenis*)
 Rivali medicam crede negasse manum.
 Hinc dolor est; quod cum *Phoebo Verulanius* heros
 Major erat reliquis, hac foret arte minor.
 Vos tamen o, tantum manes atque umbra, *Camoenae*,
 Et pene inferni pallida turba *Jovis*,
 Si spiratis adhuc, & non lusistis ocellos,
 Sed neque post illum vos superesse putem:

MANES VERULAMIANI.

Si vos ergo aliquis de morte reduxerit *Orpheus*,
 Istaque non aciem fallit imago meam:
 Discite nunc gemitus, & lamentabile carmen,
 Ex oculis vestris lacryma multa fluat.
 En quam multa fluit? veras agnosco *Camoenas*
 Et lacrymas, *Helicon* vix satis unus erit;
Deucalionaeis & qui non merfus in undis
Parnassus, mirum est, hisce latebit aquis.
 Scilicet hic periit, per quem vos vivitis, & qui
 Multa *Pierias* nutriit arte deas.
 Vidit ut hic artes nulla radice retentas,
 Languere ut summo semina sparsa solo;
 Crescere *Pegaseas* docuit, velut hasta *Quirini*
 Crevit, & exiguo tempore laurus erat.
 Ergo *Heliconiadas* docuit cum crescere divas,
 Diminuent hujus saecula nulla decus.
 Nec ferre ulterius generosi pectoris aestus
 Contemptum potuit, diva *Minerva*, tuum.
 Restituit calamus solitum divinus honorem,
 Dispulit & nubes alter *Apollo* tuas.
 Dispulit & tenebras, sed quas obfusca vetustas,
 Temporis & prisca lippha senecta tulit;
 Atque alias methodos sacrum Instauravit acumen,
Gnosstaque eripuit, sed sua fila dedit.
 Scilicet antiquo sapientum vulgus in aevo
 Tam claros oculos non habuisse liquet;
 Hi velut *Eos* surgens de littore *Phoebus*,
 Hic velut in media fulget *Apollo* die:
 Hi veluti *Tiphys* tentarunt aequora primum,
 At vix deseruit littora prima ratis;
Pleiadas hic *Hyadasque* atque omnia sidera noscens,
Syrtes, atque tuos, improba *Scylla*, canes;
 Scit quod vitandum est, quo dirigat aequore navem,
 Certius & cursum nautica monstrat acus:
 Infantes illi musas, hic gignit adultas;
 Mortales illi, gignit at iste deas.
 Palmam ideo reliquis *Magna Instauratio* libris
 Abstulit, & cedunt squalida turba sophi.
 Et vestita novo *Pallas* modo prodit amictu,
 Anguis depositis ut nitet exuviis.
 Sic *Phoenix* cineres spectat modo nata paternos,
AEsonis & rediit prima juvenia senis.
 Instaurata suos & sic *Verulamia* muros
 Jactat, & antiquum sperat ab inde decus.
 Sed quanta effulgent plus quam mortalis ocelli
 Lumina, dum regni mystica sacra canat?
 Dum sic naturae leges, arcanaque regum,
 Tanquam a secretis esset utrisque, canat:
 Dum canat *Henricum*, qui rex idemque sacerdos,
 Connubio stabili junxit utramque rosam.

Atqui

Atqui haec sunt nostris longe majora *Camoenis*,
 Non haec infelix *Granta*, sed *Aula* sciat:
 Sed cum *Granta* labris admoverit ubera tantis
 Jus habet in laudes, maxime alumne, tuas.
 Jus habet, ut moestos lacrymis extingueret ignes,
 Posset ut e medio diripuisse rogo.
 At nostrae tibi nulla ferant encomia musae;
 Ipse canis, laudes & canis inde tuas.
 Nos tamen & laudes, qua possumus arte, canemus;
 Si tamen ars desit, laus erit iste dolor.

THO. RANDOLPH. T. C.

MS reverendi D. THOMAE BAKER, B. D. &c.

AN. 1573. Jun. 10. ANTONIUS BACON Coll. Trin. Convict. 1. ad-
 missus in matriculam acad. Cantabr.

FRANCISCUS BACON Coll. Trin. Convict. 1. admissus in matriculam
 academiae Cantabr. eodem die & anno. (Reg^r Acad.)

OUR register is a blank, and nothing entred from the year 1589. to the
 year 1602. But from bedel *Ingram's* book, of equal authority in history,
 tho' not in law, we have this account:

AN. 1594. *Jul. 27.* Whereas there is something purposed to be done at
 this meeting, more then usuall at convocations: Maye it therefore please
 yow, that this convocation be changed into a congregation, and the same to
 be effectuell to no other intent, then for the dispatch of such matters, as shall
 presently be propownded hearin, and by your approbation and consent be
 granted and concluded.

THIS being past, the vicechan. dissolved the convocation, and the bedell
 called a congregation immediate, at which congregation, this grace follow-
 ing was passed.

PLACET vobis, ut Mr FRANCISCUS BACON armiger, honorandi &
 nobilis viri domini NICOLAI BACON militis, magni *Angliae* sigilli custo-
 dis, ante aliquot annos defuncti, filius, post studium decem annorum, partim
 in hac academia nostra, partim in transmarinis regionibus, in dialecticis, phi-
 losophicis, Graecis Latinisque literis, ac caeteris humanioribus disciplinis
 sufficiat ei, ut cooptetur in ordinem magistrorum in artibus: ita tamen ut ad
 nullas ceremonias, ad magisterii gradum pertinentes coarctetur; sed tantum
 in admissione sua juramentum praestet, de regiae majestatis suprema autori-
 tate in primis agnoscenda & colenda, & fidem det D. Procan. de observan-
 dis statutis, privilegiis, & consuetudinibus hujus universitatis approbatis.

Concess. 27. Julii 1594.

FRANCISCUS BACON Mr in artibus Jul. 27. (Mr. *Ingram's* book.

Gul. Rawley. Coll. Cor. Chr. Art. Bac. an. 1604. Regr. acad.

Gul. Rawley Coll. C. C. Art. Mr. an. 1608. S. T. B. an. 1615. Ibid.

Gul. Rawley S. T. D. an. 1621. Ibid.

AN. 1611. *Sept. 22.* In ecclesia parochiali de *Downham* infra insulam
Elien. admissi fuerunt ad sacr. diacon. ordinem *Gul. Rawley* Art. Mr, &c.

ACCOUNT OF DR RAWLEY.

LANDBEACH *Reſtoria*] 18. die *Januar.* anno 1616. dominus episcopus [*Elien.*] admisit & instituit *Gulielmum Rawley*, S. T. Bac. ad rect. praedict. vacantem per mortem naturalem *Henrici Clifford* ult. incumb. ad quam presentatus fuit per honorand. virum FRANCISCUM BACON, mil. regiae maj. advocatum generalem, ejusdem *vicariae* [rectoriae] pro hac unica vice, ratione concessionis magistri & sociorum Coll. C. C. (uti asserabatur) patronum. Regr. *Andrews*.

LANDBEACH is a rectory in the gift of Benet College.

FROM the register at Benet Coll. Mr Keyriche, fellow there, sends me this account.

Willielmus Rawley, *Nordovicensis*, admissus bibliotista, Jan. 22. 1600. tutore magistro *Chapman*.

Gul. Rawley, *Nordovicensis*, Art. Mr. admissus est socius collegii [Coll. C. C.] cessante magistro *Burgis*. The day and year not mentioned, but it appears by the audit-book, that it was about Lady-Day 1609.

Ds *Hembling*, *Nordovic*. admissus est socius Coll. Corp. Christi, in locum magistri *Rawley*, Feb. 17. 1618.

FROM Landbeach near Cambridge, I have this account :

ON a flat marble near the communion table.

HIC jacet *Gulielmus Rawley*, S. T. Doctor, vir Gratiis & Musis ex aequo charus, sereniss. regibus Car. I. & II. a sacris D. FRAN. *Verulamio* facellanus primus atque ultimus, cujus opera summa cum fide edita, ei debent literae. Uxorem habuit *Barbaram*, ad latus mariti positam Jo. *Wixted* aldermanni nuper *Cantabr.* filiam; ex ea filium suscepit unicum *Gulielmum*, in cujus cineribus salis haud parum latet. Ecclesiam hanc per annos 50. prudens administravit. Tandem placide, ut vixit, in Domino, obdormivit.

Anno { Domini MDCLXVII. Jun. 18.
AEtat. 79.



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THE reverend Dr *Tanner*, out of his wonted regard to works of literature and politeness, having communicated the following originals of the lord BACON; as they came late to hand, even after the entire works were printed off, we could not place them in any other order than that which we have here given them.

My very good lord,

THE tobacco business is well settled in all points. For the coals, they that brought the offer to secretary *Calvert* do very badly shrink from their words; but we are casting about to peice it and perfect it. The two goose-quills, *Maxwell* and *Alured*, have been pulled, and they have made submissions in that kind, which the board thought fit: For we would not do them the honour to require a recantation of their opinion, but an acknowledgment of their presumption*.

HIS majesty doth very wisely (not shewing much care or regard to it) yet really to suppress this licentious course of talking and writing. My old lord *Burleigh* was wont to say, that the *Frenchman* when he hath talked he hath done; but the *Englishman*, when he hath talked he begins. It evaporateth malice and discontent in the one, and kindleth it in the other. And therefore upon some fit occasion, I wish a more publick example. The king's state, if I should now die and were opened, would be found at my heart, as queen *Mary* said of *Calais*. We find additionals still, but the consumption goeth on. I pray God give his majesty resolution, passing by at once all impediments and less respects, to do that which may help it before it be irremediable. God ever preserve and prosper your lordship.

* Referred to my lord Digby, and secretary Naunton, to acquaint the Ambassadors, and upon their suit to give order for their liberty.

I have staid the thousand pounds set upon *Englefield*, for his majesty, and given order for levying it.

*Your lordship's most obliged friend,
and faithful servant,*

FR. VERULAM, Canc.

23. of Jul. 1620.

To the right honourable his very good lord, the lord marquis of Buckingham, lord high admiral of England.

My very good lord,

WE have these two days past made report to the board of our parliament committee; upon relation whereof, for some things we provide, for some things we arm. The king, by my lord treasurer's signification, did wisely put it upon a consult, whether the patents which we mentioned in our joint letters, were at this time to be removed by act of council before parliament. I opined (but yet somewhat like *Ovid's* mistress, that strove, but yet as one that would be overcome) that yes. My reasons

That men would go better and faster to the main errand——
That these things should not be staged nor talked of, and so the
less fuel to the fire——

Sic in orig.

i i i 2

That

That in things of this nature, wherein the council had done the like in former particulars (which I enumerated) before parliament, near parliament, during parliament, the council were to keep their wonted centinel, as if they thought not of a parliament.

That there was enough left for the parliament to desire in other patents, as concealments——

THE reasons on the other side were——

That it would be thought but an humouring of the parliament (being now in the calends of a parliament) and that after parliament they would come up again——

That offered grace, by reason and experience, lose their thanks.——

That they are to be suffered to play upon something, since they can do nothing of themselves——

That the chusing out of some things, when perhaps their minds might be more upon other things, would do no great effect.

That former patents taken away by act of council, were upon the complaints of particular persons; whereas now it should seem to be done *tanquam ex officio*.

To this I yielded, though I confess I am yet a little doubtful to the point of *suavibus modis*. But it is true, that the speech of these, though in the lower house, may be contemned, and if way be given to them (as I writ to your lordship of some of them in my last) it will sort to your honour. For other things, the lords have put them in a very good way, of which I will give express account when I see his majesty, as also of other observations concerning parliament. For if his majesty said well, that when he knew the men and the elections, he would guess at the success; the prognosticks are not so good as I expected, occasioned by the late occurrents abroad, and the general licentious speaking of state matters, of which I wrote in my last.

God ever keep you.

Your lordship's most obliged friend,

Dec. 16. 1620.

and faithful servant,

FR. VERULAM, Canc.

No superscription, but on the back this note.

*Lord chancellor Verulam, touching some things
to be prepared for the parliament, 1620.*

THEN followed the letter printed *Vol. IV. p. 686. N. CXLVI.*

It may please your majesty,

IT hath pleased God for these three days past, to visit me with such extremity of head-ach, upon the hinder part of my head, fixed in one place, that I thought verily it had been some imposthumation. And then the little physick that I have, told me, that either it must grow to a congelation, and so to a lethargy; or to break, and so to a mortal fever and sudden death: Which apprehension (and chiefly the anguish of the pain) made me unable to think of any business. But now that the pain itself is asswaged to be tolerable, I resume the care of my business, and therein prostrate myself again, by my letter, at your majesty's feet.

YOUR majesty can bear me witness, that at my last so comfortable access, I did not so much as move your majesty (by your absolute power of pardon, or otherwise) to take my cause into your hands, and to interpose between the sentence of the house; and according to my own desire, your majesty left it to the sentence of the house, and it was reported by my lord treasurer.

BUT now, if not *per omnipotentiam* (as the divines speak) but *per potestatem suavitèr disponentem*, your majesty will graciously save me from a sentence, with the good liking of the house, and that cup may pass from me, it is the utmost of my desires.

THIS I move with the more belief, because I assure myself, that if it be reformation that is sought, the very taking away of the seal, upon my general submission, will be as much in example, for this four hundred years, as any farther severities.

THE means of this I most humbly leave unto your majesty. But surely I conceive, that your majesty opening yourself in this kind to the lords counsellors, and a motion from the prince, after my submission, and my lord marquis using his interest with his friends in the house, may effect the sparing of a sentence, I making my humble suit to the house for that purpose, joined with the delivery of the seal into your majesty's hands.

THIS is the last suit I shall make to your majesty in this business, prostrating myself at your mercy-seat, after fifteen years service, wherein I have served your majesty in my poor endeavours with an entire heart, and as I presumed to say unto your majesty am still a virgin for matters which concern your person or crown; and now only craving that after eight steps of honour, I be not precipitated altogether.

BUT because he that hath taken bribes is apt to give bribes, I will go farther and present your majesty with a bribe. For if your majesty give me peace and leisure, and God give me life, I will present your majesty with a good history of *England*, and a better digest of your laws. And so concluding with my prayers, I rest

Your majesty's afflicted, but ever devoted servant,

21. Apr. 1621.

FR. ST ALBAN, Canc.

To the king's most excellent majesty.

May it please your majesty,

I Acknowledge myself in all humbleness infinitely bounden to your majesty's grace and goodness, for that at the intercession of my noble and constant friend, my lord marquis, your majesty hath been pleased to grant me that which the civilians say is *res inaeſtimabilis*, my liberty. So that now whenever God calleth me I shall not die a prisoner. Nay, farther, your majesty hath vouchsafed to cast a second and iterate aspect of your eye of compassion upon me, in referring the consideration of my broken estate to my good lord the treasurer, which as it is a singular bounty in your majesty, so I have yet so much left of a late commissioner of your treasure, as I would be sorry to sue for any thing that might seem immodest. These your majesty's great benefits, in casting your bread upon the waters, (as the scripture saith) because my thanks cannot any ways be sufficient to attain, I have raised your progenitor, of famous memory, (and now, I hope, of more famous memory than before) king *Henry VII.* to give your majesty thanks for me, which work, most humbly kissing your majesty's hands, I do present. And because in the beginning of my trouble, when in the midst of the tempest, I had a kenning of the harbour, which I hope now by your majesty's favour I am entring into, I made a tender to your majesty of two works, An history of *England*, and A digest of your laws: as I have (by a figure of *pars pro toto*) performed the one; so I have herewith sent your majesty, by way of an epistle, a new offer of the other. But my desire is farther, if it stand with your majesty's good pleasure, since now my study is my exchange, and my pen my factor, for the use of my talent; that your majesty (who is a great master in these things) would be pleased to appoint me some task to write, and that I shall take for an oracle. And because my Instauration (which I esteem my great work, and do still go on with silence) was dedicated to your majesty; and this history of king *Henry VII.* to your lively and excellent image the prince, If now your majesty will be pleased to give me a theme to dedicate to my lord of *Buckingham*, whom I have so much reason to honour, I should with more alacrity embrace your majesty's direction than my own choice. Your majesty will pardon me for troubling you thus long. God evermore preserve and prosper you.

Gorhamb.

Your majesty's poor beadsman most devoted,

20. Mar. 1621.

FR. ST ALBAN.

To the king's most excellent majesty.

My very good lord,

THESE main and real favours which I have lately received from your good lordship, in procuring my liberty, and a reference of the consideration of my release, are such, as I now find that in building upon your lordship's noble nature and friendship, I have built upon the rock, where neither winds or waves can cause overthrow. I humbly pray your lordship to accept from me such thanks as ought to come from him whom
you

you have much comforted in fortune, and much more comforted in shewing your love and affection to him; of which also I have heard by my lord of *Falkland*, Sir *Edward Sackville*, Mr *Matthews*, and otherwise.

I HAVE written, as my duty was, to his majesty thanks touching the same, by the letter I here put into your noble hands.

I HAVE made also, in that letter, an offer to his majesty of my service, for bringing into better order and frame the laws of *England*: The declaration whereof I have left with Sir *Edward Sackville*, because it were no good manners to clog his majesty, at this time of triumph and recreation, with a business of this nature; so as your lordship may be pleased to call for it to Sir *Ed. Sackville* when you think the time seasonable.

I AM bold likewise to present your lordship with a book of my history of king *Henry* the seventh. And now that in summer was twelve months, I dedicated a book to his majesty; and this last summer, this book to the prince; your lordship's turn is next, and this summer that cometh (if I live to it) shall be your's. I have desired his majesty to appoint me the task, otherwise I shall use my own choice; for this is the best retribution I can make to your lordship. God prosper you. I rest

Gorhambury this
20th of March, 1621.

*Your Lordship's most obliged friend,
and faithful servant,*

FR. ST ALBAN.

*To the right honourable his very good lord, the lord marquis
of Buckingham, high admiral of England.*

Excellent lord,

THOUGH I have troubled your lordship with many letters, oftner than I think I should (save that affection keepeth no account); yet upon the repair of Mr *Matthews*, a gentleman so much your lordship's servant, and to me another myself, as your lordship best knoweth, you would not have thought me a man alive, except I had put a letter into his hand, and withal, by so faithful and approved a mean, commended my fortunes afresh unto your lordship.

MY lord, to speak my heart to your lordship, I never felt my misfortunes so much as now: not for that part which may concern myself, who profit (I thank God for it) both in patience and in settling mine own courses; but when I look abroad, and see the times so stirring, and so much dissimulation and falsehood, baseness and envy in the world, and so many idle clocks going in mens heads, then it grieveth me much, that I am not sometimes at your lordship's elbow, that I might give you some of the fruits of the careful advice, modest liberty, and true information of a friend, that loveth your lordship as I do: For though your lordship's fortunes be above the thunders and storms of inferior regions; yet nevertheless to hear the wind and not to feel it, will make one sleep the better.

MY good lord, somewhat I have been, and much have I read; so that few things which concern states, or greatness, are new cases unto me: And therefore I hope I may be no unprofitable servant to your lordship. I remember the king was wont to make a character of me, far above my

worth, that I was not made for small matters: And your lordship would sometimes bring me from his majesty that *Latine* sentence, *De minimis non curat lex*; and it hath so fallen out, that since my retiring, times have been fuller of great matters than before; wherein perhaps if I had continued near his majesty, he might have found more use of my service, if my gift lay that way. But that is but a vain imagination of mine. True it is that as I do not aspire to use my talent in the king's great affairs; yet for that which may concern your lordship and your fortune, no man living shall give you a better account of faith, industry, and affection, than I shall. I must conclude with that which gave me occasion of this letter, which is Mr *Matthews's* employment, to your lordship, in those parts wherein I am verily persuaded your lordship shall find him a wise and able gentleman, and one that will bend his knowledge of the world (which is great) to serve his majesty and the prince, and in especial your lordship. So I rest

Grays-Inn this
18. of Apr. 1623.

Your lordship's most obliged

and faithful servant,

FR. ST ALBAN.

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FRANCISCI

DE

VERULAMIO,

Summi Angliae Cancellarii,

INSTAURATIO MAGNA.

VOL. I.

A

FRANCIS

VERULAMIO



Summi Angli

INSTAURATIO MAGNA

ERRATA

Vol. I

FRANCISCUS

DE

VERULAMIO

SIC COGITAVIT,

Talemque apud se rationem instituit; quam viventibus
& posteris notam fieri, ipsorum interesse putavit.

CUM illi pro comperto esset, intellectum humanum sibi ipsi negotium faceffere, neque auxiliis veris (quae in hominis potestate sunt) uti sobrie & commode; unde multiplex rerum ignoratio, & ex ignoratione rerum detrimenta innumera: omni ope connitendum existimavit, si quo modo commercium istud mentis & rerum (cui vix aliquid in terris, aut saltem in terrenis, se ostendit simile) restitui posset in integrum, aut saltem in melius deduci. Ut vero errores qui invaluerunt, quique in aeternum invalituri sunt, alii post alios (si mens sibi permittatur) ipsi se corrigerent, vel ex vi intellectus propria, vel ex auxiliis atque adminiculis dialecticae, nulla prorsus suberat spes; propterea quod notiones rerum primae, quas mens haustu facili & supino excipit, recondit atque accumulatur (unde reliqua omnia fluunt) vitiosae sint, & confusae, & temere a rebus abstractae; neque minor sit in secundis & reliquis libido & inconstantia: ex quo fit, ut universa ista ratio humana, qua utimur quoad inquisitionem naturae, non bene congesta & aedificata sit, sed tanquam moles aliqua magnifica sine fundamento. Dum enim falsas mentis vires mirantur homines & celebrant; veras ejusdem quae esse possint (si debita ei adhibeantur auxilia, atque ipsa rebus morigera sit, nec impotenter rebus insultet) praetereunt & perdunt: Restabat illud unum, ut res de integro tentetur, melioribus praesidiis; utque fiat scientiarum & artium atque omnis humanae doctrinae in universum instauratio, a debitis excitata fundamentis. Hoc vero licet aggressu infinitum quiddam videri possit, ac supra vires mortales; tamen idem tractatu sanum invenietur ac sobrium, magis quam ea quae adhuc facta sunt. Exitus enim hujus rei est nonnullus. In iis vero, quae jam fiunt circa scientias, est vertigo quaedam & agitatio perpetua & circulus: Neque eum fugit, quanta in solitudine versetur hoc experimentum, & quam durum & incredibile sit ad faciendam fidem. Nilominus, nec rem, nec seipsum deferendum putavit; quin viam, quae una humanae menti pervia est, tentaret atque iniret: Praestat enim principium dare rei, quae exitum habere possit, quam, in iis quae exitum nullum habent, perpetua contentione & studio implicari. Viae autem contemplativae

tivae viis illis activis decantatis fere respondent ; ut altera ab initio ardua & difficilis, desinat in apertum ; altera primo intuitu expedita & proclivis, ducat in avia & praecipitia. Quum autem incertus esset, quando haec alicui posthac in mentem ventura sint ; eo potissimum usus argumento, quod neminem haecenus invenit, qui ad similes cogitationes animum applicuerit ; decrevit prima quaeque, quae perficere licuit, in publicum edere. Neque haec festinatio ambitiosa fuit, sed sollicita ; ut si quid illi humanitus accideret, extaret tamen designatio quaedam, ac destinatio rei, quam animo complexus est ; utque extaret simul signum aliquod honestae suae & propensae in generis humani commoda voluntatis. Certe aliam quamcunque ambitionem inferiorem duxit re, quam prae manibus habuit : Aut enim hoc quod agitur, nihil est ; aut tantum, ut merito ipso contentum esse debeat, nec fructum extra quaerere.



Serenissimo,

Serenissimo, Potentissimoque

PRINCIPI ac DOMINO NOSTRO

F A C O B O,

DEI Gratia Magnae Britanniae, Franciae &
Hiberniae Regi, Fidei Defensori, &c.

Serenissime, Potentissimeque Rex,

POTERIT fortasse majestas tua me furti incusare, quod tantum temporis, quantum ad haec sufficiat, negotiis tuis suffuratus sim. Non habeo quod dicam. Temporis enim non fit restitutio; nisi forte quod detractum fuerit temporis rebus tuis, id memoriae nominis tui & honori saeculi tui reponi possit; si modo haec alicujus sint pretii. Sunt certe prorsus nova; etiam toto genere: sed descripta ex veteri admodum exemplari, mundo scilicet ipso & natura rerum & mentis. Ipse certe (ut ingenue fatear) soleo aestimare hoc opus magis pro partu temporis, quam ingenii. Illud enim in eo solummodo mirabile est; initia rei, & tantas de iis quae invaluerunt suspiciones, alicui in mentem venire potuisse. Caetera non illibenter sequuntur. At versatur proculdubio casus (ut loquimur) & quiddam quasi fortuitum, non minus in iis quae cogitant homines, quam in iis quae agunt aut loquuntur. Verum hunc casum (de quo loquor) ita intelligi volo, ut si quid in his quae afferro sit boni, id immensae misericordiae & bonitati divinae, & felicitati temporum tuorum tribuatur: cui & vivus integerrimo affectu servivi, & mortuus fortasse id effecero, ut illa posteritati, nova hac accensa facie in philosophiae tenebris, praelucere possint. Merito autem temporibus regis, omnium sapientissimi & doctissimi, regeneratio ista & instauratio scientiarum debetur. Superest petitio, majestate tua non indigna; & maxime omnium faciens ad id quod agitur: Ea est, ut quando Salomonem in plurimis referas, judiciorum gravitate, regno pacifico, cordis latitudine, librorum denique, quos composuisti, nobili varietate: etiam hoc ad ejusdem regis exemplum addas, ut cures historiam naturalem & experimentalem, veram & severam, (missis philologicis) &

quae fit in ordine ad condendam philosophiam, denique qualem suo loco describemus; congeri & perfici: ut tandem post tot mundi aetates, philosophiae & scientiae non sint amplius penfiles & aëreae, sed solidis experientiae omnigenae, ejusdemque bene pensitatae, nitantur fundamentis. Equidem organum praebui; verum materies a rebus ipsis petenda est. Deus Opt. Max. majestatem tuam diu servet incolumem.

Serenissimae Majestati tuae

Servus devinctissimus,

Et devotissimus,

Franciscus Verulam,
CANCELLARIUS.

FRANCISCI

DE

VERULAMIO,

INSTAURATIO MAGNA.

PRAEFATIO.

De statu scientiarum, quod non sit felix, aut majorem in modum auctus; quodque alia omnino, quam prioribus cognita fuerit, via aperienda sit intellectui humano; & alia comparanda auxilia, ut mens suo jure in rerum naturam uti possit.

VIDENTUR nobis homines, nec opes nec vires suas bene nosse; verum de illis majora quam par est, de his minora, credere. Ita fit, ut aut artes receptas in sanis pretiis aestimantes, nil amplius quaerant; aut seipsos plus aequo contemnentes, vires suas in levioribus consumant; in iis, quae ad summam rei faciant, non experiantur. Quare sunt & suae scientiis columnae, tanquam fatales; cum ad ulterius penetrandum, homines nec desiderio, nec spe excitentur. Atque cum opinio copiae inter maximas causas inopiae sit; quumque ex fiducia praesentium, vera auxilia negligantur in posterum; ex usu est, & plane ex necessitate, ut ab illis quae adhuc inventa sunt, in ipso operis nostri limine (idque relictis ambagibus, & non dissimulanter) honoris & admirationis excessus tollatur; utili monito, ne homines eorum aut copiam aut utilitatem, in majus accipiant aut celebrent. Nam si quis in omnem illam librorum varietatem, qua artes & scientiae exultant, diligentius introspiciat, ubique inveniet ejusdem rei repetitiones infinitas, tractandi modis diversas, inventionem praeoccupatas; ut omnia primo intuitu numerosa, facto examine, pauca reperiantur. Et de utilitate aperte dicendum est; sapientiam istam, quam a Graecis potissimum hausimus, pueritiam quandam scientiae videri, atque habere quod proprium est puerorum; ut ad garriendum prompta, ad generandum invalida & immatura sit. Controversiarum enim ferax, operum effoeta est. Adeo ut fabula illa de Scylla, in literarum statum, qualis habetur, ad vivum quadrare videatur; quae virginis os & vultum extulit, ad uterum vero monstra latrantia succingebantur & adhaerebant. Ita habent & scientiae, quibus insuevimus, generalia quaedam blandientia & speciosa; sed cum ad particularia ventum sit, veluti ad partes generationis, ut fructum & opera ex se edant, tum contentiones & oblatrantes disputationes exoriantur,

tur, in quas definunt, & quae partus locum obtinent. Praeterea, si huiusmodi scientiae plane res mortua non essent, id minime videtur eventurum fuisse, quod per multa jam saecula usu venit; ut illae suis immotae fere haereant vestigiis, nec incrementa genere humano digna sumant: eo usque ut saepenumero non solum assertio maneat assertio, sed etiam quaestio maneat quaestio, & per disputationes non solvatur, sed figatur & alatur; omnisque traditio & successio disciplinarum repraesentet & exhibeat personas magistri & auditoris, non inventoris & ejus qui inventis aliquid eximium adjiciat. In artibus autem mechanicis, contrarium evenire videmus: Quae ac si aurae cujusdam vitalis forent participes, quotidie crescunt & perficiuntur; & in primis authoribus rudes plerunque & fere onerosae & informes apparent, postea vero novas virtutes & commoditatem quandam adipiscuntur, eo usque ut citius studia hominum & cupiditates deficiant & mutantur, quam illae ad culmen & perfectionem suam pervenerint. Philosophia contra & scientiae intellectuales, statuarum more, adorantur & celebrantur, sed non promoventur: quin etiam in primo nonnunquam authore maxime vigent, & deinceps degenerant. Nam postquam homines dedititii facti sint, & in unius sententiam (tanquam pedarii senatores) coierint, scientiis ipsis amplitudinem non addunt, sed in certis authoribus ornandis & stipandis, servili officio funguntur. Neque illud afferat quispiam; Scientias paulatim succrescentes, tandem ad statum quandam pervenisse, & tum demum (quasi confectis spatiis legitimis) in operibus paucorum sedes fixas posuisse; atque postquam nil melius inveniri potuerit, restare scilicet, ut quae inventa sint, exornentur & colantur. Atque optandum quidem esset, haec ita se habuisse. Rectius illud & verius; istas scientiarum mancipationes nil aliud esse, quam rem ex paucorum hominum confidentia, & reliquorum socordia & inertia natam: postquam enim scientiae, per partes diligenter fortasse excultae & tractatae fuerint, tum forte exortus est aliquis, ingenio audax & propter methodi compendia acceptus & celebratus, qui specie tenus artem constituerit, revera veterum labores corruperit. Id tamen posteris gratum esse solet, propter usum operis expeditum & inquisitionis novae taedium & impatientiam. Quod si quis, consensu jam inveterato, tanquam temporis judicio moveatur; sciat se ratione admodum fallaci & infirma niti. Neque enim nobis magna ex parte notum est, quid in scientiis & artibus, variis saeculis & locis, innotuerit & in publicum emanarit; multo minus, quid a singulis tentatum sit & secreto agitatum. Itaque nec temporis partus, nec abortus extant in fastis. Neque ipse consensus, ejusque diuturnitas magni prorsus aestimandus est. Utcunque enim varia sint genera politiarum, unicus est status scientiarum, isque semper fuit, & mansurus est popularis. Atque apud populum plurimum vigent doctrinae, aut contentiosae & pugnae, aut speciosae & inanes; quales videlicet assensum aut illaqueant aut demulcent. Itaque maxima ingenia proculdubio per singulas aetates vim passa sunt; dum viri captu & intellectu non vulgares, nihilo secius existimationi suae consulentes, temporis & multitudinis judicio se submiserint. Quamobrem altiores contemplationes, si forte usquam emicuerint, opinionum vulgarium ventis subinde agitatae sunt & extinctae: adeo ut tempus, tanquam fluvius, levius & inflata ad nos devexerit, gravia & solida demerferit. Quin & illi ipsi authores, qui dictaturam quandam in scientiis innaverunt, & tanta confidentia de rebus pronuntiant; cum tamen per intervalla ad se redeunt, ad querimonias de subtilitate naturae, veritatis recessibus, rerum obscuritate, causarum implicatione, ingenii humani infirmitate se

se convertunt: in hoc nihilo tamen modestiores, cum malint communem hominum & rerum conditionem causari, quam de seipsis confiteri. Quin illis hoc fere solenne est, ut quicquid ars aliqua non attingat, id ipsum ex eadem arte impossibile esse statuant. Neque vero damnari potest ars, quum ipsa disceptet & judicet. Itaque id agitur, ut ignorantia etiam ab ignominia liberetur. Atque quae tradita & recepta sunt, ad hunc fere modum se habent: quoad opera sterilia, quaestionum plena; incrementis suis tarda & languida; perfectionem in toto simulantia, sed per partes male impleta; delectu autem popularia & authoribus ipsis suspecta, ideoque artificiis quibusdam munita & ostentata. Qui autem & ipsi experiri, & se scientiis addere, earumque fines proferre statuerunt, nec illi a receptis prorsus desciscere ausi sunt, nec fontes rerum petere. Verum se magnum quiddam consequutos putant, si aliquid ex proprio inferant & adjiciant; prudenter secum reputantes, se in assentiendo modestiam, in adjiciendo libertatem tueri posse. Verum dum opinionibus & moribus consulitur, mediocritates istae laudatae, in magnum scientiarum detrimentum cedunt: Vix enim datur, auctores simul & admirari & superare. Sed fit aquarum more, quae non altius ascendunt, quam ex quo descenderunt. Itaque hujusmodi homines emendant nonnulla, sed parum promovent; & proficiunt in melius, non in majus. Neque tamen defuerunt, qui ausu majore, omnia integra sibi duxerunt, & ingenii impetu usi, priora prosterndo & destruendo, aditum sibi & placitis suis fecerunt; quorum tumultu non magnopere profectum est; quum philosophiam & artes non re ac opere amplificare, sed placita tantum permutare, atque regnum opinionum in se transferre contenderint: exiguo sane fructu, quum inter errores oppositos, errandi causae sint fere communes. Si qui autem nec alienis, nec propriis placitis obnoxii, sed libertati faventes, ita animati fuere, ut alios secum simul quaerere cuperent; illi sane affectu honesti, sed conatu invalidi fuerunt. Probabiles enim tantum rationes sequuti videntur, & argumentorum vertigine circumaguntur, & promiscua quaerendi licentia severitatem inquisitionis enervarunt. Nemo autem reperitur, qui in rebus ipsis & experientia moram fecerit legitimam. Atque nonnulli rursus qui experientiae undis se commiserunt & fere mechanici facti sunt; tamen in ipsa experientia erraticam quandam inquisitionem exercent, nec ei certa lege militant: Quin & plerique pusilla quaedam pensa sibi proponere, pro magno ducentes, si unum aliquod inventum eruere possint; instituto non minus tenui, quam imperito. Nemo enim rei alicujus naturam, in ipsa re, recte aut feliciter perscrutatur; verum post laboriosam experimentorum variationem, non acquiescit, sed invenit quod ulterius quaerat. Neque illud imprimis omittendum est, quod omnis in experiendo industria, statim ab initio opera quaedam destinata praepropero & intempestivo studio captavit; fructifera (inquam) experimenta, non lucifera, quaesivit; nec ordinem divinum imitata est, qui primo die lucem tantum creavit, eique unum diem integrum attribuit; neque illo die quicquam materiati operis produxit, verum sequentibus diebus ad ea descendit. At, qui summas dialecticae partes tribuerunt, atque inde fidissima scientiis praesidia comparari putarunt, verissime & optime viderunt, intellectum humanum sibi permisum, merito suspectum esse debere. Verum infirmior omnino est malo medicina; nec ipsa mali experta: Siquidem dialectica quae recepta est, licet ad civilia & artes, quae in sermone & opinione positae sunt, rectissime adhibeatur; naturae tamen subtilitatem longo intervallo non attingit; & pre-

faciendo quod non capit, ad errores potius stabiliendos & quasi figendos, quam ad viam veritati aperiendam valuit.

QUARE ut quae dicta sunt complectamur, non videtur hominibus aut aliena fides, aut industria propria, circa scientias hactenus feliciter illuxisse; praesertim quum & in demonstrationibus & in experimentis adhuc cognitis, parum sit praesidii. Aedificium autem hujus universi, structura sua, intellectui humano contemplanti, instar labyrinthi est; ubi tot ambigua viarum, tam fallaces rerum & signorum similitudines, tam obliquae & implexae naturarum spirae & nodi, undequaque se ostendunt: Iter autem, sub incerto sensus lumine, interdum affulgente interdum se condente, per experientiae & rerum particularium sylvas, perpetuo faciendum est. Quin etiam duces itineris (ut dictum est) qui se offerunt, & ipsi implicantur; atque errorum & errantium numerum augent. In rebus tam duris de judicio hominum ex vi propria, aut etiam de felicitate fortuita, desperandum est: Neque enim ingeniorum quantacunque excellentia, neque experiendi alea saepius repetita, ista vincere queat. Vestigia filo regenda sunt: omnisque via usque a primis ipsis sensuum perceptionibus, certa ratione munienda. Neque haec ita accipienda sunt, ac si nihil omnino tot saeculis, tantis laboribus actum sit: Neque enim eorum quae inventa sunt, nos poenitet. Atque antiqui certe in iis, quae in ingenio & meditatione abstracta posita sunt, mirabiles se viros praestitere. Verum, quemadmodum saeculis prioribus, cum homines in navigando per stellarum tantum observationes cursum dirigebant, veteris sane continentis oras legere potuerunt, aut maria aliqua minora & mediterranea trajicere; priusquam autem oceanus trajiceretur, & novi orbis regiones detegerentur, necesse fuit, usum acus nauticae, ut ducem viae magis fidum & certum, innotuisse: simili prorsus ratione, quae hucusque in artibus & scientiis inventa sunt, ea hujusmodi sunt, ut usu, meditatione, observando, argumentando, reperiri potuerint; utpote quae sensibus propiora sint & communibus notionibus fere subjaceant: Antequam vero ad remotiora & occultiora naturae liceat appellere, necessario requiritur, ut melior & perfectior mentis & intellectus humani usus & adoperatio introducatur.

Nos certe aeterno veritatis amore devicti, viarum incertis & arduis & solitudinibus nos commisimus; & divino auxilio freti & innixi, mentem nostram & contra opinionum violentias & quasi instructas acies, & contra proprias & internas haesitationes & scrupulos, & contra rerum caligines & nubes, & undequaque volantes phantasias, sustinuiamus; ut tandem magis fida & secunda indicia, viventibus & posteris comparare possemus. Qua in re si quid profecerimus, non alia sane ratio nobis viam aperuit, quam vera & legitima spiritus humani humiliatio. Omnes enim ante nos, qui ad artes inveniendas se applicuerunt, conjectis paulisper in res & exempla & experientiam oculis, statim, quasi inventio nil aliud esset quam quaedam excogitatio, spiritus proprios, ut sibi oracula exhiberent, quodammodo invocarunt. Nos vero inter res caste & perpetuo versantes, intellectum longius a rebus non abstrahimus, quam ut rerum imagines & radii (ut in sensu fit) coire possint; unde fit, ut ingenii viribus & excellentiae non multum relinquatur: Atque quam in inveniendis adhibemus humilitatem, eandem & in docendo sequuti sumus. Neque enim aut confutationum triumphis, aut antiquitatis advocationibus, aut auctoritatis usurpatione quadam, aut etiam obscuritatis velo, aliquam his nostris inventis maiestatem imponere aut conciliare conamur; qualia reperire non difficile esset ei, qui nomini suo, non animis aliorum lumen affundere conaretur. Non (inquam) ullam aut

vim aut insidias hominum judiciis fecimus aut paramus; verum eos ad res ipsas & rerum foedera adducimus; ut ipsi videant, quid habeant, quid arguant, quid addant, atque in commune conferant. Nos autem si qua in re vel male credidimus, vel obdormivimus & minus attendimus, vel defecimus in via & inquisitionem abruptimus; nihilominus iis modis, res nudas & apertas exhibemus, ut errores nostri, antequam scientiae massam altius inficiant, notari & separari possint; atque etiam ut facilis & expedita sit laborum nostrorum continuatio. Atque hoc modo, inter empiricam & rationalem facultatem (quarum morosa & inauspicata divortia & repudia, omnia in humana familia turbavere) conjugium verum & legitimum, in perpetuum, nos firmasse existimamus.

QUAMOBREM, quum haec arbitrii nostri non sint; in principio operis, ad Deum Patrem, Deum Verbum, Deum Spiritum, preces fundimus humillimas & ardentissimas, ut humani generis aerumnarum memores & peregrinationis istius vitae, in qua dies paucos & malos terimus; novis suis elemosynis, per manus nostras, familiam humanam dotare dignentur. Atque illud insuper supplices rogamus, ne humana divinis officiant; neve ex refectione viarum sensus, & accensione majore luminis naturalis, aliquid incredulitatis & noctis, animis nostris, erga divina mysteria oboriatur: sed potius, ut ab intellectu puro, a phantasiis & vanitate repurgato, & divinis oraculis nihilominus subdito & prorsus deditio, fidei dentur, quae fidei sunt. Postremo, ut scientiae veneno a serpente infuso, quo animus humanus tumet & inflatur, deposito, nec altum sapiamus, nec ultra sobrium, sed veritatem in charitate colamus.

PERACTIS autem votis, ad homines conversi, quaedam & salutaria monemus & aequa postulamus. Monemus primum (quod etiam precati sumus) ut homines sensum in officio, quoad divina, contineant. Sensus enim (instar solis) globi terrestri faciem aperit, coelestis claudit & obsignat. Rursus ne hujusce mali fuga, in contrarium peccent; quod certe fiet, si naturae inquisitionem ulla ex parte, veluti interdicto, separatam putant. Neque enim pura illa & immaculata scientia naturalis, per quam Adam nomina ex proprietate rebus imposuit, principium aut occasionem lapsui dedit: Sed ambitiosa illa & imperativa scientiae moralis, de bono & malo dijudicantis, cupiditas, ad hoc ut homo a Deo deficeret & sibi ipsi leges daret, ea demum ratio atque modus tentationis fuit. De scientiis autem quae naturam contemplantur, sanctus ille philosophus pronuntiat, *gloriam Dei esse celare rem; gloriam regis autem rem invenire*: non aliter, ac si divina natura, innocenti & benevolo puerorum ludo delectaretur, qui ideo se abscondunt ut inveniantur; atque animam humanam sibi collusorem in hoc ludo, pro sua in homines indulgentia & bonitate cooptaverit. Postremo omnes in universum monitos volumus, ut scientiae veros fines cogitent; nec eam aut animi causa petant, aut ad contentionem, aut ut alios despiciant, aut ad commodum, aut ad famam, aut ad potentiam, aut hujusmodi inferiora, sed ad meritum & usus vitae, eamque in charitate perficiant & regant. Ex appetitu enim potentiae, angeli lapsi sunt; ex appetitu scientiae homines: sed charitatis non est excessus; neque angelus aut homo per eam unquam in periculum venit.

POSTULATA autem nostra, quae afferimus, talia sunt. De nobis ipsis filemus: de re autem, quae agitur, petimus; ut homines eam non opinionem sed opus esse cogitent; ac pro certo habeant, non sectae nobis alicujus, aut placiti, sed utilitatis & amplitudinis humanae fundamenta moliri. Deinde,
ut

ut suis commodis aequi, exutis opinionum zelis & praejudiciis, in commune consulant, ac ab erroribus viarum atque impedimentis, nostris praefidiis & auxiliis liberati & muniti, laborum qui restant & ipsi in partem veniant. Praeterea, ut bene sperent, neque Instaurationem nostram, ut quiddam infinitum & ultra mortale fingant & animo concipiant; quum revera sit infiniti erroris finis & terminus legitimus; mortalitatis autem & humanitatis non sit immemor, quum rem non intra unius aetatis curriculum omnino perfici posse confidat, sed successioni destinat; denique scientias, non per arrogantiam in humani ingenii cellulis, sed submisit in mundo majore quaerat. Vasta vero, ut plurimum solent esse, quae inania: solida contrahuntur maxime & in parvo sita sunt. Postremo etiam petendum videtur (ne forte quis rei ipsius periculo nobis iniquus esse velit) ut videant homines, quatenus ex eo quod nobis asserere necesse sit (si modo nobis ipsi constare velimus) de his nostris opinandi, aut sententiam ferendi, sibi jus permissum putent: quum nos omnem istam rationem humanam praematuram, anticipantem & a rebus temere & citius quam oportuit, abstractam, (quatenus ad inquisitionem naturae) ut rem variam & perturbatam & male extructam, rejiciamus: Neque postulandum est, ut ejus judicio stetur, quae ipsa in judicium vocatur.

DISTRIBUTIO OPERIS.

Ejus constituuntur partes sex.

Prima, Partitiones scientiarum.

Secunda, Novum organum five indicia de interpretatione Naturae.

Tertia, Phaenomena universi, five historia naturalis & experimentalis ad condendam philosophiam.

Quarta, Scala intellectus.

Quinta, Prodromi, five anticipationes philosophiae secundae.

Sexta, Philosophia secunda, five scientia activa.

Singularum Argumenta.

PARS autem instituti nostri est, ut omnia, quantum fieri potest, aperte & perspicue proponantur. Nuditas enim animi, ut olim corporis, innocentiae & simplicitatis comes est. Pateat itaque primo ordo operis, atque ratio ejus. Partes operis a nobis constituuntur sex.

PRIMA pars exhibet scientiae ejus five doctrinae, in cujus possessione humanum genus hactenus versatur, summam, five descriptionem universalem. Visum enim est nobis, etiam in iis quae recepta sunt, nonnullam facere moram: eo nimirum consilio, ut facilius & veteribus perfectio, & novis aditus detur. Pari enim fere studio ferimur & ad vetera excolenda, & ad ulteriora assequenda. Pertinet etiam hoc ad faciendam fidem: juxta illud; non accipit indoctus verba scientiae, nisi prius ea dixeris, quae versantur in corde ejus. Itaque scientiarum atque artium receptarum oras legere, necnon utilia quaedam in illas importare, tanquam in transitu, non negligemus.

PARTITIONES tamen scientiarum adhibemus eas, quae non tantum jam inventa & nota, sed hactenus omissa & debita complectantur. Etenim inveniuntur in globo intellectuali, quemadmodum in terrestri, & culta pariter & deserta. Itaque nil mirum videri debet, si a divisionibus usitatis quandoque recedamus. Adjectio enim, dum totum variat, etiam partes earumque sectiones necessario variat: receptae autem divisiones, receptae summae scientiarum, qualis nunc est, tantum competunt.

CIRCA ea vero, quae ceu omissa notabimus, ita nos geremus; ut non leves tantum titulos & argumenta concisa eorum, quae desiderantur, proponamus: Nam siquid inter omissa retulerimus, (modo sit dignioris subjecti) cujus ratio paulo videatur obscurior; (adeo ut merito suspicari possimus, homines non facile intellecturos, quid nobis velimus, aut quale sit illud opus quod animo & cogitatione complectimur:) perpetuo nobis curae erit aut praecepta hujusmodi operis conficiendi, aut etiam partem operis ipsius jam a nobis confectam, ad exemplum totius subjungere: ut in singulis aut opera aut consilio juvemus. Etenim, etiam ad nostram existimationem, non solum aliorum utilitatem pertinere putavimus; ne quis arbitretur, levem aliquam de istiusmodi rebus notionem mentem nostram perstrinxisse; atque esse illa, quae desideramus ac prensamus, tanquam votis similia. Ea vero talia sunt, quorum & penes homines (nisi sibi ipsi defint) potestas plane sit, & nos apud nosmet rationem quandam certam & explicatam habeamus. Neque enim regiones metiri animo, ut augures, auspicioꝝ causa: sed intrare, ut duces, promerendi studio, suscepimus.

Atque haec prima operis pars est.

PORRO praeteriecti, artes veteres, intellectum humanum ad trajiciendum instruemus. Destinatur itaque parti secundae, doctrina de meliore & perfectiore usu rationis in rerum inquisitione, & de auxiliis veris intellectus: ut per hoc (quantum conditio humanitatis ac mortalitatis patitur) exaltetur intellectus & facultate amplificetur ad naturae ardua & obscura superanda. Atque est ea, quam adducimus, ars (quam interpretationem naturae appellare consuevimus) ex genere logicae; licet plurimum, atque adeo immensum quiddam interfit. Nam & ipsa illa logica vulgaris auxilia & praesidia intellectui moliri ac parare profitetur: & in hoc uno consentiunt. Differt autem plane a vulgari, rebus praecipue tribus: viz. ipso fine, ordine demonstrandi, & inquirendi initiis.

NAM huic nostrae scientiae finis proponitur; ut inveniantur non argumenta, sed artes; nec principia consentanea, sed ipsa principia; nec rationes probabiles, sed designationes & indicationes operum. Itaque ex intentione diversa, diversus sequitur effectus. Illic enim adversarius disputatione vincitur & constringitur: hic natura opere.

ATQUE cum hujusmodi fine conveniunt demonstrationum ipsarum natura & ordo. In logica enim vulgari opera fere universa circa syllogismum consumitur. De inductione vero dialectici vix serio cogitasse videntur; levi mentione eam transmittentes & ad disputandi formulas properantes. At nos demonstrationem per syllogismum rejicimus, quod confusus agat & naturam emittat e manibus. Tametsi enim nemini dubium esse possit, quin, quae in medio termino conveniunt, ea & inter se conveniant; (quod est mathematicae cujusdam certitudinis:) nihilominus hoc subest fraudis, quod syllogismus ex propositionibus constet, propositiones ex verbis, verba autem notionum tesserae & signa sint. Itaque si notiones ipsae mentis (quae verborum quasi anima sunt & totius hujusmodi structurae ac fabricae basis) male ac temere a rebus abstractae & vagae, nec satis definitae & circumscriptae, denique multis modis vitiosae fuerint, omnia ruunt. Rejicimus igitur syllogismum; neque id solum quoad principia, (ad quae nec illi eam adhibent) sed etiam quoad propositiones medias: quas educit sane atque parturit, utcumque syllogismus; sed operum steriles & a practica remotas & plane quoad partem activam scientiarum incompetentes. Quamvis igitur relinquamus syllogismo & hujusmodi demonstrationibus famosis ac jactatis, jurisdictionem in artes populares & opinabiles, (nil enim in hac parte movemus;) tamen ad naturam rerum, inductione per omnia & tam ad minores propositiones, quam ad majores, utimur. Inductionem enim censemus eam esse demonstrandi formam quae sensum tuetur, & naturam premit, & operibus imminet ac fere immiscetur.

ITAQUE ordo quoque demonstrandi plane invertitur. Adhuc enim res ita geri consuevit; ut a sensu & particularibus primo loco ad maxime generalia advoletur, tanquam ad polos fixos, circa quos disputationes vertantur; ab illis caetera per media deriventur: Via certe compendiaria, sed praecipiti; & ad naturam impervia, ad disputationes vero proclivi & accommodata. At secundum nos, axiomata continenter & gradatim excitantur, ut nonnisi postremo loco ad generalissima veniatur: Ea vero generalissima evadunt, non notionalia, sed bene terminata; & talia quae natura ut revera sibi notiora agnoscat, quaeque rebus haereant in medullis.

AT in forma ipsa quoque inductionis & judicio quod per eam fit, onus longe maximum movemus. Ea enim de qua dialectici loquuntur, quae procedit per enumerationem simplicem, puerile quiddam est & precario concludit, & periculo ab instantia contradictoria exponitur, & consueta tantum intuetur; nec exitum reperit.

ATQUI opus est ad scientias inductionis forma tali, quae experientiam solvat & separet, & per exclusiones ac rejectiones debitas necessario concludat. Quod si judicium illud vulgatum dialecticorum tam operosum fuerit & tanta ingenia exercuerit; quanto magis laborandum est in hoc altero, quod non tantum ex mentis penetralibus, sed etiam ex naturae visceribus extrahitur?

NEQUE tamen hic finis. Nam fundamenta quoque scientiarum fortius deprimimus & solidamus, atque initia inquirendi altius sumimus, quam adhuc homines fecerunt: ea subjiciendo examini, quae logica vulgaris tanquam fide aliena recipit. Etenim dialectici principia scientiarum a scientiis singulis tanquam mutuo sumunt: rursus notiones mentis primas venerantur: Postremo informationibus immediatis sensus bene dispositi acquiescunt. At nos logicam veram, singulas scientiarum provincias, majore cum imperio quam penes ipsarum principia sit, debere ingredi decrevimus; atque illa ipsa principia putativa ad rationes reddendas compellere, quousque plane consent.

Quod

Quod vero attinet ad notiones primas intellectus; nihil est eorum, quae intellectus sibi permixtus concessit, quin nobis pro suspecto sit; nec alio modo ratum, nisi novo iudicio se stiterit, & secundum illud pronuntiatum fuerit. Quinetiam sensus ipsius informationes multis modis excutimus. Sensus enim fallunt utique; sed & errores suos indicant: Verum errores praesto, indicia eorum longe petita sunt.

DUPLEX autem est sensus culpa: Aut enim destituit nos, aut decipit. Nam primo, plurimae sunt res quae sensum etiam recte dispositum, nec ullo modo impeditum, effugiunt; aut subtilitate totius corporis, aut partium minutiis, aut loci distantia, aut tarditate atque etiam velocitate motus, aut familiaritate objecti, aut alias ob causas. Neque rursus, ubi sensus rem tenet, prehensiones ejus admodum firmae sunt. Nam testimonium & informatio sensus semper est ex analogia hominis, non ex analogia universi: atque magno prorsus errore asseritur, sensum esse mensuram rerum.

ITAQUE ut his occurratur; nos multo & fido ministerio auxilia sensui undique conquisivimus & contraximus: ut destitutionibus substitutiones, variationibus rectificationes suppeditentur. Neque id molimur tam instrumentis, quam experimentis. Etenim experimentorum longe major est subtilitas, quam sensus ipsius, licet instrumentis exquisitis adjuti: (de iis loquimur experimentis, quae ad intentionem ejus quod quaeritur perite & secundum artem excogitata & apposita sunt.) Itaque perceptioni sensus immediatae ac propriae non multum tribuimus: sed eo rem deducimus, ut sensus tantum de experimento, experimentum de re judicet. Quare existimamus nos sensus (a quo omnia in naturalibus petenda sunt, nisi forte libeat infanire) antistites religiosos & oraculorum ejus non imperitos interpretes nos praestitisse: ut alii professione quadam, nos re ipsa sensum tueri ac colere videamur. Atque hujusmodi sunt ea, quae ad lumen ipsum naturae, ejusque accensionem & immisionem paramus: quae per se sufficere possent, si intellectus humanus aequus & instar tabulae abrasae esset. Sed cum mentes hominum miris modis adeo obsessae sint, ut ad veros rerum radios excipiendo sincera & polita area prorsus desit; necessitas quaedam incumbit, ut etiam huic rei remedium quaerendum esse putemus.

IDOLA autem, a quibus occupatur mens, vel adscititia sunt vel innata. Adscititia vero immigrarunt in mentes hominum, vel ex philosophorum placitis & sectis, vel ex perversis legibus demonstrationum. At innata inhaerent naturae ipsius intellectus, qui ad errorem longe proclivior esse deprehenditur, quam sensus. Utcunque enim homines sibi placeant & in admirationem mentis humanae ac fere adorationem ruant, illud certissimum est; sicut speculum inaequale rerum radios ex figura & sectione propria immutat; ita & mentem, cum a rebus per sensum patitur, in notionibus suis expediendis & comminiscendis, haud optima fide rerum naturae suam naturam inferere & immiscere.

ATQUE priora illa duo idolorum genera, aegre; postrema vero haec nullo modo evelli possunt. Id tantum relinquitur, ut indicentur; atque ut vis ista mentis insidiatrix notetur & vincatur, ne forte a destructione veterum, novi subinde errorum furculi ex ipsa mala complexione mentis pullulent; eoque res recidat, ut errores non extinguantur, sed permulentur: Verum e contra, ut illud tandem in aeternum ratum & fixum sit, intellectum nisi per inductionem, ejusque formam legitimam, judicare non posse. Itaque doctrina ista de expurgatione intellectus, ut ipse ad veritatem habilis sit; tribus redargutionibus absolvitur: Redargutione philosophiarum, redargutione

tione demonstrationum & redargutione rationis humanae nativae. His vero explicatis, ac postquam demum patuerit, quid rerum natura, quid mentis natura ferat; existimamus nos thalamum mentis & universi, pronuba divina bonitate, stravisse & ornasse. Epithalamii autem votum fit, ut ex eo connubio auxilia humana, & stirps inventorum, quae necessitates ac miseriae hominum aliqua ex parte doment & subigant, suscipiatur. Haec vero est operis pars secunda.

AT vias non solum monstrare & munire, sed inire quoque consilium est. Itaque tertia pars operis complectitur Phaenomena Universi; hoc est, omnigenam experientiam, atque historiam naturalem, ejus generis, quae possit esse ad condendam philosophiam fundamentalis. Neque enim excellens aliqua demonstrandi via, sive naturam interpretandi forma; ut mentem ab errore & lapsu defendere ac sustinere, ita ei materiam ad sciendum praebere & subministrare possit. Verum iis, quibus non conjicere & hariolari, sed invenire & scire propositum est; quique non fimiolas & fabulas mundorum comminisci, sed hujus ipsius veri mundi naturam introspicere & velut discere in animo habent; omnia a rebus ipsis petenda sunt. Neque huic labori & inquisitioni ac mundanae perambulationi, ulla ingenii aut meditationis aut argumentationis substitutio, aut compensatio sufficere potest; non si omnia omnium ingenia coierint. Itaque aut hoc prorsus habendum, aut negotium in perpetuum deferendum. Ad hunc vero usque diem ita cum hominibus actum est, ut minime mirum sit, si natura sui copiam non faciat.

NAM primo, sensus ipsius informatio, & deferens & fallens: Observatio indiligens & inaequalis & tanquam fortuita: Traditio, vana & ex rumore: Practica, operi intenta & servilis: vis experimentalis, caeca, stupida, vaga & praecepta: denique historia naturalis, levis & inops; vitiosissimam materiam intellectui ad philosophiam & scientias congefferunt.

DEINDE, praepostera argumentandi subtilitas & ventilatio, serum rebus plane desperatis tentat remedium: nec negotium ullo modo restituit, aut errores separat. Itaque nulla spes majoris augmenti ac progressus sita est, nisi in restauratione quadam scientiarum.

Hujus autem exordia omnino a naturali historia sumenda sunt, eaque ipsa novi cujusdam generis & apparatus. Frustra enim fuerit speculum expolire, si desint imagines: & plane materia idonea praeparanda est intellectui, non solum praesidia fida comparanda. Differt vero rursus historia nostra (quemadmodum logica nostra) ab ea quae habetur, multis rebus: sine, sive officio; ipsa mole & congerie; dein subtilitate; etiam delectu, & constitutione in ordine ad ea quae sequuntur.

PRIMO enim eam proponimus historiam naturalem, quae non tam aut rerum varietate delectet, aut praesenti experimentorum fructu juvet; quam lucem inventioni causarum affundat & philosophiae enutricandae primam mammam praebat. Licet enim opera atque activam scientiarum partem praecipue sequamur, tamen messis tempus expectamus, nec muscum & segetem herbidam demetere conamur. Satis enim scimus axiomata recte inventa, tota agmina operum secum trahere; atque opera non sparsim sed confertim exhibere. Intempestivum autem illum & puerilem affectum, ut pignora aliqua novorum operum propere captentur, prorsus damnamus & amovemus, ceu pomum Atalantae quod cursum retardat: Atque historiae nostrae naturalis officium tale est.

QUOAD congeriem vero, conficimus historiam non solum naturae liberae ac solutae; (cum scilicet illa sponte fluit, & opus suum peragit; qualis est historia

historia coelestium, meteororum, terrae & maris, mineralium, plantarum, animalium:) sed multo magis naturae constrictae & vexatae; nempe, cum per artem & ministerium humanum de statu suo detruditur, atque premitur & fingitur. Itaque omnia artium mechanicarum, omnia operativae partis liberalium, omnia practicarum complurium, quae in artem propriam non coaluerunt, experimenta, (quantum inquirere licuit & quantum ad finem nostrum faciunt) perscribimus. Quin etiam (ut quod res est eloquamur) factum hominum & speciosa nil morati, multo plus & operae & praesidii in hac parte, quam in illa altera, ponimus: quandoquidem natura rerum magis se prodit per vexationes artis, quam in liberate propria.

NEQUE corporum tantum historiam exhibemus, sed diligentiae insuper nostrae esse putavimus, etiam virtutum ipsarum (illarum dicimus, quae tanquam cardinales in natura censi possint, & in quibus naturae primordia plane constituuntur; utpote materia primis passionibus ac desideriiis; viz. Denso, raro, calido, frigido, consistenti, fluido, gravi, levi, aliisque haud paucis) historiam seorsum comparare.

ENIMVERO ut de subtilitate dicamus, plane conquirimus genus experimentorum longe subtilius & simplicius quam sunt ea quae occurrunt. Complura enim a tenebris educimus & eruimus, quae nulli in mentem venisset investigare, nisi qui certo & constanti tramite ad inventionem causarum pergeret; cum in se nullius magnopere sint usus; ut liquido appareat, ea non propter se quaesita esse; sed ita prorsus se habere illa ad res & opera, quemadmodum literae alphabeti se habeant ad orationem & verba: quae licet per se inutiles, eadem tamen omnis sermonis elementa sunt.

IN delectu autem narrationum & experimentorum melius hominibus cavisse nos arbitramur, quam qui adhuc in historia naturali versati sunt. Nam omnia fide oculata, aut saltem perspecta & summa quadam cum severitate recipimus: ita ut nil referatur auctum miraculi causa, sed quae narramus, a fabulis & vanitate casta & intemerata sint. Quinetiam & recepta quaeque ac jactata mendacia (quae mirabili quodam neglectu per saecula multa obtinuerunt & inveterata sunt) nominatim proscribimus & notamus, ne scientiis amplius molesta sint. Quod enim prudenter animadverit quidam; fabulas & superstitiones, & nugas, quas nutriculae pueris instillant, mentes eorum etiam serio depravare: ita eadem nos movit ratio, ut solliciti atque etiam anxii simus, ne ab initio, cum veluti infantiam philosophiae sub historia naturali tractemus & curemus, illa alicui vanitati assuescat. At in omni experimento novo & paulo subtiliore, licet (ut nobis videtur) certo ac probato, modum tamen experimenti, quo usi sumus, aperte subjungimus: ut, postquam patefactum sit, quomodo singula nobis constiterint; videant homines quid erroris subesse & adhaerere possit; atque ad probationes magis fidas & magis exquisitas (si quae sint) expergiscantur: Denique ubique monita & scrupulos, & cautiones aspergimus, religione quadam, & tanquam exorcismo omnia phantasmata ejicientes ac cohibentes.

POSTREMO, cum nobis exploratum sit, quantopere experientia & historia aciem mentis humanae disgreget; & quam difficile sit (praesertim animis vel teneris, vel praeoccupatis) a principio cum natura consuescere; adjungimus saepius observationes nostras, tanquam primas quasdam conversiones & inclinationes, ac veluti aspectus historiae ad philosophiam; ut & pignoris loco hominibus sint, eos in historiae fluctibus perpetuo non de-
tentos iri; utque, cum ad opus intellectus deveniatur, omnia sint magis in procinctu. Atque per hujusmodi (qualem describimus) historiam natura-

lem, aditum quendam fieri posse ad naturam tutum & commodum; atque materiam intellectui praeberi probam & praeparatam censemus.

POSTQUAM vero & intellectum fidissimis auxiliis ac praesidiis stipavimus, & justum divinorum operum exercitum severissimo delectu comparavimus; nil amplius superesse videtur, nisi ut philosophiam ipsam aggrediamur. Attamen in re tam ardua & suspensa, sunt quaedam quae necessario videntur interponenda; partim docendi gratia, partim in usum praesentem.

HORUM primum est, ut exempla proponantur inquirendi & inveniendi, secundum nostram rationem ac viam, in aliquibus subjectis repraesentata: sumendo ea potissimum subjecta, quae, & inter ea quae quaeruntur, sunt nobilissima, & inter se maxime diversa; ut in unoquoque genere exemplum non desit. Neque de iis exemplis loquimur, quae singulis praeceptis ac regulis illustrandi gratia adjiciuntur: (hoc enim in secunda parte operis abunde praestitimus) sed plane typos intelligimus & plasmata, quae universum mentis processum, atque inveniendi continuatam fabricam & ordinem in certis subjectis, iisque variis & insignibus, tanquam sub oculos ponant. Etenim nobis in mentem venit, in mathematicis, astante machina, sequi demonstrationem facilem & perspicuam: contra, absque hac commoditate, omnia videri involuta, &, quam revera sunt, subtiliora. Itaque hujusmodi exemplis quartam partem nostri operis attribuimus: quae revera nil aliud est, quam secundae partis applicatio particularis & explicata.

AT quinta pars ad tempus tantum, donec reliqua perficiantur, adhibetur: & tanquam foenus redditur, usque dum sors haberi possit. Neque enim finem nostrum ita petimus occaecati; ut, quae occurrunt in via utilia, negligamus. Quamobrem quintam partem operis ex iis conficimus, quae a nobis aut inventa, aut probata, aut addita sunt: Neque id tamen ex rationibus atque praescriptis interpretandi; sed ex eodem intellectus usu, quem alii in inquirendo & inveniando adhibere consueverunt. Etenim cum, ex perpetua nostra cum natura consuetudine, majora de meditationibus nostris, quam pro ingenii viribus, speramus; tum poterunt ista veluti tabernaculorum in via positorum vice fungi, ut mens ad certiora contendens in iis paulisper acquiescat. Attamen testamur interim, nos illis ipsis, quod ex vera interpretandi forma non sint inventa aut probata, teneri minime velle. Istam vero iudicii suspensionem, non est quod exhorreat quispiam in doctrina, quae non simpliciter nil sciri posse, sed nil nisi certo ordine & certa via sciri posse asserit: atque interea tamen certos certitudinis gradus ad usum & levamen constituit; donec mens in causarum explicatione consistat. Neque enim illae ipsae scholae philosophorum, qui Acatalepsiam simpliciter tenuerunt, inferiores fuere istis quae pronuntiandi licentiam usurparunt. Illae tamen sensui & intellectui auxilia non paraverunt, quod nos fecimus: sed fidem & auctoritatem plane sustulerunt; quod longe alia res est & fere opposita.

SEXTA tandem pars operis nostri (cui reliquae inserviunt ac ministrant) eam demum recludit & proponit philosophiam, quae ex hujusmodi (qualem ante docuimus & paravimus) inquisitione legitima, & casta, & severa educitur & constituitur. Hanc vero postremam partem perficere & ad exitum perducere, res est & supra vires, & ultra spes nostras collocata. Nos ei initia (ut speramus) non contemnenda, exitum generis humani fortuna dabit; qualem forte homines in hoc rerum & animorum statu, haud facile animo capere aut metiri queant. Neque enim agitur solum felicitas contemplativa, sed vere res humanae & fortunae, atque omnis operum potentia.

Homo

Homo enim naturae minister & interpres tantum facit & intelligit, quantum de naturae ordine, opere vel mente, observaverit : nec amplius scit, aut potest. Neque enim ullae vires causarum catenam solvere aut perfringere possint : neque natura aliter quam parendo vincitur. Itaque intentiones geminae illae, humanae scilicet scientiae & potentiae, vere in idem coincidunt : & frustratio operum maxime fit ex ignoratione causarum.

ATQUE in eo sunt omnia, si quis oculos mentis a rebus ipsis nunquam deiciens, earum imagines plane ut sunt, excipiat. Neque enim hoc siverit Deus, ut phantasiae nostrae somnium pro exemplari mundi edamus : sed potius benigne faveat, ut apocalypsim, ac veram visionem vestigiorum & sigillorum Creatoris super creaturas, scribamus.

ITAQUE tu Pater, qui lucem visibilem primitias creaturae dedisti, & lucem intellectualem ad fastigium operum tuorum in faciem hominis inspirasti ; opus hoc, quod a tua bonitate profectum, tuam gloriam repetit, tuere & rege. Tu, postquam conversus es ad spectandum opera quae fecerunt manus tuae, vidisti quod omnia essent bona valde ; & requievisti. At homo conversus ad opera quae fecerunt manus suae, vidit quod omnia essent vanitas & vexatio spiritus ; nec ullo modo requievit. Quare si in operibus tuis sudabimus, facies nos visionis tuae & sabbati tui participes. Supplices petimus, ut haec mens nobis constet : utque novis eleemosynis per manus nostras & aliorum, quibus eandem mentem largieris, familiam humanam dotatam velis.



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LECTORI S.

CUM Domino meo placuerit, eo me dignari honore, ut in edendis operibus suis opera mea usus sit; non abs re fore existimavi, si lectorem de aliquibus, quae ad hunc primum tomum pertinent, breviter moneam. Tractatum istum, de Dignitate & augmentis scientiarum, ante annos octodecim, edidit dominatio sua, lingua patria, in duos tantummodo libros distributum; & regiae suae majestati dicavit, quod & nunc facit. Non ita pridem animum adjecit, ut in Latinam linguam verteretur: Inaudiverat siquidem illud apud externos expeti: Quinetiam solebat subinde dicere, libros modernis linguis conscriptos, non ita multo post decocturos. Ejus igitur translationem, ab insignioribus quibusdam eloquentia viris elaboratam, propria quoque recensione castigatam, jam emit. Ac liber primus certe, quasi mera translatio est, in paucis admodum mutatus: At reliqui octo, qui Partitiones scientiarum tradunt, atque unico ante libro continebantur, ut novum opus, & nunc primum editum, prodit. Causa autem praecipua, quae dominationem suam movit, ut opus hoc retractaret, & in plurimis amplificaret, ea fuit; quod in Instauratione Magna (quam diu postea edidit) Partitiones scientiarum, pro prima Instaurationis parte constituit; quam sequeretur Novum Organum; dein Historia naturalis; & sic deinceps. Cum igitur reperiret partem eam de Partitionibus scientiarum jam pridem elaboratam, (licet minus solide quam argumenti dignitas postulare) optimum fore putavit, si retractaretur, & redigeretur in opus justum & completum. Atque hoc pacto, fidem suam liberari intelligit, de prima parte Instaurationis praestitam. Quantum ad opus ipsum, non est tenuitatis meae, de eo aliquid praefari. Praeconium ei, quod optime conveniat, existimo futurum illud, quod Demosthenes interdum dicere solebat de rebus gestis Atheniensium veterum; *Laudatorem iis dignum esse solummodo tempus.* Deum Opt. Max. obnixè precor, ut, pro dignitate operis, fructus uberes diuturnique & auctori & lectori contingant.

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FRAN.

Partiones Scientiarum & Argumenta Singularum
CAPITULUM
LIB. I.
Hic lib. I. continet omnes rationes philosophicas, & quodammodo christiana dilutionem.

FRANCISCI BARONIS

DE

VERULAMIO,

Vice-Comitis SANCTI ALBANI,

De Dignitate & Augmentis Scientiarum.

LIBRI IX.

AD REGEM SUUM.

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GUILLELMUS RAWLEY

Sacrae Theologiae Professor, Illustrissimus
DOMINI

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FRANCISCI BARONIS

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ALBANI



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LIBRI IX

AD REGEM SUUM.

F

Vol. I.

Partitiones Scientiarum & Argumenta Singulorum

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LIBER PRIMUS.

SUB veteri lege, rex optime, erant & spontaneae oblationes, & quotidiana sacrificia; haec ex rituali cultu, illae ex pia alacritate profectae. Arbitror equidem deberi tale quidpiam regibus a servis suis; ut scilicet quisque non solum muneris sui tributa, sed & amoris pignora deferat. Atque in prioribus illis, spero me minime defuturum; in posteriori autem genere dubitavi, quid potissimum sumerem: Satius autem visum est, hujusmodi aliquid deligere, quod potius ad personae tuae excellentiam, quam ad negotia coronae spectaret.

Ego saepissime de maiestate tua, ut debeo, cogitans, (missis aliis five virtutis five fortunae tuae dotibus,) magna prorsus afficior admiratione, cum intueor excellentiam earum in te virtutum, facultatumque, quas philosophi intellectuales vocant: Capacitatem ingenii tot & tanta complexam, firmitudinem memoriae, prehensionis velocitatem, iudicii penetrationem, elocutionisque ordinem simul & facilitatem. Subit profecto animum quandoque dogma illud Platicum, quo asseritur, *Scientiam nihil aliud esse, quam reminisceniam; animumque naturaliter omnia cognoscere, natae luci, quam specus corporis obumbraverat, subinde redditum*. Certe huius rei (si in quo alio) relucet in maiestate tua exemplum insignie; cui adeo prompta est mens ad concipiendam flammam, ubi vel levissima eam excitaverit objecta occasio, vel minima alienae cognitionis scintilla affulserit. Quemadmodum igitur, de regum sapientissimo, sacra perhibet scriptura, *Cor illi fuisse, tanquam arenam maris*: cuius quanquam massa praegrandis, partes tamen minutissimae; sic mentis indidit Deus maiestati tuae crasim plane mirabilem, quae cum maxima quaeque complectatur, minima tamen prehendat, nec patiatur effluere: cum perdifficile videatur, vel potius impossibile in natura, ut idem instrumentum & grandia opera & pusilla apte disponat. Quantum ad elocutionem tuam, occurrit illud Cornelii Taciti de Augusto Caesare; *Augusto, inquit, profluens, & quae principem virum deceret, eloquentia fuit*. Sane si recte rem perpendamus, omnis oratio aut laboriosa aut affectata aut imitatrix, quamvis aliquin excellens, nescio quid servile olet, nec sui juris est. Tuum autem dicendi genus vere regium est, profluens tanquam a fonte, & nihilominus, sicut naturae ordo postulat, rivis diductum suis, plenum facilitatis felicitatisque, imitans neminem, nemini imitabile. Atque sicut in rebus tuis, quae

tam

tam ad regnum, quam ad domum tuam spectant, virtus videtur cum fortuna certare; mores scilicet optimi cum felici regimine; spes tuae olim patienter & pie cohibitae cum fausta & opportuna speratorum adeptione; thori conjugalis sancta fides, cum fructu conjugii beato, in sobole pulcherrima; pia & principe christiano dignissima ad pacem propensio, cum simili vicinorum principum inclinatione, in idem votum feliciter conspirantium: Sic & in intellectus tui dotibus non levior exoritur lis & aemulatio, si eas, quae a natura ipsa praebitae sunt & infusae, cum instructissima gaza multiplicis eruditionis, & plurimarum artium scientia committamus. Neque vero facile fuerit, regem aliquem post Christum natum reperire, qui fuerit majestati tuae literarum divinarum & humanarum varietate & cultura comparandus. Percurrat, qui voluerit, imperatorum & regum seriem, & juxta mecum sentiet. Magnum certe quiddam praestare reges videntur, si delibantes aliorum ingenia ex compendio sapiant, aut in cortice doctrinae aliquatenus haereant; aut denique literatos ament evehantque. At regem, & regem natum, veros eruditionis fontes hausisse, imo ipsummet fontem eruditionis esse, prope abest a miraculo. Tuae vero majestati etiam illud accedit, quod in eodem pectoris tui scrinio, sacrae literae cum profanis recondantur; adeo ut cum Hermete illo Trismegisto, triplici gloria insigni- aris, potestate regis, illuminatione sacerdotis, eruditione philosophi. Cum igitur alios reges longe hac laude (proprie quae tua est) superes; aequum est, ut non solum praesentis saeculi fama & admiratione celebretur, aut etiam historiarum lumine posteritati transmittatur, verum ut solido aliquo in opere incidatur, quod & regis magni potentiam denotet, & regis tam insigniter docti imaginem referat.

QUARE (ut ad incoeptum revertar) nulla potior mihi visa est oblatio, quam tractatus aliquis eo spectans. Hujus argumentum duabus constabit partibus. In priori (quae levior est, neque tamen nullo modo praetermittenda) de scientiae & literarum per omnia excellentia agendum est; & simul de merito eorum, qui in iisdem provehendis operam strenue & cum judicio impendunt. Posterior vero pars (quod caput rei est) proponet, quid in hoc genere hucusque actum sit & perfectum; insuper & ea perstringet quae videntur desiderari; ut quamvis non ausim seponere aut deligere tuae quod praecipue majestati commendem, tamen multa & varia repraesentando, regias tuas cogitationes excitare possim, ut proprios pectoris tui thesauros excutias, atque inde pro magnanimitate tua atque sapientia, optima quaeque, ad artium & scientiarum terminos proferendos, depromas.

In ipso vestibulo prioris partis, ad purgandam viam & quasi indicendum silentium, quo melius audiantur testimonia de dignitate literarum, absque oblatione tacitarum objectionum, statui primo loco liberare literas opprobriis & vilipendiis, quibus impetit eas ignorantia; sed ignorantia, sub non uno schemate: modo in theologorum zelotypia, modo in politicorum supercilio, modo in ipsorum literatorum erroribus sese ostentans & prodens. Audio primos dicentes, scientiam inter ea esse, quae parce cauteque admit- tenda sunt: Scientiae nimium appetitum fuisse primum peccatum, unde hominis lapsus; hodieque haerere serpentinum quid in ea, siquidem ingre- diens tumorem inducit; *Scientia inflat*: Solomonem censere, *Faciendi libros nullum esse finem, multamque lectionem carnis esse afflictionem*; & alibi, *In multa sapientia multam esse indignationem*; & qui auget sci- entiam, augere & dolorem. D. Pauli monitum esse, *Ne decipiamur per inanem philosophiam*: Quin & experientia notum esse, doctissimos viros, haere-

haereticorum coryphaeos, doctissima saecula in atheisimum proclivia fuisse; contemplationem denique secundarum causarum authoritati primae causae derogare.

U^t igitur falsitatem hujus dogmatis, fundamentaque ejus male jacta aperiamus; cuivis obviam est istos non percipere, scientiam, quae ipsum peperit, non fuisse puram illam primigeniamque scientiam naturalem, cujus lumine homo animalibus in paradiso adductis nomina ex natura imposuit; sed superbam illam *Boni & Mali*, per quam excutere Deum, sibi ipse legem figere ambivit. Neque certe vis ulla scientiae, quanta quanta sit, inflat mentem, cum nihil implere animum nedum distendere possit; praeter Deum, Deique contemplationem. Quare Solomon, de duobus palmaris inventionis sensibus (visu atque auditu) loquens; ait, *Oculum videndo, aurem audiendo non satiari*. Quod si non sit impletio, sequitur, continens majus esse contento. Haud aliter de scientia ipsa animoque humano, (cui sensus sunt tanquam emissarii) definit his verbis, quae calendario suo ephemeridique, omnium rerum tempora describenti, subnectit, ita concludens; *Omnia Deus condidit, ut unumquodque pulchrum sit in tempore suo: Mundum quoque ipsum indidit cordi eorum: invenire tamen homo non potest opus, quod operatus est Deus, ab initio usque ad finem*. Quibus verbis haud obscure innuit, Deum fabricatum esse animum humanum instar speculi, totius mundi capacem, ejusque non minus sitientem quam oculum luminis: neque gestientem solum conspiciere varietates vicissitudinesque temporum, verum etiam perscrutandi explorandique immotas atque inviolabiles naturae leges & decreta ambitiosum. Et quamvis innuere videatur, summam illam naturae oeconomiam (quam appellat *Opus, quod operatur Deus ab initio usque ad finem*) non posse inveniri ab homine; hoc non detrahit captui humano, sed in impedimenta doctrinae rejiciendum; qualia sunt vitae brevitates, studiorum divortia, scientiarum traditio prava & infida, plurimaeque alia incommoda, quibus humana conditio irretitur: Si quidem nullam universi partem, ab humana disquisitione alienam esse, satis clare alibi docet, inquiens, *Spiritus hominis est tanquam lucerna Dei*, qua intima arcana explorat. Quare si tanta sit amplitudo captus humani, manifestum est, nullum esse periculum a quantitate scientiae, ut ut diffusa, ne aut tumorem inducat, aut excessum: sed a qualitate tantum, quae quantulacunque sit, si absque antidoto sua sumatur, malignum quid habet atque venenosum flatuosis symptomatis plenissimum. Haec antidotus, sive aroma, (cujus mixtio temperat scientiam, eamque saluberrimam efficit) est charitas. Quod etiam priori clausulae subjungit Apostolus, dicens *Scientia inflat, charitas autem aedificat*. Cui consonum est, quod alibi docet: *Si, inquit, linguis loquar Angelorum, vel hominum, charitatem autem non habeam, factus sum velut aes resonans, aut cymbalum tinniens*. Non quin eximium quid sit loqui linguis Angelorum & hominum, sed quia si segregetur a charitate, neque ad commune humani generis bonum dirigatur, potius inanem gloriam exhibebit quam solidum fructum. Censuram quod attinet Solomonis, de excessu legendi scribendique libros, & cruciatu spiritus e scientia oriundo; monitumque etiam Paulinum, *Ne decipiamur per inanem philosophiam*: si recte explicentur ea loca, optime ostendent veros cancellos & limites, quibus humana scientia circumsepitur; ita tamen ut liberum sit ei, absque omni coarctatione universam rerum naturam amplecti. Sunt enim limites tres. Primus, ne ita felicitatem collocemus in scientia, ut interim mortalitatis nostrae oblivio subrepat. Secundus, ne sic utamur scientia, ut anxietatem pariat, non animi

tranquillitatem. Tertius, ne putemus, posse nos, per naturae contemplationem mysteria divina assequi. Nam quantum ad primum, optime in eodem libro alibi se Solomon explicat. *Satis, inquit, perspexi, sapientiam tantum recedere a stultitia, quantum lucem a tenebris. Sapientis oculi in capite ejus, stultus in tenebris oberrat; sed simul didici moriendi necessitatem utrique esse communem.* De secundo certum est, nullam animi anxietatem aut perturbationem oriri e scientia, nisi tantum per accidens. Omnis enim scientia & admiratio (quae est semen scientiae) per se jucunda est. Cum autem conclusiones inde deducuntur, quae oblique rebus nostris applicatae, vel infirmos metus gignunt vel immodicas cupiditates, tum demum nascitur cruciatus ille & perturbatio mentis, qua de loquimur: tunc enim scientia non est amplius lumen siccum (ut voluit Heraclitus ille obscurus, *Lumen siccum optima anima;*) sed fit lumen madidum, atque humoribus affectuum maceratum. Tertia regula accuratorem paulo disquisitionem postulat, neque sicco pede praetereunda est. Siquis enim ex rerum sensibilibus & materialium intuitu, tantum luminis assequi speret, quantum ad patefaciendam divinam naturam aut voluntatem sufficiet, nae iste decipitur per inanem philosophiam. Etenim contemplatio creaturarum, quantum ad creaturas ipsas, producit scientiam; quantum ad Deum, admirationem tantum; quae est quasi abrupta scientia. Ideoque scitissime dixit quidam Platonius: *Sensus humanos solem referre, qui quidem revelat terrestrem globum, coelestem vero & stellas obsignat.* Sic sensus referant naturalia, divina occludunt. Atque hinc evenit, nonnullos e doctiorum manipulo in haeresin lapsos esse, quum ceratis sensuum alis innixi, ad divina evolare contenderent. Namque eos, qui autumant nimiam scientiam inclinare mentem in atheismum, ignorantiamque secundarum causarum, pietati erga primam obstetricari, libenter compellarem Jobi quaestione: *An oporteat mentiri pro Deo, & ejus gratia dolum loqui conveniat, ut ipsi gratificemur?* Liqueat enim, Deum nihil operari ordinario in natura, nisi per secundas causas, cujus diversum credi si vellent, impostura mera esset, quasi in gratiam Dei, & nihil aliud quam auctori veritatis immundam mendacii hostiam immolare. Quin potius certissimum est, atque experientia comprobatum, leves gustus in philosophia movere fortasse ad atheismum, sed pleniores haustus ad religionem reducere. Namque in limine philosophiae, cum secundae causae, tanquam sensibus proximae, ingerant se menti humanae, mensque ipsa in illis haereat atque commoretur, oblivio primae causae obrepere possit. Sin quis ulterius pergat, causarumque dependentiam seriem & concatenationem, atque opera providentiae intueatur, tunc secundum poetarum mythologiam facile credet, summum naturalis catena annulum pedi solii Jovis affigi. Ut semel dicam: Nemo male applicatae sobrietatis moderationisque famam captans, posse nos nimium progredi, in libris sive scripturarum sive creaturarum, theologia aut philosophia, existimet; quinimo excitent se homines & infinitos profectus audacter urgeant utrobique & persequantur; caventes tantum, ne scientia utantur ad tumorem, non ad charitatem, ad ostentationem non ad usum; & rursus, ne distinctas illas theologiae philosophiaeque doctrinas, earumque latices imperite misceant ac confundant.

ACCEDAMUS nunc ad opprobria, quibus literas aspergunt politici. Illa ejusmodi sunt: Artes emollire animos, militarique gloriae ineptos reddere: tum in politicis quoque corrumpere ingenia; quae vel nimis curiosa efficiunt ex varietate lectionis; vel nimis pertinacia ex rigore regularum; vel nimis tumida ex magnitudine exemplorum; vel nimis extravagantia ex dissimilitudine

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dine exemplorum: quin saltem utcunque avertere & alienare animos a negotiis & actione, otii ac secessus amorem instillantes: deinde rebus publicis inducere disciplinae relaxationem, dum unusquisque promptior est ad disputandum quam ad obtemperandum. Unde Cato Censorius, cum primis mortaliū sapiens, ubi juvenus Romana ad Carneadem philosophum, qui venerat Romam legatus, dulcedine atque majestate eloquentiae ejus capta, undique conflueret, frequenti senatu author fuit, ut expeditis negotiis, primo quoque tempore dimitterent hominem, ne civium animos inficeret & fascinaret, & nec opinantibus morum consuetudinumque patriarum mutationem induceret. Hoc etiam permovit Virgilium, (dum studia sua patriae existimationi posthaberet) ut artes politicas a literariis segregaret; illas Romanis vendicatis, has Graecis relinquens, in versibus illis decañtatis:

Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento:

Hae tibi erunt artes ——— Aen. vi. 851.

Videmus etiam, Anytum, Socratis accusatorem, pro crimine ei objecisse, quod vi & varietate sermonum ac disputationum suarum, auctoritatem & reverentiam legum consuetudinumque patriarum, apud adolescentes imminueret; quodque artem profiteretur perniciosam & periculo plenam, qua quis instructus, deteriorem causam meliorem faceret, veritatemque ipsam eloquentiae apparatu obrueret.

VERUM hae criminationes, caeteraeque ejusdem farinae, potius personatam gravitatem prae se ferunt, quam veritatis candorem. Testatur enim experientia, sicut unos atque eosdem homines, sic una eademque tempora, & rerum bellicarum & optimarum artium gloria floruisse. Viros quod attinet exemplo sit nobile par imperatorum, Alexander Magnus, & Julius Caesar dictator, alter Aristotelis in philosophia discipulus, alter Ciceronis in dicendo rivalis. Aut si quis requirat potius literatos, qui in claros imperatores evaserunt, quam imperatores, qui insigniter docti fuerunt; praesto est Epaminondas Thebanus, aut Xenophon Atheniensis: quorum ille primus fuit, qui fregit potentiam Spartanorum; hic autem primus, qui stravit viam ad everfionem monarchiae Persarum. Istud vero armorum literarumque quasi conjugium, clarius adhuc in temporibus, quam in personis elucescit, quanto nimirum saeculum homine objectum grandius est. Ipsa quippe eademque tempora, apud Aegyptios, Assyrios, Persas, Graecos, Romanosque, quae propter bellicam virtutem maxime celebrantur, etiam & literis plurimum fuerunt nobilitata; adeo ut gravissimi authores philosophique, & clarissimi duces atque imperatores, eodem saeculo vixerint. Nec sane aliter fieri potest: Quandoquidem ut in homine vigor corporis animique simul fere maturescunt, nisi quod ille hunc paulo antevertat: sic in rebus publicis militaris gloria literataque (quarum illa corpori respondet, haec animo) aut coaeva sunt, aut se proxime consequuntur.

JAM vero, eruditionem politicis impedimento esse potius quam adjumento, nil minus probabile. Fateamur omnes, temerarium quiddam esse empiricis medicis corpus & valetudinis curam tradere; qui solent pauca quaedam medicamenta, quae illis videntur panchresta, venditare, quorum fiducia nihil non audent tentare; cum tamen neque causas morborum, neque aegrotorum habitus, neque symptomatum pericula, neque veram sanandi methodum calleant. Videmus pariter, errare eos, qui ad causas & lites suas expediendas adhibent leguleios, in practica potius, quam in libris juris versatos, quibus

quibus os facile oblitur, si quid novum aut extra experientiae suae calles tritos occurrat: consimiliter non potest non esse periculosissimum, quoties summa rerum empiricis consiliariis praecipue mandatur. E contra, vix exemplum adduci possit reipublicae infelicitate administratae, ad clavum sedentibus viris eruditis. Quamvis enim in more sit politicis, literatos pedaneorum nomine elevare; historia tamen veritatis magistra in plurimis fidem facit, pupillares principes adultis longe praestitisse, (non obstante aetatis incommodo,) ea ipsa de causa, quam politici fugillant, quod scilicet tunc temporis a paedagogis administratum sit imperium. Quis ignorat, per decantatum illud quinquennium Neronis, onus rerum incubuisse Senecae paedagogo? Quin & Gordianus junior decennium laudis Mithrae paedagogo debuit. Neque infelicius imperium gessit Alexander Severus, dum minor fuit: Quo tempore omnia procurabant mulieres, sed ex consilio praeceptorum. Imo convertamus oculos ad regimen pontificium, ac nominatim Pii Quinti vel Sixti Quinti, nostro saeculo, qui sub initiis suis habiti sunt pro fraterculis rerum imperitis: reperiemusque, acta paparum ejus generis, magis esse solere memorabilia, quam eorum, qui in negotiis civilibus & principum aulis enutriti ad papatum ascenderint. Quamvis enim, qui in literis vitam maxime traduxerunt, minus solertes sint atque versatiles in occasionibus prensandis, atque accommodandis rebus; quo spectant ea, quae ab Italis Ragioni di Stato dicuntur, quorum nomen ipsum averfatus est Pius Quintus, solitus dicere; *Esse mera malorum hominum commenta, quae opponerentur religioni, & virtutibus moralibus*: In eo tamen abunde fit compensatio, quod per tutum planumque iter religionis, justitiae, honestatis, virtutumque moralium prompte atque expedite incedant: quam viam qui constanter tenuerint, illis alteris remediis non magis indigebunt, quam corpus sanum medicina. Porro autem curriculum vitae in uno homine suppeditare non potest exemplorum copiam, ad regendos eventus vitae, etiam in uno homine. Sicut enim interdum fit, ut nepos vel pronepos, avum vel proavum magis referat, quam patrem: eodem modo haud raro evenit, ut negotia praesentia magis quadrent cum exemplis vetustioribus quam cum recentioribus. Postremo unius ingenium tantum cedit amplitudini literarum, quantum privati reditus aerario.

Quod si detur, depravationes illas & impedimenta, quae a politicis imputantur literis, aliquid virium habere & veritatis; attamen simul monendum, eruditionem in singulis plus remedii quam mali afferre. Esto enim, literae tacita quadam vi animum reddunt incertum atque perplexum; at certe liquido praecipunt quomodo cogitationes sint expediendae, & quousque sit deliberandum, quando demum statuendum; imo ostendunt, quomodo res interim absque periculo trahi possint & suspendi. Esto etiam, animos efficiunt magis pertinaces, & difficiles; at simul docent, quae res demonstrationibus, quae conjecturis innituntur; neque minus distinctionum & exceptionum usum quam canonum & principiorum constantiam proponunt. Esto rursus, seducunt & detorquent animos exemplorum vel imparitate vel dissimilitudine. Nescio; sed satis novi, eas, tam circumstantiarum efficacias, quam comparisonum errores, & applicationum cautiones, explicare; adeo ut in universum magis corrigant animos quam corrumpant. Haec autem remedia insinuant undequaque literae, magna vi & varietate exemplorum. Perpendat quis errores Clementis septimi, a Guicciardino, qui ei fuit quasi domesticus, tam luculenter depictos; aut vacillationes Ciceronis, in epistolis ad Atticum, manu propria ad vivum resectas; om-

nino inconstantiam & crebras consiliorum mutationes vitabit : Inspiciat errores Phocionis ; pervicaciam exhorrebit : fabulam Ixionis legat ; & nimias spes & huiusmodi fumos ac nebulas dispellet : Intueatur Catonem secundum ; neque unquam migrabit ad antipodas, & contraria praesenti saeculo vestigia figet.

JAM qui putant literas desidiae amicas esse, otiique & secessus dulcedine perfundere animum ; mirum praestabunt, si quae assuefaciunt mentem perpetuae agitationi, socordiae patronas ostendant : cum contra vere affirmari possit, inter omnia hominum genera, nullum negotia amare propter ipsa negotia, praeter literatum. Alii enim res & negotia diligunt quaestus gratia, ut conductitii opus propter mercedem : Alii honoris ergo ; etenim dum res gerunt, vivunt in oculis hominum, existimationique suae inserviunt, alioqui evaniturae : Alii propter potentiam, & fortunae praerogativam, ut amicos remunerare, inimicos ulcisci possint : Alii ut facultatem aliquam suam, quam adamant, exercent, ac sibi ipsis hoc nomine saepius gratulentur & arrideant : Alii denique ut alios suos fines consequantur. Adeo ut, quod de gloriosis dici solet, eorum fortitudinem sitam esse in spectantium oculis ; sic huiusmodi hominum diligentia & strenuitas hoc videtur agere, aut ut alii plaudant, aut ut ipsi intra se gestiant. Soli literati negotiis & occupationibus delectantur, tanquam actionibus naturae consentaneis, & non minus salubribus animo, quam exercitatio est corpori, ipsam rem non emolumentum intuentes : ita ut omnium minime sint defatigabiles, si modo res sit huiusmodi, ut animum pro dignitate ejus impleat & detineat. Quod si reperiantur interdum nonnulli, in legendo strenui, in agendo cessatores ; non hoc a literis ortum habet, sed ab imbecillitate & mollitie quadam corporis, animive ; quales notat Seneca : *Quidam, inquit, tam sunt umbratiles, ut putent in turbido esse, quicquid in luce est.* Usuvenire poterit fortasse, ut huiusmodi ingenii sibi conscii, se dent literis ; eruditio autem ipsa huiusmodi ingenia minime indit aut progignit. Quod si quis illud nihilominus mordicus teneat, literas nimium absumere temporis, quod alias rectius impendi possit ; aio, neminem adeo distringi negotiis, quin habeat sua otii intervalla, donec agendi vices atque aestus refluant, nisi aut admodum hebes sit in expediendis negotiis, aut parum cum dignitate ambitiosus in negotiis cujuscunque generis captandis. Restat igitur quaerendum, quae in re & quomodo, has subsecivas horas collocare oporteat ; studiis an voluptatibus, genio an ingenio indulgendum ? Sicut recte respondit Demosthenes AEschini, homini voluptatibus dedito : *Qui cum per contumeliam objecisset, Orationes ejus lucernam olere : Pol, inquit, multum interest inter ea, quae ego ac tu ad lucernam facimus.* Quare neutiquam metuendum, ne literae eliminant negotia ; quin potius vindicant animum ab otio & voluptate, quae alias sensim ad utriusque damnum & negotiorum & literarum subintrare solent.

DEIN, quod oggerunt, literas reverentiam legum atque imperii convellere, calumnia mera est, nec probabiliter ad criminandum inducta. Nam qui caecam obedientiam fortius obligare contenderit, quam officium oculatum ; una opera asserat, caecum manu ductum certius incedere, quam qui luce & oculis utitur. Imo citra omnem controversiam, artes emolliunt mores, teneros reddunt, sequaces, cereos, & ad mandata imperii ductiles : ignorantia contra, contumaces, refractarios, seditiosos : Quod ex historia clarissime patet, quandoquidem tempora maxime indocta, inculta, barbara, tumultibus, seditionibus, mutationibusque maxime obnoxia fuerint.

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DE Catonis Censoris iudicio, hoc dictum esto, meritissimas eum blasphemiae in literas luisse poenas, cum septuagenario major, quasi repuerascens, Graecam linguam cupidissime addisceret. Ex quo liquet, priorem illam censuram Graecae literaturae, ex affectata potius gravitate, quam quod ita penitus sentiret, fluxisse. Ad Virgilii vero carmina quod attinet, utcumque illi libitum fuerit universo mundo insultare, Romanis asserendo artes imperandi, caeteras tanquam populares aliis relinquendo; in hoc tamen manifesto tenetur, Romanos nunquam imperii fastigium conscendisse, donec ad artium culmen simul pervenissent. Namque duobus primis Caesaribus, viris imperandi peritissimis, contemporanei erant optimus poeta ille ipse Virgilius Maro, optimus historicus Titus Livius, optimus antiquarius Marcus Varro, optimus aut optimo proximus orator Marcus Cicero; principes certe, ex omni memoria in sua quique facultate. Postremo, quantum ad Socratis accusationem, id dico tantum; recordemur temporum, quibus intentata est; nimirum sub triginta tyrannis, mortalium omnium crudelissimis, sceleratissimis, imperioque indignissimis: Qui, rerum & temporum orbis postquam circumactus esset, Socrates ille (flagitiosus scilicet) heroibus annumeratus est, & memoria ejus omnibus tam divinis quam humanis honoribus cumulata: quin disputationes ejus tanquam corruptrices morum prius habitae, pro praesentissimis mentis morumque antidodis ab omni posteritate celebrabantur. Atque haec sufficiant ad respondendum politicis, qui superciliosa severitate, aut fucata gravitate, ausi sunt literas incescere contumeliis; quae tamen confutatio impraesentiarum, nisi quod nesciamus an ad posteros permanaturi sint labores nostri, minus necessaria videatur; cum aspectus & favor duorum literatissimorum principum, Elizabethae reginae & majestatis tuae, tanquam Castoris & Pollucis, lucidorum siderum, tantum apud nos in Britannia literis amorem reverentiamque conciliaverint.

NUNC ad tertium vituperationum genus pervenimus, quod a literatis ipsis in literas redundat, altiusque caeteris solet haerere: Eae vel a fortuna, vel a moribus, vel a studiis ipsorum originem ducunt: Quarum prima extra potestatem ipsorum est, secunda extra rem, ut tertia sola proprie inquisitionem venire videatur. Quia tamen, non tam de vero rerum pondere, quam de vulgi aestimatione sermo instituendus est, haud abs re fuerit, etiam de alteris duabus pauca quaedam innuere.

QUA PROPTER dignitatis immutationes & quasi dehonestamenta, quae a literatorum fortuna literis imponuntur, fiuntur aut a paupertate & inopia ipsorum, aut a vitae genere obscuro & umbratili, aut ab occupationum, in quibus versantur, subjecto non admodum nobili.

QUANTUM ad paupertatem pertinet, quodque frequenter usuveniat, ut literati inopes sint & tenui plerumque origine, neque tam propere ditescant ac alii, qui quaestui solum inhiant: consultum foret, hunc locum de laude paupertatis, fratribus mendicantibus (pace eorum dixerim) exornandum tradere; quibus Machiavellus non parum tribuebat, cum diceret: *Jamdudum actum esset de regno sacerdotum, nisi reverentia erga fratres ac monachos, episcoporum luxum & excessum compensasset*: Pariter dicat quis, felicitatem & magnificentiam principum & nobillium, jam olim recidere potuisse in barbariem & sordes, nisi deberent literatis istis pauperibus civilis vitae culturam & decus. Sed missis his laudum aucupis, notatu dignum est, quam sacra atque veneranda res, per aliquot apud Romanos saecula, paupertas ipsa habita fuerit; quae tamen respublica nihil trahebat ex paradoxis. Sic enim praefatur T. Livius: *Aut me amor negotii suscepti fallit, aut nulla unquam*

quam respublica nec major, nec sanctior, nec bonis exemplis ditior fuit, nec in quam tam serae avaritia luxuriaque immigraverint, nec ubi tantus ac tamdiu paupertati ac parsimoniae bonus fuerit. Quin etiam postquam Roma jam degenerasset, legimus, cum Caesar dictator collapsam rempublicam instauraturum se profiteretur, quendam ex amicis ejus prompsisse sententiam, nihil tam expeditum esse ad id quod ageret, quam si divitiarum honos quoquo modo tolleretur. Verum, inquit, haec & omnia mala, pariter cum honore pecuniae desinent, si neque magistratus neque alia vulgo cupienda, vaenalia erunt. Denique quemadmodum vere dictum est, Ruborem esse colorem virtutis, licet quandoque oriatur ex culpa; ita recte statuas, paupertatem esse virtutis fortunam, quamvis interdum a luxu & incuria accersatur. Solomonis certe haec est sententia, Qui festinat ad divitias, non erit insons: & praeceptum, Veritatem eme, & noli vendere similiter scientiam & prudentiam; quasi aequum judicet, opes impendendas, ut doctrina paretur; non doctrinam eo vertendam ut opes congerantur.

Quid attinet dicere de vita illa privata & obscura, quam literatis objiciunt? Adeo tritum thema est, atque ab omnibus jactatum, otium & secesum (modo absint desidia & luxus) praeponere vitae forensi & occupatae, propter sectirritatem, libertatem, dulcedinem, dignitatem, aut saltem ab indignitatibus immunitatem, ut nemo tractet hunc locum, quin bene tractet: ita humanis conceptibus in experiendo & consensibus in approbando consonat. Hoc tantum adjiciam, eruditos, latentes in rebuspublicis, & sub oculis hominum minime degentes, similes esse imaginibus Cassii & Bruti, de quibus, in elatione Juniae non gestatis, cum aliae plurimae ducebantur, Tacitus; Eo ipso, inquit, praefulgebant, quod non visebantur.

De occupationum, quae literatis committuntur, vilitate, illud occurrit, quod demandetur iisdem puerorum ac juniorum institutio, cujus aetatis contemptus in magistros ipsos redundat. Caeterum, quam injusta sit haec obtrectatio, si non ex vulgi opinione sed ex sano judicio res perpendatur, inde licet aestimare, quod diligentiores sint omnes, in imbuenda testa recenti quam veteri; magisque solliciti sint, qualem admoveant terram tenerae plantae quam adultae: unde liquet, praecipuam curam, circa rerum & corporum initia versari. Rabbini, si placet, porrige aurem; Juvenes vestri visiones videbunt, & senes somniabunt somnia. Ex hoc textu colligunt, juventutem esse aetatem digniorem; quanto nimirum revelatio accedat clarior per visiones quam per somnia. Illud vero notatu omnino dignum, quod licet paedagogi, velut simiae tyrannidis, scenae sint ludibria, & temporum incuria in delectu ipsorum veluti obdormierit, vetus tamen querela sit, inde usque ab optimis & prudentissimis saeculis deducta, respublicas circa leges quidem nimium satagere, circa educationem indiligentes esse. Quae nobilissima pars priscae disciplinae, revocata est aliquatenus quasi postliminio in Jesuitarum collegiis; quorum cum intueor industriam solertiamque, tam in doctrina excolenda, quam in moribus informandis, illud occurrit Agefilai de Pharnabazo, Talis cum sis, utinam noster esses. Atque hactenus de opprobriis & literatorum fortuna & conditione desumptis.

Quod ad literatorum mores, res est ista potius ad personas, quam ad studia spectans. Reperiuntur proculdubio inter eos, quemadmodum in omnibus vitae ordinibus & generibus, tam mali quam boni; neque propterea non verum est, (quod asseritur) abire studia in mores; atque literas, nisi incidant in ingenia admodum depravata, corrigere prorsus naturam & mutare in melius.

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VERUNTAMEN diligenter mihi atque ingenue rem aestimanti, nullum occurrit dedecus, literis, ex literatorum moribus quatenus sunt literati, adhaerens: nisi forte hoc vitio vertatur, (cujus Demosthenes, Cicero, Cato secundus, Seneca, pluresque alii insimulantur) quod cum plerumque tempora de quibus legunt; illis in quibus vivunt, & quae praecepiuntur illis quae aguntur, meliora sint; ultra quam par est contendant, morum corruptelas ad praeceptorum & dogmatum honestatem retrahere & praeae se veritatis mores temporibus dissolutis imponere: De quo tamen abunde e propriis fontibus admoneri possunt. Solon enim interrogatus, an optimas civibus suis dedisset leges? *Optimas, inquit, ex illis, quas ipsi voluissent accipere.* Ita Plato, videns corruptiores suorum civium mores, quam ut ipse ferre posset, ab omni publico munere abstinuit, dicens: *Sic cum patria agendum esse ut cum parentibus; hoc est, suasu non violentia; obtestando non contestando.* Atque hoc ipsum cavet ille, qui a consiliis Caesari: *Non, inquit, ad vetera instituta revocamus, quae jam pridem corruptis moribus ludibrio sunt.* Cicero etiam hujus erroris arguit Catonem secundum, Attico suo scribens: *Cato optime sentit, sed nocet interdum rei publicae; loquitur enim, tanquam in republica Platonis, non tanquam in faece Romuli.* Idem Cicero molli interpretatione excusat philosophorum dicta & decreta duriori: *Isti, inquit, ipsi praeceptores & magistri, videntur fines officiorum paulo longius, quam natura vellet, protulisse, ut cum ad ultimum animo contendissemus, ibi tamen, ubi oportet, consisteremus.* Ipsemet tamen potuit dicere, *Monitis sum minor ipse meis:* quippe qui in eundem lapidem ipse, licet non tam graviter, impegit.

ALIUD quod eruditus non immerito fortasse objicitur vitium, hujusmodi est; quod honori aut emolumento patriarum suarum aut dominiorum, proprias fortunas aut praesidia postposuerint. Sic enim Demosthenes Atheniensibus suis, *Mea, inquit, consilia, si recte attendatis, non sunt ejus generis, per quae ego inter vos magnus, vos inter Graecos despectui sitis; sed talia, ut mihi saepenumero ea haud tutum sit dare, vobis autem semper utile amplecti.* Haud aliter Seneca, postquam quinquennium illud Neronis aeternae eruditorum magistrorum consecrasset gloriae, dominum suum, omnibus jam flagitiis inquinatissimum, libere atque fidenter monere non destitit, magno suo periculo, ac postremo praecipitio. Neque aliter potest se habere res: siquidem humanam mentem doctrina imbuunt vero sensu fragilitatis suae, instabilitatis fortunae, dignitatis animae & muneris sui; quarum rerum memores, nullo modo sibi persuadere possunt, fortunae propriae amplitudinem, tanquam praecipuum sibi bonorum finem statui posse. Quare sic vivunt, tanquam rationem reddituri Deo & dominis post Deum, sive regibus sive rebus publicis hac formula; *Ecce tibi lucrifeci*, non autem illa, *Ecce mihi lucrifeci.* At politicorum turba, quorum mentes in doctrina officiorum & in contemplatione boni universalis non sunt institutae & confirmatae, omnia ad se referunt; gerentes se pro centro mundi, ac si omnes lineae in se suisque fortunis debeant concurrere; de reipublicae navi, licet tempestatibus jactata, neutiquam solliciti, modo ipsis in scapha rerum suarum receptus datur & effugium. At contra, qui officiorum pondera, & philantiae limites didicerunt, munia sua stationesque, licet cum periculo, timentur. Quod si forte incolumes permaneant in seditionibus & rerum mutationibus, non id artibus aut versatili ingenio, sed reverentiae quam probitas etiam ab hostibus extorquet,tribuendum. Caeterum, quod attinet ad fidei constantiam & officiorum religionem, quas certe animis hominum inserit eruditio, utcunque

utcunque eae quandoque a fortuna mulctentur, aut ex malefânis politico-
rum principiis condemnentur, tamen palam scilicet apud omnes laudem re-
ferent, ut in hac re, longa defensione non sit opus.

ALIUD vitium literatis familiare, quod facilius excusari potest quam
negari: illud nimirum, quod non facile se applicent & accommodent; erga
personas, quibuscum negotiantur aut vivunt. Qui defectus e duabus ori-
tur causis: Prima est animi ipsius magnitudo, propter quam aegre se demit-
tere possunt ad observantiam unius alicujus hominis. Amantis verba sunt
non sapientis: *Satis magnum alteri theatrum sumus*. Neque tamen infi-
cias ibo, illum, qui aciem animi, instar oculi, non possit aequè contrahere
ac dilatare, insigni facultate ad res gerendas esse orbatum. Secunda vero
causa est probitas morum & simplicitas; quae tamen delectum judicii non
defectum in illis arguit. Veri enim & legitimi observantiae erga aliquam
personam limites non ultra porrigunt se, quam ita nosse illius mores, ut
absque offensione cum eo versari, eumque consilio, si opus sit, juvare, no-
bisque interim ipsis in omnibus cavere possimus: verum alienos affectus ri-
mari, eo fine, ut illum inflectas, verses, & ad libitum circumagas, hominis
est parum candidi, sed potius astuti & bifidi; id quod in amicitia vitiosum
fuerit, erga principes etiam inofficiosum. Mos enim orientis, quo nefas ha-
betur oculos in reges defigere, ritu quidem barbarus est, sed significatione
bonus: neque enim subditos decet, corda regum suorum, quae sacrae scrip-
turae inscrutabilia docent, curiosius rimari.

SUPEREST etiamnum aliud vitium, (quocum hanc partem concludam)
literatis saepius imputatum, videlicet quod in rebus exiguis & externis, (vul-
tu, gestu, incessu, sermonibus quotidianis & hujusmodi) deficient in obser-
vando decoro; unde homines imperiti, ex istis minutis leviculisque erro-
ribus, quanti sint in rebus majoribus tractandis conjecturam capiunt. Ve-
rum fallit eos plerunque hujusmodi judicium; imo sciant, responsum sibi
esse a Themistocle: Qui cum rogatus esset, ut fidibus caneret, arroganter
fatis ipse de se, sed ad praesens institutum perquam apposite respondit: *Se
quidem fidium rudem esse, sed quo pacto oppidum parvum in civitatem
magnam evadere posset, satis nosse*. Et sunt proculdubio multi politica-
rum artium apprime gnari, quibus tamen in communi vita & quotidianis
reculis nihil imperitius. Quin etiam hujusmodi fugillatores amandandi
sunt ad Platonis elogium de praeceptore suo Socrate, quem haud absimilem
dixit pharmacopolarum pyxidibus, quae exterius inducebantur fimiis, ululis
fatyrisque, intus vero pretiosos liquores & nobilia medicamenta recondita
habebant: Fatendo scilicet, quod ad vulgi captum & famam popularem;
prae se ferret nonnulla levia, atque etiam deformia, cum tamen animi interio-
ra summis tam facultatibus, quam virtutibus essent repleta. Atque de mo-
ribus literatorum haec haecenus.

INTERIM monere placet, nos nihil minus agere, quam ut patrocinemur
quibusdam professorum institutis abjectis & fordidis, quibus & se ipsos &
litteras dehonestarunt: quales erant apud Romanos, saeculis posterioribus,
philosophi quidam in familiis divitum, mensarumque eorum affeculae, quos
haud absurde dicas barbato parasitos. Cujus generis quendam lepide de-
scribit Lucianus, quem matrona nobilis, catulum suum Melitaeum in rheda
gestare voluit: quod cum ille officiose, sed indecenter faceret, Pussio sub-
fannans: *Vereor*, inquit, *ne philosophus noster e Stoico fiat Cynicus*. Ante
omnia vero, nihil tam offecit literarum dignitati, quam crassa & turpis adu-
latio, ad quam multi, neque sui indocti, & calamos & ingenia submittere,

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Hecubam in Helenam, Faustinam in Lucretiam, (ut ait Du-bartas) transformantes. Neque vero nimis laudo morem illum receptum, libros patronis nuncupandi, cum libri, praesertim qui hoc nomine dignandi, in veritatibus tantum & rationis clientelam se dare debeant. Melius veteres, qui non aliis quam amicis atque aequalibus, scripta sua dicare solebant, aut etiam nomina ejusmodi amicorum tractatibus suis imponere: quod si forte regibus, aut magnatibus opus nuncuparent, tum demum hoc factum est, cum argumentum libri personae tali conveniret. Haec autem & similia, reprehensionem potius merentur quam defensionem.

NEQUE hoc dico, quasi literatos culpem, si ad beatos & potentes viros quandoque se applicent. Recte enim Diogenes cuidam cum irrisione roganti: *Qui fieret, quod philosophi divites sectarentur, non divites philosophos?* respondit, non sine morfu, *Hoc ideo fieri, quod philosophi, quibus rebus indigeant, probe intelligant, divites non item.* Huic affine est illud Aristippi, cui nescio quid petenti cum non attenderet Dionysius, ille adorantis more abiecit se ad pedes ejus; qui tum demum auscultans petitioni annuit: Sed paulo post, quidam dignitatis philosophiae assertor increpuit Aristippum, quod demittendo se ad pedes tyranni pro tantilla re philosophiam ipsam contumelia affecisset: cui ille, *Suam id culpam non fuisse, respondit, sed Dionysii, qui aures gestaret in pedibus.* Quin prudens ille, non pusillanimis habitus est, qui in disputatione quadam cum Hadriano Caesare vinci se passus est; excusans factum, *Quod aequum esset ei cedere, qui triginta imperaret legionibus.* Atque propterea non sunt damnandi viri docti, ubi, cum res postulat, aliquid de gravitate sua remittant, sive imperante necessitate, sive impetrante occasione; quod quamvis humile videatur atque servile primo intuitu, tamen verius rem aestimanti, censentur non personae sed tempori ipsi servire.

PERGAMUS nunc ad errores, atque inania, quae in studiis ipsis virorum doctorum interveniunt, iisque se immiscent; id quod praecipue & proprie spectat ad praesens argumentum. Qua in re non est instituti nostri erroribus ipsis patrocinari, sed per eorum censuram & secretionem excutere quod sanum & solidum est atque a calumnia vindicare. Videmus enim, in more, praesertim apud invidos, esse, propter ea quae depravata sunt, etiam ea quae impolluta & in statu suo manserunt, fugillare; quemadmodum ethnici in primitiva ecclesia Christianos haereticorum vitiis aspergere solebant. Neque tamen consilium est mihi, examen aliquod accuratius instituere de erroribus & impedimentis literarum, quae interiora & a captu vulgi remotiora; sed de illis tantum verba facere, quae cadunt sub communi & populari observatione & nota, aut saltem ab ea non longe recedunt.

QUARE tria praecipue deprehendo vana & inania in literis, quae anfas praecipue praebuerunt ad obtrectandum. Eas enim res pro vanis ducimus, quae aut falsae sunt aut frivolae; in quibus scilicet, aut veritas deficit aut usus: Illos etiam homines vanos & leves existimamus, qui aut ad falsa creduli, aut in rebus exigui usus curiosi. Curiositas autem, aut in rebus ipsis versatur, aut in verbis; quando nimirum, aut in rebus inanibus opera infunditur, aut circa verborum delicias nimium infundatur. Quocirca, non certae magis experientiae quam rectae etiam rationi consonum videtur, ut tres ponantur doctrinarum intemperies. Prima est doctrina phantastica, secunda doctrina litigiosa, tertia doctrina fucata & mollis: vel sic; vanae imaginationes, vanae altercationes, vanae affectationes. Ac quidem ordiar ab ultima.

INTEMPERIES ista, in luxurie quadam orationis sita (licet olim per vices in pretio habita fuerit) circa Lutheri tempora miris modis invaluit. In causa praecipue fuit, quod fervor & efficacia concionum tunc temporis, ad populum demulcendum & alliciendum maxime vigeat: Illa autem popolare genus orationis poscebant. Accedebat odium & contemptus, illis ipsis temporibus, ortus erga scholasticos, qui stylo & scribendi genere utebantur valde diverso, verba licenter admodum cudentes nova & horrida, de orationis ornatu & elegantia parum solliciti, dummodo circuitionem evitarent & sensus ac conceptus suos acute exprimerent: atque hinc factum est, ut paulo postea, major apud plurimos coeperit haberi verborum cura quam rerum; plerisque magis comptam phrasim, teretem periodum, clausularum rythmos, troporum stellulas; quam pondus rerum, rationum nervos, inventionis acumen, aut iudicii limam affectantibus. Tum demum floruit Osorii Lusitani episcopi luxurians & diluta oratio. Tunc Sturmius in Cicerone oratore & Hermogene rhetore infinitam & anxiam operam consumpsit. Tunc Carrus & Aschamus apud nos, praelectionibus & scriptis suis Ciceronem & Demosthenem usque ad coelum evehentes, juvenes ad politum hoc & florens doctrinae genus invitarunt. Tunc Erasmus arripuit ansam introducendi ridiculam illam echo, *Decem annos consumpsi in legendo Cicerone*: cui echo respondit, one, asine. Scholasticorum vero doctrina despectui prorsus haberi coepit, tanquam aspera & barbara: Denique ut semel dicam, praecipua illorum temporum inclinatio & studium, potius ad copiam quam ad pondus deflexit.

Hic itaque cernere est primam literarum intemperiem, quum, ut diximus, verbis studetur non rebus: cujus etsi e citimis tantum temporibus protulerim exempla, tamen secundum majus & minus, & olim placuerunt ejus generis ineptiae, & deinceps placebunt. Jam vero fieri non potest, quin hoc ipsum, multum faciat ad doctrinae existimationem minuendam & elevandam, etiam apud vulgus imperitum, cum videant doctorum scripta, tanquam primam literam diplomatis, quae quamvis variis calami ductibus & flosculis variegata sit, litera tamen est unica. Ac mihi sane videtur perapposita hujusce vanitatis adumbratio, & quasi emblemata, Pygmaeonis illa infania; quid enim aliud sunt verba, quam imagines rerum, ut nisi rationum vigore animata sint, adamare illa idem sit, ac statuam deperire?

NEQUE tamen temere damnandum est, si quis philosophiae obscura & aspera, verborum splendore illustret & expoliat: Hujus enim rei magna adfuit exempla in Xenophonte, Cicerone, Seneca, Plutarcho, ipsoque etiam Platone: nec minor est utilitas. Quamvis enim diligentem veri cognitionem atque acre studium philosophiae res haec nonnihil impediat, quoniam praepere mentem confopit, atque ulterioris disquisitionis sitim & ardorem restringit; si quis tamen doctrinam ad usus civiles adhibeat (sermocinandi videlicet, consulendi, suadendi, argumentandi & similia;) omnia, quae cupiat, praeparata & adornata in hujusmodi authoribus reperiet. Veruntamen hujusce rei excessus adeo juste contemnitur, ut quemadmodum Hercules, cum videret in templo statuam Adonidis (Veneris deliciarum) indignabundus dixit, *Nil sacri es*; ita omnes Herculei literarum pugiles, id est, laboriosi atque constantes indagatores veritatis, hujusmodi delicias & lauticias, tanquam nil divini spirantes, facile spreverint.

PAULO sanius est aliud styli genus, neque tamen ipsum omnino vanitatis expers, quod copiae illi & luxuriae orationis, tempore fere succedit. Illud totum in eo est, ut verba sint aculeata, sententiae concisae, oratio denique potius

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tius versa, quam fusa; quo fit, ut omnia per huiusmodi artificium, magis ingeniosa videantur quam revera sint. Tale invenitur in Seneca effusius, in Tacito & Plinio secundo moderatius; atque nostri temporis auribus coepit esse non ita pridem accommodatum. Verum hoc ipsum mediocribus ingeniis gratum esse solet, adeo ut dignitatem quandam literis conciliet, attamen a iudiciis magis limatis merito fastiditur; & poni possit pro intemperie quadam doctrinae, cum sit verborum etiam & eorum concinnitatis aucupium quoddam. Atque hæc de prima literarum intemperie dicta sunt.

SEQUITUR ea intemperies in rebus ipsis, quam posuimus mediam, & *litigiosae subtilitatis* nomine designavimus: Estque illa, de qua modo diximus, aliquanto deterior. Ut enim rerum dignitas verborum cultui praeceat, sic, e contrario odiosior est vanitas in rebus quam in verbis. Qua in re, increpatio illa Paulina, non magis ad suam aetatem referri, quam ad sequentia tempora deduci potest; neque theologiam tantum, sed etiam omnes scientias respicere videtur. *Devita prophanas vocum novitates & oppositiones falsi nominis scientiae.* His enim verbis duo signa indiciaque scientiae suspectae atque e mentitae proponit. Primum est, vocum novitas & insolentia; alterum, rigor dogmatum, qui necessario oppositionem, & dein altercationes, quaestionesque inducit. Certe quemadmodum complura corpora naturalia, dum valent integra, corrumpuntur saepius & abeunt in vermes, eodem modo sana & solida rerum cognitio saepenumero putrescit & solvitur in subtiles, vanas, insalubres & (si ita loqui licet) vermiculatas quaestiones; quae motu quodam & vivacitate nonnulla praeditae videntur, sed putidae sunt & nullius usus. Hoc genus doctrinae minus sanae & se ipsam corrumpentis invaluit, praecipue apud multos ex scholasticis, qui summo otio abundantes, atque ingenio acres, lectione autem impares (quippe quorum mentes conclusae essent in paucorum authorum, praecipue Aristotelis dictatoris sui scriptis, non minus quam corpora ipsorum in coenobiorum cellis) historiam vero & naturae & temporis maxima ex parte ignorantes; ex non magno materiae famine, sed maxima spiritus, quasi radii, agitatione, operosissimas illas telas, quae in libris eorum extant, confecerunt. Etenim, mens humana si agat in materiam, naturam rerum & opera Dei contemplando, pro modo materiae operatur, atque ab eadem determinatur; si ipsa in se vertatur (tanquam aranea texens telam) tum demum interminata est, & parit certe telas quasdam doctrinae, tenuitate fili operisque admirabiles, sed quoad usum frivolas & inanes.

HAEC inutilis subtilitas sive curiositas duplex est: & spectatur aut in materia ipsa: qualis est inanis speculatio, sive controversia; cuius generis reperiuntur, & in theologia & in philosophia haud paucae: aut in modo & methodo tractandi; haec apud scholasticos fere talis erat. Super unaquaque re proposita formabant objectiones; deinde objectionum illarum solutiones; quae solutiones ut plurimum distinctiones tantum erant: cum tamen scientiarum omnium robur, instar fascis illius senis, non in singulis bacillis, sed in omnibus vinculo conjunctis consistat. Etenim symmetria scientiae, singulis scilicet partibus se invicem sustentibus, est, & esse debet, vera atque expedita ratio refellendi objectiones minorum gentium: Contra, si singula axiomata, tanquam baculos fascis seorsim extrahas, facile erit ea infirmare, & pro libito, aut flectere aut frangere: ut quod de Seneca dictum erat, *Verborum minutiis rerum frangit pondera*; vere de scholasticis usurpari possit, *quaestionum minutiis scientiarum frangunt robur*. Numnon in aula spatiosa consultius foret, unum accendere cereum, aut lychnuchum suspendere,

pendere, variis luminibus instructum, quo omnia simul perlustrentur, quam in singulos angulos quaquaversus exiguam circumferre lucernam? Atqui non abfimilis est eorum ratio, qui non tam veritatem perspicuis argumentis, authoritatibus, comparationibus, exemplis illustrare nituntur; quam in hoc solum incumbunt, ut minutos quosque scrupulos eximant, & captiunculas expediant, & dubitationes solvant; hoc pacto quaestionem ex quaestione gignentes; quemadmodum fit in superiori similitudine, ut lucerna in unum aliquem locum delata, alios circumquaque destituat & obscuret. Adeo ut Scyllae fabula ad vivum exprimat hoc genus philosophiae; cujus os & pectus virginem formosam praeferebant, infra vero fuisse aiunt:

Candida succinctam latrantibus inguina monstros. Virg. Ecl. 6. 75.

Sic generalia quaedam apud scholasticos invenias, quae pulchra sunt dictu, & non perperam inventa; ubi autem ventum fuerit ad distinctiones decisionesque, pro foecundo utero, ad vitae humanae commoda, in portentosas & latrantes quaestiones definunt. Itaque minime mirum, si hoc genus doctrinae, etiam apud vulgus hominum contemptui obnoxium fuerit, qui fere solent veritatem propter controversias circa eam motas aspernari, atque existimare eos errare omnes, qui nunquam inter se conveniant; cumque videant doctos homines inter se digladiari de rebus nullius momenti, facile illud Dionysii Syracusani arripiunt, *Verba ista sunt senum otiosorum.* Nihilominus certissimum est, si modo scholastici ad inexplebilem sitim veritatis & continuam agitationem ingenii, varietatem & multipliciter lectionis & contemplationum adjunxissent, insignia profecto illi extitissent lumina, omnesque artes & scientias mirifice provexissent. Haecenus de secunda literarum intemperie.

Ad tertiam quod attinet, quae ad falsitatem & mendacium spectat; una haec omnium turpissima est, quippe quae ipsam naturam animamque destruit scientiae; quae nihil aliud est quam veritatis imago. Nam veritas essendi & veritas cognoscendi, idem sunt; nec plus a se invicem differunt quam radius directus & reflexus. Hoc vitium itaque duplex vel potius duplicatum est, impostura & credulitas; haec decipitur, illa decipit. Quae licet videantur discrepantis naturae, alteraque a calliditate quadam, altera a simplicitate profecta, plerunque tamen coeunt. Ut enim in carmine habetur,

Percontatorem fugito; nam garrulus idem est:

innuendo, qui curiosus est, eundem esse & futilem: pariter fit, ut qui facile credat, idem libenter decipiat. Quemadmodum quoque fieri videmus in fama & rumoribus; ut qui cito iisdem fidem habeat, pari facilitate eos auxerit: Quod Tacitus prudenter innuit his verbis, *fingunt simul creduntque:* Adeo finitimae sunt, voluntas fallendi, & facilitas credendi.

Haec credendi recipiendique omnia (licet levi autoritate munita) facilitas, duorum generum est pro ratione subjectae materiae: aut enim creditur narrationi, five facto, (ut loquuntur Jurisconsulti) aut dogmati. In priori genere videmus, quanto dignitatis detrimento hic error affecerit ex ecclesiasticis historiis nonnullas; quae nimis faciles se praebuerunt, in prodendis transcribendisque miraculis, a martyribus, eremitis, anachoretis & aliis sanctis viris; atque ab eorum reliquiis, sepulchris, sacellis, imaginibus, editis. Eodem modo in naturali historia videmus multa temere, ac parum cum delectu aut

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judicio recepta & descripta; ut liquet ex scriptis Plinii, Cardani, Alberti, & plurimorum ex Arabibus, quae commentitiis & fabulosis narrationibus passim scatent, iisque non solum incertis & neutiquam probatis, sed perspicue falsis & manifesto convictis; ingenti philosophiae naturalis dedecore, apud homines graves & sobrios. In quo sane elucescit Aristotelis sapientia & integritas, qui, cum diligentem scripserit atque accuratam historiam animalium tam parce ficta aut fabulosa admiscuerit: quin potius auditiones admirandas, quas memoratu dignas judicavit, in unum commentariolum coniecit: prudenter perpendens perspicue vera (quae tanquam basis experientiae solida, philosophiae & scientiis substerni possint) haud temere esse cum rebus suspectae fidei miscenda; & rursus etiam rara atque insolita, quae plerisque incredibilia videntur, non omnino esse supprimenda, neque memoriae posterorum deneganda.

At illa altera credulitas quae non historiae aut narrationibus, sed artibus & opinionibus tribuitur duplex est: aut cum artibus ipsis, aut cum authoribus in arte nimium credimus. Artes ipsae, quae plus habent ex phantasia & fide quam ex ratione & demonstrationibus, sunt praecipue tres, astrologia, naturalis magia & alchymia; quarum tamen fines non sunt ignobiles. Proficetur enim astrologia superiorum in inferiora influxum & dominatum recludere: Magia sibi proponit naturalem philosophiam a varietate speculationum ad magnitudinem operum revocare: Chymica in se suscipit partes rerum heterogeneas, quae in corporibus naturalibus latent & implicantur, separare & extrahere: corporaque ipsa inquinata depurare, impedita liberare, immatura perficere. Sed viae atque rationes, quae ducere putantur ad hos fines tam in theoria illarum artium quam in praxi, erroris & nugarum plenae sunt. Neque adeo traditio ipsarum, ut plurimum, candida est sed artificii & latebris munita. Chymicae tamen hoc certe debetur quod vere comparari possit agricolae apud Aesopum, qui e vita exiturus dixit filiis, *Se illis vineam magnam auri in vinea, nec satis meminisse quo loco defossam, reliquisse*: Qui cum vineam diligenter ligonibus ubique invertissent aurum quidem repererunt nullum, sed tamen vindemiam insequentis anni, propter fossionem circa radices vitium, tulerunt longe uberrimam: sic strenui illi chymistarum labores & molimina circa aurum conficiendum haud paucis nobilibus inventis & experimentis, tum ad referendam naturam, tum ad usus vitae apprimè idoneis, quasi faciem accenderunt.

ILLA autem credulitas, quae certos scientiarum autores dictatoria quadam potestate munivit, ut edicant, non senatoria ut consulant, ingens damnum scientiis intulit, tanquam praecipua causa quae tantopere illas afflixit & depressit, ut absque insigni aliquo augmento exangues jacerent. Hinc nempe factum est, ut in artibus mechanicis primi inventores pauca excogitaverint, tempus reliqua suppleverit & perfecit; at in scientiis, primi authores longissime penetraverint, tempus plurima detriverit & corruperit. Sic videmus, tormentariam, nauticam, typographicam, sub initiis imperfectas & propemodum informes fuisse, & exeroentibus onerosas, temporis vero progressu expolitas & accommodatas. At contra philosophiae & scientiae Aristotelis, Platonis, Democriti, Hippocratis, Euclidis, Archimedis, in ipsis illis authoribus viguerunt, tractu temporis degenerarunt potius, & non minimum splendoris amiserunt. Cujus rei non est alia ratio, quam quod in artibus mechanicis ingenia multorum in unum coierunt, in artibus & scientiis liberalibus ingenia multorum sub uno succubuerunt; quem tamen ipsum saepenumero sequaces sui potius depravarunt quam illustrarunt. Ut

enim aqua non ascendet altius quam caput fontis, a quo promanat; ita doctrina ab Aristotele deducta, supra doctrinam Aristotelis nunquam assurgit. Ideoque etsi non displiceat regula, oportet discipulum credere; huic tamen coniungendum est, oportet iam edoctum iudicio suo uti. Discipuli enim debent magistris temporariam solum fidem, iudiciiue suspensionem, donec penitus imbiberint artes; non autem plenam libertatis ejurationem, perpetuamque ingenii servitutem. Quare, ut absolvam hanc partem, hoc tantum adjiciam; magnis authoribus suis sic constet honos, ut authori authorum & veritatis parenti, tempori, non derogetur.

EXPLICAVIMUS tandem tres doctrinae intemperies five morbos; praeter quos nonnulli sunt, non tam morbi confirmati quam vitiosi humores: qui tamen non adeo occulti sunt aut latentes, quin in multorum sensum & reprehensionem incurrant, ideoque neutiquam praetermittendi.

HORUM primus est immodicum studium duorum extremorum, antiquitatis & novitatis. Quae in re temporis filiae male patrissant: ut enim tempus prolem devorat, sic haec se invicem; dum antiquitas novis invidet augmentis, & novitas non sit contenta recentia adjicere, nisi vetera prorsus eliminet & rejiciat. Certe consilium Prophetarum vera in hac re norma est: *State super vias antiquas, & videte quatenus sit via recta & bona, & ambulate in ea.* Antiquitas eam meretur reverentiam, ut homines aliquandiu gradum sistere & supra eam stare debeant, atque undequaque circumspicere, quae sit via optima: quum autem de via bene confiterit, tunc demum non resistendum, sed alacriter progrediendum. Sane, ut verum dicamus, *Antiquitas saeculi juvenus mundi.* Nostra profecto sunt antiqua tempora, cum mundus jam senuerit, non ea quae computantur ordine retrogrado, initium sumendo a saeculo nostro.

ALIUS error e priori oriundus est suspicio quaedam & diffidentia quae nihil nunc posse inveniri autumat, quo mundus tam diu carere potuit: ac si illa obiectio conveniret erga tempus, quae Lucianus impetit Jovem, caeterosque ethnicorum deos: *Miratur enim, cur tot olim genuerint, liberos, nullos autem suo saeculo? interrogatque jocans, ecquid septuagenarii jam essent, aut lege Pappia contra senum nuptias lata constricti?* Sic videntur homines subvereri, ne tempus effectum jam factum sit & ad generationem ineptum. Quin potius levitas hominum atque inconstantia, hinc optime perspicui potest, qui, donec res aliqua perfecta sit, eam mirantur fieri posse; postquam facta semel est, iterum mirantur eam jam pridem factam non fuisse. Ita Alexandri expeditio in Asiam habita est initio pro vasto & arduo admodum negotio; quam tamen postea placuit Livio in tantum elevare, ut diceret de Alexandro, *Nil aliud, quam bene ausus est vana contemnere.* Idem Columbo evenit circa occidentalem navigationem. Sed in rebus intellectualibus hoc fit multo frequentius; uti videre est in plerisque propositionibus apud Euclidem, quae antequam demonstrantur, mirae videntur, & quibus quis non facile assenserit; post demonstrationem autem factam arripit eas mens per retractionem quandam (ut loquuntur jurisconsulti) tanquam ante perspectas & cognitatas.

ALIUS error superiori affinis, est eorum, qui omnium sectarum, atque haeresium veterum, postquam excussae fuissent & ventilatae, optimam semper obtinuisse, posthabitis aliis, existiment. Itaque putant, si quis de integro institueret inquisitionem & examen, non posset non incidere in aliquas ex rejectis opinionibus, & post rejectionem amissis & oblitteratis: quasi vero multitudo, aut etiam sapientes multitudinis deliniendae gratia, non illud saepe probarent,

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probarint, quod popolare magis atque leve sit quam quod solidum, atque alte radices agens. Tempus siquidem simile est fluvio, qui levia atque inflata ad nos devehit, solida autem & pondus habentia submergit.

ALIUS error a reliquis diversus est praematura atque proterva reductio doctrinarum in artes & methodos; quod cum fit, plerumque scientia aut parum aut nihil proficit. Nimirum ut ephebi, postquam membra & lineamenta corporis ipsorum perfecte efformata sunt, vix amplius crescunt; sic scientia, quamdiu in aphorismos & observationes spargitur, crescere potest & exurgere, sed methodis semel circumscripta & conclusa, expoliri forsan & illustrari, aut ad usus humanos edolari potest, non autem porro mole augeri.

ALIUS error succedens ipsi, quem postremo notavimus, est quod post singulas scientias & artes suas in classes distributas, mox a plerisque universalium rerum cognitioni & philosophiae primae renunciatur; quod quidem profectui doctrinarum inimicissimum est. Prospectiones fiunt e turribus, aut locis praealtis; & impossibile est, ut quis exploret remotiores interioresque scientiae alicujus partes, si stet super plano ejusdem scientiae, neque altioris scientiae veluti speculam conscendat.

ALIUS error fuit ex nimia reverentia, & quasi adoratione intellectus humani, unde homines abduxere se a contemplatione naturae, atque ab experientia, in propriis meditationibus & ingenii commentis susque deque volutantes. Caeterum praeclaros hos opinatores & (si ita loqui licet) intellectualistas, qui tamen pro maxime sublimibus & divinis philosophis haberi solent, recte Heraclitus perstrinxit; *Homines, inquit, quaerunt veritatem in microcosmis suis, non in mundo majori.* Respuunt enim quasi abecedarium naturae, primumque in operibus divinis tirocinium: quod si non facerent, potuissent fortasse gradatim & sensim, post literas simplices & deinceps syllabas, ad textum & volumen ipsum creaturarum expedite legendum ascendere. At illi contra, jugi mentis agitatione, urgent & tanquam invocant suos genios, ut vaticinentur eis edantque oracula, quibus merito & suaviter decipiuntur.

ALIUS error huic posteriori finitimus est, quod homines saepius imbuant & inficiant meditationes & doctrinas suas opinionibus quibusdam & conceptibus propriis, quos potissimum in admiratione habent; aut artibus, quibus maxime addicti & consecrati sunt; caetera omnia illis deliciis inficientes & quasi intingentes, licet fuco admodum fallaci. Sic suae philosophiae immiscuit Plato theologiam, Aristoteles logicam, secunda schola Platonis (Proclus scilicet & reliqui) mathematicas. Ista enim artes solebant illi tanquam filiolos suos primogenitos suaviari. At chymici e paucis experimentis ad foculum & fornacem novam philosophiam excuderunt. Et Gilbertus popularis noster philosophiam aliam ex magnete elicit. Sic Cicero, cum varias opiniones de natura animae recensens, tandem in musicum incidisset, qui animam esse harmoniam statuebat, facete dixit, *hic ab arte sua non recessit.* Sed de hoc genus erroribus apposite & prudenter ait Aristoteles, *Qui respiciunt ad pauca de facili pronunciant.*

ALIUS error est impatientia dubitandi & caeca festinatio decernendi, absque debita & adulta suspensione judicii. Nam bivium contemplationis non est dissimile bivio actionis a veteribus saepius memorato: cujus altera via initio plana & facilis erat, fine autem impervia; altera ingredienti aspera erat & confragosa, ubi paulo processeris, expedita & aequabilis. Haud secus in contemplationibus, si quis a certis ordiatur, in dubia desinet; si a dubiis incipiat, eaque aliquandiu patienter toleret, in certis exitum reperiet.

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SIMILIS error se ostendit in modo tradendi doctrinam, qui ut plurimum est imperiosus & magistralis, non ingenuus & liberalis; ita demum compositus ut potius fidem imperet quam examini subjiciatur. Non negaverim in summariis libellis, ad praxin destinatis, hanc formulam scribendi retineri posse: verum in justis tractatibus de scientiis utrumque extremum vitandum cenſeo: tam Velleii Epicurei, nil tam metuentis, quam ne dubitare de re aliqua videretur; quam Socratis & academiae, omnia in dubio reliquentium. Candori potius studendum, resque majore aut minore contentione tradendae, prout rationum momentis parcius aut plenius sint probatae.

ALII errores sunt in scopis, quos homines praefigunt sibi, & in quos conatus suos & labores dirigunt. Cum enim diligentiores literarum coryphaei ad id collimare debeant praecipue, ut arti, quam profitentur, aliquid praeclarum adjiciant: hi contra in secundis tantummodo consistere sat habent, vel subtilis interpretis, vel antagonistae vehementis & nervosi, vel methodici abbreviatoris nomen ambientes; unde reditus & vectigalia scientiarum augeri possunt, patrimonium & fundus minime.

OMNIUM autem gravissimus error in deviatione ab ultimo doctrinarum fine consistit. Appetunt enim homines scientiam, alii ex insita curiositate & irrequieta; alii animi causa & delectationis; alii existimationis gratia; alii contentionis ergo, atque ut in differendo superiores sint: plerique propter lucrum & victum; paucissimi, ut donum rationis divinitus datum in usum humani generis impendant. Plane, quasi in doctrina quaereretur lectulus, in quo tumultuans ingenium & aestuans requiesceret; aut xyſtus sive porticus, in quo animus deambulet liber & vagus; aut turris alta & edita, de qua mens ambitiosa & superba despectaret; aut arx & propugnaculum ad contentiones & proelia; aut officina ad quaestum & mercatum: & non potius lucuples armarium & gazophylacium, ad opificis rerum omnium gloriam & vitae humanae subsidium. Hoc enim illud est, quod revera doctrinam atque artes condecoraret & attolleret, si contemplatio & actio arctiore quam adhuc vinculo copularentur. Quae certe conjunctio talis foret, qualis est supremorum duorum planetarum syzygia, cum Saturnus, quietis & contemplationis dux, cum Jove, duce societatis agendique, conspirat. Quanquam cum de praxi atque actione loquor, nullo modo ad doctrinam professoriam & lucrosam innuo. Neque enim me fugit, quantopere hoc ipsum progressionem doctrinae & amplificationem moretur. Perinde quidem aureum malum ante oculos Atalantae projectum, quod ut tollat, dum flectit se, cursus interea impeditur:

Declinat cursus, aurumque volubile tollit.

NEQUE rursus mihi in animo est, quod de Socrate dictum erat, *Philosophiam devocare de coelo, ut tantummodo versaretur in terris*; hoc est, physicam seponi ut moralis philosophia & politica celebraretur sola: sed quemadmodum coelum & terra simul conspirant & consentiunt, ad hominum tuendam vitam atque juvandam; ita sane hic finis esse debet utriusque philosophiae, ut rejectis vanis speculationibus, & quicquid inane ac sterile est, conservetur quicquid solidum est ac fructuosum; ut hoc pacto, scientia non sit tanquam scortum ad voluptatem, aut tanquam ancilla ad quaestum; sed tanquam sponsa ad generationem, fructum atque solatium honestum.

JAM explicasse videor, & quasi dissectione quadam aperuisse vitiosos illos humores, aut saltem eorum praecipuos, qui non solum obſistere profectui

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literarum, verum etiam culpandis iisdem anſam dedere. Quod quidem ſi nimis ad vivum fecerim, meminiffe oportet *Fidelia vulnera amantis, ſed doſoſa oſcula malignantis*. Utcunque hoc certe mihi videor aſſecutus, ut merear fidem in ſequenti praeconio, cum in ſuperiori cenſura tam libere egerim. Neque tamen in animo eſt mihi panegyricum literarum ſcribere, aut hymnum muſis praecinere, licet forſitan diu jam ſit, ex quo ſacra earum rite celebrata ſint: ſed conſilium eſt abſque pigmentis & hyperbolis, verum doctrinae contra alias res pondus excipere & perpendere, verumque ejus valorem & pretium ex testimoniis divinis atque humanis exquirere.

PRIMO igitur quaeramus dignitatem ſcientiae in archetypo ſive exemplari: id eſt, in attributis atque actis Dei, quatenus revelantur homini & ſobrie indagari poſſunt. Qua in re non competit appellatio doctrinae, cum omnis doctrina ſit ſcientia acquiſita: nulla autem cognitio in Deo acquiſita eſt, ſed originalis. Itaque aliud quaerendum eſt nomen, ſapientia ſcilicet, ut ſacrae ſcripturae eam indignant.

SIC autem ſe res habet: In operibus creationis, duplicem virtutis divinae emanationem videmus, quarum una ad potentiam refertur, altera ad ſapientiam: illa praecipue cernitur in creanda mole materiae, haec in pulchritudine formae diſponenda. Hoc poſito, notandum eſt nihil in creationis hiſtoria obſtare, quin fuerit confuſa illa coeli terraeque maſſa & materia, unico temporis momento creata, cui tamen diſponendae digerendaeque ſex dies fuerunt attributi: adeo ſignanter Deus opera potentiae ac ſapientiae diſcriminavit. Cui accedit, quod de materiae creatione memoriae proditum non ſit, dixiſſe Deum, *fiat coelum & terra*, ſicut de ſequentibus operibus dictum eſt: ſed nude atque actualiter, *Deus creavit coelum & terram*: ita ut materia videatur, tanquam manu facta; formae vero introductio ſtylum habeat legis, aut decreti.

PERGAMUS a Deo ad Angelos, quorum natura dignatione eſt Deo proxima. Videmus in ordinibus Angelorum (quatenus fides adhibenda coeleſti illi hierarchiae, quae Dionyſii Areopagitae nomine evulgatur) primum locum obtinere Seraphim, Angelos ſcilicet amoris; ſecundum Cherubim, Angelos illuminationis: tertium autem locum & ſequentes, *Thronis, Principatibus*, caeteriſque Angelis potentiae & miniſterii concedi: ut ex hoc ipſo ordine ac diſtributione clarum ſit, Angelos ſcientiae & illuminationis, Angelis imperii & potentiae praeponi.

A ſpiritibus & intelligentiis ad formas ſenſibiles & materiatas ſcendenſes legimus primam formarum creaturarum fuiſſe lucem; quae in naturalibus & corporeis ſcientiae in ſpiritualibus atque incorporeis reſpondet.

SIC in diſtributione dierum videmus diem, qua requievit Deus & contemplatus eſt opera ſua, benediſſam fuiſſe ſupra omnes dies, quibus creata eſt & diſpoſita fabrica univerſi.

POST creationem abſolutam legimus hominem collocari in paradifo, ut illic operaretur: quod quidem opus aliud eſſe non poterat, quam quale pertinet ad contemplandum; hoc eſt, cujus finis non ad neceſſitatem aliquam, ſed ad delectationem & activitatem ſine moleſtia, referri poſſit: cum enim tunc temporis nulla potuerit eſſe creaturae reluctatio, nullus ſudor vultus, neceſſario ſequitur actiones humanas ad voluptatem & contemplationem, non ad laborem aut opus comparatas fuiſſe. Rurſus primae hominis actiones, quas in paradifo exercuit, duas ſummarias ſcientiae partes complexae ſunt: hae erant inſpectio creaturarum & impoſitio nominum. Nam ſcientia illa, quae lapſum introduxit, (quod & ante monuimus) non erat naturalis

ralis scientia circa creaturas, sed moralis scientia de bono & malo; ex hac suppositione, quod Dei mandata, aut vetita, non essent principia boni & mali, sed quod alias haberent illa origines; quorum cognitionem affectavit homo, scilicet ut totaliter a Deo deficeret, & sibi ipsi suoque arbitrio prorsus inniteretur.

VENIAMUS ad ea quae statim post lapsum contingere. Videmus (ut innumera sunt sacrarum scripturarum mysteria, salva semper veritate historica & literali) imaginem duarum vitarum, contemplativae nimirum & activae, in personis Abelis & Caini, inque eorum institutis & primitivis vivendi rationibus, delineatam: quorum alter pastor erat, (qui propter otium & quietem, liberumque coeli aspectum, typus est vitae theoricæ) alter agricola (laboribus scilicet fatigatus & aspectu in terram defixus:) Ubi cernere est favorem, electionemque divinam, ad pastorem accessisse, non ad agricolam.

SIC ante diluvium, sacri fasti, inter paucissima, quae de eo saeculo memorantur, dignati sunt memoriae prodere inventores musicae, atque operum metallicorum. Sequenti saeculo post diluvium gravissima poena, qua Deus humanam superbiam ultus est, fuit confusio linguarum, qua doctrinae liberum commercium & literarum ad invicem communicatio maxime interclusa est.

DESCENDAMUS ad Mosem legislatorem & primum Dei notarium, quem scripturae ornant hoc elogio; quod *gnarus & peritus esset omnis doctrinae Aegyptiorum*: Quae quidem gens inter vetustissimas mundi scholas numeratur. Sic enim Plato inducit Aegyptium sacerdotem dicentem Soloni; *Vos Graeci semper pueri estis, nullam vel scientiam antiquitatis vel antiquitatem scientiae habentes*. Perlustremus ceremoniam legem Moysi, reperiemusque, praeter Christi praefigurationem, distinctionem populi Dei a gentibus, exercitium obedientiae, aliosque ejusdem legis usus sacros: nonnullos doctissimorum Rabbiorum haud inutilem circa eam navasse operam, ut sedulo eruerent, quandoque naturalem quandoque moralem sensum ceremoniarum & rituum. Exempli gratia, ubi de lepra dicitur, *Si effloruerit discurrens lepra, homo mundus erit, & non recludetur: sin caro viva in eo erit, immunditiae condemnabitur, & ad sacerdotis arbitrium separabitur*. Ex hac lege colligit unus eorum axioma in natura; *Putredinem pestilentiorum esse ante, quam post maturitatem*. Alius morale documentum elicit, *homines flagitiis undique coopertos, minus corrumpere publicos mores, quam mediocriter & ex parte tantum malos*: adeo ut ex hoc & similibus locis ejus legis, praeter sensum theologicum, haud pauca ad philosophiam spectantia spargi videantur.

SI quis etiam eximium illum Jobi librum diligenter eolverit, plenum eum, & tanquam gravidum, naturalis philosophiae mysteriis deprehendet. Exempli gratia; circa cosmographiam & rotunditatem terrae, illo loco, *Qui extendit aquilonem super vacuum, & appendit terram super nihilum*. Ubi pensilis terra, polus arcticus, & coeli convexitas in extimis, haud obscure insinuantur. Rursus circa astronomiam & asterismos, illis verbis, *Spiritus ejus ornavit coelos, & obstetricante manu ejus eductus est Coluber tortuosus*. Et alio loco, *nunquid conjungere valebis micantes stellas Pleiadas, aut gyrum Arcturi poteris dissipare?* Ubi immota configuratio stellarum fixarum, paribus intervallis semper inter se distantium, elegantissime describitur. Item alio loco, *qui facit Arcturum & Orionem, & Hyadas & interiora austri*. Ubi iterum innuit depressionem antarctici poli, eamque designat nomine *interiorum austri*, quia australes stellae nostro hemisphae-

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hemisphaerio non cernuntur. Circa generationem animalium: *Annon sicut lac mulisti me, & sicut caseum coagulasti me?* &c. Circa rem metallicam, *habet argentum venarum suarum principia, & auro locus est in quo conflatur: ferrum de terra tollitur, & lapis solutus calore in aes vertitur.* Et sequentia in eodem capite.

PARITER & in persona regis Solomonis videmus donum sapientiae, tum in petitione ipsius, tum in concessione divina, omnibus terrenae & temporalis felicitatis bonis praelatum. Virtute cuius doni & concessionis, Solomon egregie instructus, non solum scripsit insignes illas parabolas sive aphorismos de divina atque morali philosophia; verum etiam composuit naturalem historiam omnium vegetabilium, *a cedro super montem, usque ad muscum super murum*, (quae nihil est aliud, quam rudimentum plantae putredinis & herbae medium) omniumque etiam, quae respirant & moventur. Imo idem rex Solomon, quamvis excelluerit opibus, magnificentia aedificiorum, classe, famulitio, nominis celebritate, & reliquis quae ad gloriam pertinent, nihil tamen, ex ista gloriae segete, sibi ipsi decerpit aut assumit, praeter decus inquirendi & inveniendi veritatem. Sic enim diserte ait; *Gloria Dei est celare verbum, & gloria regis investigare sermonem.* Ac si divina maiestas innoxio illo & benevolo puerorum ludo delectaretur, qui ideo se abscondunt, ut inveniantur: quasque etiam nihil esset honorificentius regibus, quam Dei collusores esse in eodem ludo; praesertim cum tot ingeniis imperent, tantasque opes praesto habeant, quibus omnis secreti investigatione absolvi possit.

NEC vero aliter haec dispensavit Deus, postquam Salvator noster in mundum venisset. Ille enim prius potentiam ostendit suam in profliganda ignorantia, ubi cum doctoribus & sacerdotibus differeret in templo, quam in subjuganda natura, tot & tantis editis miraculis. Adventus quoque Spiritus Sancti praecipue adumbratus atque expressus fuit in similitudine ac dono linguarum, quae sunt duntaxat vehicula scientiae.

ITA in seligendis illis instrumentis, quae adhibuit Deus ad fidem disseminandam, initio homines evocavit plane indoctos & illiteratos, praeterquam quod Spiritus Sancti afflatu instructi fuissent; quo evidentius virtutem suam immediatam & divinam declararet, omnemque humanam sapientiam deprimeret. Quamprimum autem consilium suum in hac parte perimpletum esset, mox in proxima successione temporum, divinam veritatem suam, aliis doctrinis veluti pedissequis comitatum, in mundum immisit. Itaque D. Pauli calamus, (qui inter Apostolos solus literatus fuit) in scripturis novi Testamenti, praecipue a Deo adhibitus est.

SIC & novimus, complures ex antiquis Episcopis & patribus, egregie fuisse in omni ethnicorum eruditione versatos. Adeo ut edictum Juliani, quo cautum est, ne Christiani ad scholas & gymnasia mitterentur, perniciosior machina ad expugnandam fidem Christianam, quam cruentae superiorum imperatorum persecutiones, habitum fuerit. Neque Gregorii primi, Episcopi Romani (caetera viri egregii) aemulatio & invidentia, qui ethnicorum auctorum & antiquitatum memoriam obliterare studebat, in bonam partem, etiam apud viros pios, accepta est. Quinimo sola Christiana Ecclesia, inter inundationes Scytharum a plagis septentrionalibus & Sarracenorum ab orientalibus, pretiosas gentilis eruditionis reliquias, jamjam funditus perituras, sinu & gremio suo conservavit. Nuper etiam intueri licet Jesuitas (qui partim studio proprio, partim ex aemulatione adversariorum, literis strenue incubu-

incubuerunt) quantum subsidii, viriumque, Romanae sedis reparandae & stabiliendae attulerint.

QUARE ut absolvam hanc partem, duo sunt praecipua officia & ministeria, praeter ornatum & illustrationem, quae fidei religionique humaniores literae persolvunt. Unum, quod efficacia sint incitamenta, ad divinam gloriam exaltandam & celebrandam: sicut enim Psalmi & aliae scripturae crebro nos invitant ad contemplationem praedicationemque magnificorum & admirabilium operum Dei; ita, si tantum in eorum specie externa, sicut sensibus nostris se exhibent, haeremus, eandem faceremus injuriam Majestati divinae, ac si de opulentia & copia nobilissimi gemmarii, ex iis quae palam exponuntur in pergula, judicarem. Alterum, quod singulare remedium antidotumque exhibeat philosophia, contra infidelitatem & errores. Nam Salvator noster inquit, *Erratis, nescientes scripturas & potentiam Dei*. Ubi duos libros, ne in errores incidamus, proponit nobis evolvendos: primo volumen scripturarum, quae voluntatem Dei, dein volumen creaturarum, quae potentiam revelant: Quorum posterior, veluti clavis est prioris, non solum intellectum nostrum aperiens, ad genuinam scripturarum mentem, ex generalibus regulis rationis & legibus sermonis expromendam; sed porro etiam praecipue fidem nostram referans, ut in seriam ingrediamur omnipotentiae divinae meditationem, cujus characteres maxime insculpti ejus operibus & incisi sunt. Tantum de divinis testimoniis ac judiciis pro vera dignitate & pretio doctrinae dictum sit.

QUANTUM ad humana testimonia & argumenta, tam latus aperitur campus, ut in tractatu hoc brevi & pressio, delectum potius adhibere deceat quam copiam. Primo itaque summus apud ethnicos honoris gradus fuit, divinam venerationem, cultumque consequi: (Quod quidem Christianis est tanquam fructus vetitus:) Nunc vero loquimur separatim de judiciis humanis. Itaque (ut coepimus dicere) apud ethnicos, ille, quem Graeci *Apotheosin*, Latini, *Relationem inter Divos* vocarunt, supremus honor fuit, qui homini ab homine tribui posset: praesertim ubi non ex decreto, aut edicto aliquo imperii, (ut Caesaribus apud Romanos,) sed ex opinione hominum & fide interna, ultro deferretur: Cujus honoris tam excelsi, gradus quidam erat & terminus medius: Quippe supra humanos honores, heroici numerabantur & divini. In quorum distributione hunc ordinem tenuere veteres rerumpublicarum conditores, legislatores, tyrannicidae, Patres patriae, quique in rebus civilibus optime meruerunt, insigniti sunt titulo heroum tantum, aut semideorum: Quales fuere Theseus, Minos, Romulus, caeterique. Ex altera parte, inventores & authores novarum artium, quique vitam humanam novis commodis & accessionibus dotarunt, semper consecrati sunt inter deos ipsos majores; quod Cereri, Baccho, Mercurio, Apollini & aliis contigit: Quod certe jure & sano cum judicio factum est. Nam priorum benemerita intra unius aetatis aut nationis limites, fere coercentur; nec assimilia sunt imbris tempestivis & benignis, qui quamvis frugiferi sint atque optabiles, tamen pro illa tempestate tantum qua decidunt, atque pro amplitudine tractus terrae quam irrigant, utiles sunt. Posteriorum vero beneficia, ut ipsius solis & coelestium munera, temporibus perpetua, locis infinita sunt. Illa rursus, cum contentione & perturbatione, ut plurimum conjuncta sunt; haec habent verum characterem divinae praesentiae, veniuntque in aura leni, absque tumultu aut strepitu.

NEQUE sane doctrina meritum in civilibus & in reprimendis incommodis, quae homo homini infert, multum cedit illi alteri, in sublevandis humanis

manis necessitatibus, quae ab ipsa natura imponuntur. Atque hoc genus meriti optime adumbratum fuit sub illa ficta narratione de theatro Orphei, ubi singulae bestiae avesque congregatae sunt, quae appetituum suorum in-
natorum immemores, praedae, ludi, pugnae, amice placideque una stete-
re, citharae concentu & suavitate captae: Cujus sonus ubi aut cessaret,
aut majori sonitu obrueretur, omnes illico animantes ad ingenium redibant.
Qua in fabula eleganter describuntur ingenia & mores hominum, qui variis
& indomitis cupiditatibus agitantur, lucri, libidinis, vindictae: qui tamen
quamdiu aures praebent praeceptis & suasionibus religionis, legum, magi-
strorum, in libris, sermonibus & concionibus, eloquenter & suaviter modu-
lantibus, tam diu pacem colunt & societatem; sin ista fileant, aut seditio-
nes & tumultus obstrepant, omnia dissiliunt & in anarchiam atque confu-
sionem relabuntur.

SED enim hoc clarius cernitur, cum reges ipsi, aut magnates, aut prae-
fecti eruditione praediti sint. Ut ut enim suis addictus nimium partibus vi-
deatur, qui dixit, *tum demum respublicas fore felices, cum aut philosophi
regnant, aut reges philosophantur*; hoc tamen experientia notum est, sub
eruditis principibus & custodibus reipublicae saecula maxime felicia fuisse.
Quamvis enim reges ipsi suos habeant errores & vitia, affectibus scilicet &
pravis consuetudinibus pro more caeterorum hominum obnoxii; tamen do-
ctrinarum si accedat lumen, anticipatae quaedam notiones religionis, pruden-
tiae, honestatis, retinent eos & ab omni praecipiti & immedicabili excessu
& errore refrenant; aurem semper vellent, etiam cum consilarii & do-
mestici silent. Quin senatores ipsi & consilarii, qui literis exculsi sunt, so-
lidioribus innituntur principiis, quam qui ab experientia tantum edocti sunt;
illis ex longinquo prospicientibus pericula & mature propulsantibus, cum
isti tantum ex propinquo & cominus sapiant, nihil videntes, nisi quod im-
minet, & tunc demum agilitate ingenii sui, se in ipso periculorum articulo
expedire & eripere posse confidentes.

QUAE felicitas temporum sub eruditis principibus (ut semper brevitati stu-
deam, adhibens non nisi lectissima quaeque exempla maxime illustria) prae-
cipue cernitur eo in saeculo, quod a morte Domitiani imperatoris, usque ad im-
perium Commodi defluxit; successionem sex principum eruditorum, aut cer-
te eruditioni impense faventium, complectente; omniumque, si temporalia
bona spectemus, quae unquam vidit Roma, totius orbis tunc epitome, lon-
ge florentissimo. Id quod Domitiano, pridie ejus dici, quo interfectus est, in
somnia praemonstratum erat. Quippe qui videre visus est, *Caput aureum sibi
pone cervicem enatum esse*: Quod sane vaticinium aureis illis subsequenti-
bus saeculis adimpletum est: De quibus sigillatim, sed brevissime, verba
faciam.

NERVA vir doctus fuit, Apollonii illius Pythagorei familiaris & quasi disci-
pulus: Qui etiam fere expiravit in versu illo Homeri.

Telis Phoebe tuis lacrymas ulciscere nostras.

TRAJANUS non ipse quidem doctus, sed doctrinae admirator & erga litera-
tos munificus, bibliothecarum institutor & in cujus aula (licet imperatoris
bellicosi) professores & paedagogos gratiosissimos fuisse, memoriae proditum
est. Adrianus curiosissimus mortalium & inexplabilis omnis varietatis &
secreti investigator. Antoninus subtilis & quasi scholasticus, unde etiam
Cimini sector vocatus est. Ex divis fratribus autem Lucius Commodus,
molliori

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molliori literarum genere eruditus. Marcus etiam cognomine ipso philosophus. Hi principes, ut doctissimi, ita & optimi fuerunt. Nerva clementissimus imperator, quique, si nihil aliud, orbi Trajanum dedit. Trajanus omnium qui imperarunt & belli & pacis artibus maxime florens: Idem imperii fines longissime protulit; idem vim dominationis modestissime cohibuit: Maximorum etiam extructor operum; unde a Constantino, Parietaria per invidiam vocatus est, propter nomen ejus tot parietibus incisum. Adrianus temporis ipsius aemulus: Injurias enim & ruinas temporis, in quoquo genere, cura & munificentia sua, reparavit. Antoninus, (ut etiam appellatus est) vir maxime Pius, nativa quadam & insita bonitate, omnibus ordinibus gratus, cujusque regnum (licet haud breve) omnis calamitatis expers. Lucius Commodus fratri quidem bonitate cedens, reliquos imperatores plurimos superans. Marcus vir ad exemplar virtutis compositus, cuique scurra ille, in convivio deorum, nihil habuit, quod objiceret, praeter patientiam erga mores uxoris. In hac itaque continua sex principum serie, videre cuius liceat felicissimos fructus doctrinae, in imperio collocatae, in maxima orbis terrarum tabula depictos.

JAM vero doctrina, non in civilia tantum atque artes pacis, influxum habet, sed & in militari virtute exercet vim suam ac potentiam; ut clare perspicitur in exemplis Alexandri Magni, & Caesaris Dictatoris; quorum antea obiter meminimus, nunc vero ea paulo fusius retractabimus. Horum virtutes militares & res in bello gestas, supervacaneum esset notare, aut recensere, cum in eo genere mundi miracula extiterint: sed de amore ipsorum & studio erga literas, necnon in iisdem excellentia propria, non alienum erit, si pauca subjungamus.

EDUCATUS fuit Alexander, edoctusque ab Aristotele (philosopho certe magno) qui nonnullos e libris suis philosophicis ei nuncupavit: a latere illius nunquam discedebat Callisthenes, alique pereruditi viri, qui castra sequebantur, & perpetui erant omnium ejus itinerum & expeditionum comites: quo autem pretio literas habuerit, haud pauca liquido demonstrant: veluti invidia, qua dignam censuit Achillis fortunam, quod gestarum rerum, laudumque suarum, Homerum praeconem invenerat: Judicium de pretiosa Darii arcula, inter reliqua spolia reperta, de qua cum quaestio moveretur, quidnam potissimum dignum esset, quod in ea asservaretur, ipse, cum alii alia dicerent, pro Homeri operibus sententiam tulit: Epistola objurgatoria ad Aristotelem missa, postquam libros physicorum edisset, in qua expostulat, quod philosophiae mysteria evulgasset; simulque rescribit, malle se omnibus doctrina & cognitione, quam potentia ac imperio praecellere. Sunt & alia quae huc spectant. Ipse vero quam egregie animum excoluisset doctrina, in omnibus ejus dictis & responsis apparet, vel potius refulget, eruditione plenissimis; in quibus licet numero pauca sint, quae adhuc supersint, singularum scientiarum vestigia alte impressa reperias.

IN moralibus observetur primo Alexandri apophthegma circa Diogenem, & adverte (si placet) si forte non unam ex gravissimis quaestionibus moralis philosophiae constituat: *Utrum qui fruitur externis bonis felicior sit an qui contemnit?* Cum enim Diogenem cerneret tam parvo contentum, conversus ad circumstantes, qui ejus conditionem subsannabant: *Nisi essem, inquit, Alexander, optarem esse Diogenes.* At Seneca in hac comparatione Diogenem praetulit cum diceret, *Plus erat quod Diogenes nollet accipere, quam quod Alexander posset dare.*

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IN naturalibus, observetur, illud, quod crebro usurpabat, *In duabus se rebus mortalitatem suam maxime percipere, somno & libidine*: quod sane dictum ex intima naturali philosophia depromptum est, non tam Alexandrum, quam Aristotelem aut Democritum sapiens, cum tam indigentia quam redundantia naturae, per illa duo designata, mortis sint tanquam arrhabones.

IN poëticis, observetur dictum illud, quum sanguine e vulneribus ejus effluente, accerferet unum ex adulatoribus, qui ei divinitatem tribuere solebat: *Spesta, inquit; hominis iste sanguis est, non talis liquor, qualem dixit Homerus Veneris e manu manasse, vulnerata a Diomede*; hoc dicto & poëtas & assentatores suos, & se ipsum ridens.

IN dialecticis, accipe reprehensionem illam argutiarum dialecticarum, circa rejicienda & retorquenda argumenta, in dicto suo, quo perstrinxit Cassandrum, delatores patris sui Antipatri repellentem. Cum enim Alexander forte dixisset, *Numquid putas, hos homines tam longum iter suscepturos fuisse, nisi justam doloris causam habuissent?* Respondit Cassander, *Imo hoc ipsum animos eis dedit, quod sperabant longinquitatem viae obstituram, quo minus calumnia proderetur.* Euge, inquit rex, *strophas Aristotelis, rem pro & contra detorquentes.* Attamen hac ipsa, quam in alio carpebat, arte, cum res postularet, in commodum suum uti probe noverat. Ita enim accidit, ut Callisthenes (quem odio clam habebat, quod novae ejus inter divos relationi refragaretur) in quodam convivio rogatus esset ab una discumbentibus, ut oblectationis gratia (cum esset vir eloquentissimus) thema aliquod pro arbitrio sibi fumeret, de quo subito diceret; ille autem annuens & laudes gentis Macedonicae eligens, mirifico cum omnium applausu disseruit: at neutiquam hoc delectatus Alexander, subjecit, *In bona causa, facile est cuilibet esse eloquenti; quin verte, inquit, stylum & quid contra nos possis, audiamus.* Callisthenes negotium in se recepit, idque tam acerbe, tamque aculeate praestitit, ut Alexander interpellans diceret: *Etiam malus animus, aequae ac bona causa, indit eloquentiam.*

IN rhetoricis, ad quae tropi & ornamenta pertinent, ecce tibi elegantissimum metaphorae usum, qua Antipatrum imperiosum & tyrannicum praefidem perstrinxit. Cum enim amicus quidam Antipatri laudaret eum coram Alexandro, quod tam moderatus esset, neque in Persicum, prout alii praefecti, luxum, usumque purpurae, veteri Macedoniae amictu exuto, degeneraret: *At intus, inquit Alexander, Antipater est totus purpureus.* Etiam & illa metaphora insignis: cum Parmenio ad eum accederet, in campis Arbellae; eique ingentem hostium exercitum monstraret, qui oculis subjacens noctu, propter infinitum numerum ignium, veluti alterum firmamentum stellatum repraesentabat; ideoque consuleret, ut nocturno proelio illos invaderet: *Nolo, inquit Alexander, suffurari victoriam.*

IN politicis, attende gravissimam illam & prudentissimam distinctionem, (quam omnis posteritas amplexa est) qua duos ex praecipuis ejus amicis, Hephaestionem & Craterum, discrevit, quum diceret: *Alterum Alexandrum amare, alterum amare regem*: Dissimilitudinem maximi ponderis, etiam inter fidelissimos regum servos constituens, quod alii magis dominorum suorum personas vero affectu prosequantur, alii potius moveantur officio erga principatum ipsum. Spectetur etiam, quam eximie redargueret errorem, principum consiliariis familiarem, qui plerumque consilia pro modulo sui animi & fortunae, non dominorum suggerunt. Cum enim Darius magnas Alexandro offerret conditiones: Parmenio; *Ego, inquit, si essem Alexander,*

ander, acciperem. Subjecit Alexander, *Et ego quidem, si essem Parmenio.* Postremo, excutiatur acere illud atque acutum responsum, ad amicos interrogantes, quid sibi reservaret, cum tot & tanta donaret? *Spem*, inquit; quippe qui probe sciret, subductis rationibus, spem veram esse fortem, & tanquam haereditatem ad magna aspirantium. Haec Julii Caesaris fors, cum proficiscens in Galliam, universas opes profusis largitionibus exhausisset. Haec etiam fors Henrici ducis Guisii, nobilissimi principis, licet nimium ambitiosi, de quo illud increbuit, *Foeneratorem eum fuisse unum omnium Gallorum maximum, eo quod omnes opes in nominibus haberet, atque patrimonium universum in obligationes convertisset.* Caeterum admiratio hujus principis, dum eum mihi, non ut Alexandrum Magnum, sed ut Aristotelis discipulum propono, longius fortasse me provexit.

QUANTUM ad Julium Caesarem, non est opus, ut de praestantia eruditionis ejus, aut ex educatione aut ex familiaribus aut ex responsis suis, conjecturam faciamus. Haec siquidem eminet in ejus scriptis & libris: quorum alii extant, alii infeliciter desiderantur. Primo enim hodie in manibus habetur insignis illa bellorum suorum historia, cui nomen & titulum Commentariorum duntaxat praefixit: in quo omnes posteris solidum rerum pondus & viva tam actionum quam personarum simulachra, cum castissima puritate sermonis, narrationisque perspicuitate eximia, conjuncta admirantur: quas quidem dotes, non a natura infusas fuisse, sed a praeceptis institutisque doctrinae acquisitas, testatur liber ejus de analogia: qui nihil aliud erat, quam Grammaticalis quaedam philosophia; in quo sedulo dedit operam, ut vox ad placitum, redderetur vox ad licitum; & consuetudo quoquomodo loquendi, ad congruitatem revocaretur emendate loquendi; & verba, quae sunt rerum imagines, rebus ipsis convenirent, non vulgi prorsus arbitrium sequerentur.

ITA etiam veluti monumentum doctrinae, non minus quam potentiae, emendatam ejus edicto habemus computationem anni; quae diserte testatur, aequae eum gloriae sibi duxisse, siderum in coelis leges pernoctare, ac hominibus in terris leges dedisse.

Ex libro quoque, cui titulum praeposuit Anti-Cato, facile constat, eum tanto studio accensum ad victoriam ingenii, quanto belli & armorum, obtinendam; certamen calami tum suscipientem contra maximum eo tempore pugilem, Ciceronem oratorem.

RURSUS in libro apophthegmatum, quae collegit, videmus, honorificentius sibi putasse, si se ipsum tanquam in tabellas aut codicillos mutaret, in quos prudentia aliorum dicta graviaque referrentur; quam si dicta sua propria, velut oracula sacrantur, sicut inepti principes nonnulli, adulatione corrupti, sibi fieri gestiunt. Attamen si recensere vellem, pleraque ejus dicta, (ut feci in Alexandro) sunt ea certe hujusmodi, qualia notat Solomon, *Verba sapientum sunt tanquam aculei & tanquam clavi in altum defixi.* Itaque tria hic tantum proponam, non tam elegantia, quam vi & efficacia mirabilia.

PRIMO igitur, magister sit, oportet, loquendi, qui unico verbo seditionem in exercitu comprimere potuit. Sic autem se res habuit. Romanis mos fuit, cum exercitum duces alloquerentur, milites uti eos appellarent: cum magistratus populum, Quirites. Tumultuabantur milites Caesaris, ac missionem seditione flagitabant; non quod hoc ipsi cuperent, sed ut hoc postulato Caesarem ad alias condiciones adigerent: ille immotus atque inconcussus silentio facto sic exorsus est: *Ego, Quirites:* Quo verbo, eos jam dimissos

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significabat. Eo perculsi milites & plane obstupefacti, concionantem deinceps perpetuo obturbabant; & postulato illo missionis posthabito, contra obnix petebant, ut militum appellatio eis restitueretur.

SECUNDUM fuit huiusmodi. Regis nomen Caesar summe affectabat: itaque subornati sunt nonnulli, qui praetereuntem populari acclamatione regem salutarent. Ille sentiens, acclamationem tenuem fuisse, ac raram; negotium joco transmisit, ac si erratum esset in cognomine, *Non rex sum, inquit, sed Caesar.* Dictum sane huiusmodi, ut si diligenter excutatur, vigor ejus & pondus vix exprimi possit. Primum enim recusationem nominis prae se ferebat, sed neutiquam seriam: deinde ingentem quandam confidentiam & magnanimitatem monstrabat; ac si Caesaris appellatio, illustrior titulus esset quam regis; quod haud secus evenit, & usque in hodiernum diem obtinuit. Sed quod illius maxime intererat, hoc dictum, summo artificio, finem suum urgebat. Hoc enim innuebat, S. P. Q. R. de re levi, hoc est, nomine tantum, (nam potestatem regiam jampridem habebat) secum contendere; ac tali nomine, quale complures etiam ex familiis obscuris gerebant: nam cognomen regis multis Romanorum gentilitium erat, quemadmodum & nos simile quiddam nostro idiomate habemus.

ULTIMUM quod hoc loco repetere placet, tale fuit. Cum Caesar post bellum initum, Romam occupasset, atque sanctius aerarium reclusisset, ut pecunias ibi congestas in usus belli tolleret, restitit Metellus, utpote tunc temporis tribunus; cui Caesar, *Si persiles, inquit, mortuus es.* Dein reprimens se paulum subiecit, *Adolescens, durius est mihi hoc dicere, quam facere.* Dictum tam mirifice ex terrore & clementia conflatum, ut nihil supra.

VERUM ut Caesarem mittamus; perspicuum est, eum probe sibi consci-um suae eximiae eruditionis fuisse; ut liquet ex eo, quod demirantibus nonnullis Lucii Syllae consilium, in deponenda dictatura, cavillans dixit, *Sylla nescivit literas, dictare non potuit.*

NUNC autem tempus videtur imponendi finem huic dissertationi de arcta conjunctione militaris virtutis & literariae; (quid enim in hoc genere, post Alexandrum & Caesarem afferri potest?) nisi quod moveor unius & alterius exempli dignitate & insolentia, eo quod tam subito transierit a ludibrio ad miraculum. Est autem Xenophontis philosophi, qui e Socratis ludo profectus est in Asiam, cum Cyro juniore, in expeditione contra regem Artaxerxem. Hic Xenophon eo tempore peradolescens fuit, & nunquam aciem aut castra viderat, neque tunc praefecturam aliquam in exercitu gerebat, sed tantum sponte, ob amicitiam Proxeni, proficiscebatur. Aderat forte fortuna, cum Falinus a magno rege legatus ad Graecos veniret, postquam Cyrus in acie occubuisse, Graeci autem (manipulus tantummodo hominum) duce orbati, in medio provinciarum Persiae, a patria sua, plurimorum milliarum intervallis & fluminibus maximis atque altissimis interclusi essent. Legatio huc spectabat, ut positis armis atque deditis, se regiae clementiae submitterent. Cui legationi antequam publice responsum esset, complures ex exercitu familiariter cum Falino colloquebantur: Inter quos Xenophon ita forte locutus est. *Imo, inquit, Faline, haec duo tantum nobis jam supersunt, arma & virtus; si igitur arma dedamus, cui usui (obsecro) nobis erit virtus? At Falinus subridens: Ni fallor, inquit, Atheniensis es (adolescens) & philosophiae incumbis, atque bellula sunt, quae dicis; sed valde erras, si virtutem vestram regis copiis parem esse arbitreris.* Ecce ludibrium. Sequitur miraculum. Novitius iste ex schola & philosophus, postquam omnes duces & praefecti prodicione interempti essent, decem milia

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lia peditum Babylone in Graeciam reduxit, per medias regis provincias, omnibus ejus copiis frustra obnitentibus: quo facto stuporem injecit omnibus. Graecis autem ab eo tempore ingentes addidit animos & spiritus, ad Persarum regnum invadendum & subvertendum. Quod & mox cogitavit sane, & designavit Jason Theffalus; tentavit & inchoavit Agefilaus Spartanus; perfecit demum Alexander Macedo, omnes literati istius praevii egregio facinore incitati.

PERGAMUS ab imperatoria militarique virtute ad moralem & eam quae est hominum privatorum. Primo, certissimum est illud poëtae:

*Scilicet ingenuas didicisse fideliter artes
Emollit mores, nec sinit esse feros.*

Eruditio siquidem humanas mentes feritate atque barbarie exuit. Veruntamen opus est, ut accentus sit in voce illa *fideliter*. Nam tumultuaria cognitio flectit potius in contrarium; eruditio, inquam, levitatem, temeritatem, atque insolentiam tollit, dum omnia pericula & ambigua simul cum re ipsa suggerit; rationum & argumentorum pondera in utramque partem librat; prima quaeque quae se offerunt animo, eique arrident, pro suspectis habet; iterque omne tanquam exploratum inire docet. Eadem admirationem rerum vanam & nimiam evellit, radicem ipsam omnis infirmi consilii: quippe admiramur res, vel quia novae sunt vel quia magnae. Quantum ad novitatem, nemo est qui literas & rerum contemplationem penitus imbibierit, quin illud cordi impressum habeat, *Nil novi super terram*. Neque enim puparum ludum quisquam magnopere mirabitur, qui pone aulaea caput inserens, organa quibus moventur, & filamenta cernit. Quantum ad magnitudinem, quemadmodum Alexander Magnus, ingentibus proeliis & victoriis in Asia affuetus, cum interdum acciperet e Graecia literas, de expeditionibus & dimicationibus quibusdam illic factis, quae plerumque propter pontem aliquem, aut castellum, aut ad summum pro expugnatione oppidi alicujus suscipiebantur, dicere solebat: *videri sibi nuncium allatum de ranarum & murium pugna, de qua Homerus*: Sic certe, qui universitatem rerum; ejusque fabricam intueatur, illi terrae globus, cum hominibus superstantibus (si divinitatem animarum seponas) haud majus quidpiam videbitur, quam colliculus formicarum; quarum aliae cum granis, aliae cum ovis suis, aliae vacuae, omnes hinc inde circa exiguum pulvisculi acervum reptant & curstant. Porro eruditio aufert, aut saltem minuit timorem mortis, atque adversae fortunae, quo nihil magis virtutibus moribusque officere solet. Si enim animus cujuscumque, contemplatione mortalitatis & rerum naturae corruptibilis imbutus fuerit & intinctus, juxta cum Epicteto sentiet; qui, cum pridie exiens, mulierculam ob fractam ollam plorantem cerneret, postridie etiam exiens aliam mortuum filium desilentem conspiceret, dixit; *Heri vidi fragilem frangi, hodie vidi mortalem mori*. Quare optime & valde sapienter Virgilius, cognitionem causarum cum metus omnis profligatione copulavit, tanquam concomitantia.

*Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas,
Quique metus omnes & inexorabile fatum
Subjecit pedibus, strepitumque Acherontis avari.*

Nimis longum esset singula percurrere remedia, quae singulis animi morbis doctrina suppeditat; aliquando vitiosos humores expurgans, nonnunquam obstru-

obstructiones aperiens, alias concoctionem juvans, alias appetitum excitans, non raro vulnera ejus & ulcera fanans, & similia. Quare concludam cum hoc quod videtur rationem habere totius, ita nimirum animum doctrinam disponere & flectere, ut nunquam protinus acquiescat & tanquam congeletur in defectibus suis, quin incitet se semper, progressumque spiret. Nescit illiteratus, quid sit in se descendere, aut secum inire rationes, aut quam suavis vita sit, quae indies sentit se fieri meliorem; si qua forte virtute praeditus sit, eam venditabit scilicet & ubique spectandam exponet, eaque utetur forsitan commode, quam tamen excolere & augere negligit. Rursus, si quo vitio laborat, artem atque industriam illud celandi atque occultandi, minime autem corrigendi, adhibebit; tanquam malus messor, qui perpetuo demetit, falcem autem nunquam exacuit; literatus contra, non tantum utitur animo virtutesque exercet, sed continuo emendat se & in virtute proficit. Imo ut in summa dicam, pro certo est, veritatem & bonitatem distinguere tantum; sicut sigillum & impressionem; nam veritas bonitatem signat: Et contra, vitiorum ac perturbationum procellae, ex erroris & falsitatis nubibus erumpunt.

A virtute transeamus ad potentiam & imperium, & dispiciamus, si uspiam inveniatur tanta potentia & regnum, quanta eruditio hominis naturam investit & coronat. Videmus, dignitatem imperandi sequi dignitatem ejus, cui imperatur. Imperium in belluas & pecora, quale bubulcorum aut opilionum, res vilis: imperium in pueros, quale ludimagistrorum, minus honorificum: imperium in mancipia, potius dedecori est, quam honori: neque multo praestantius est imperium tyrannorum, in populum servilem, atque animis & generosa indole exutum. Unde hoc semper manavit iudicium, honores in liberis monarchiis, aut rebus publicis suaviores esse, quam sub tyrannis; quia imperium honorificum magis supra volentes est, quam supra invitos & coactos. Ideoque Virgilius, cum ex intimo artificio inter humanos honores longe vellet optimos expromere, quos Augusto Caesari assignaret, in haec ipsa verba loquitur:

——— *Victorque volentes*
Per populos dat jura, viamque affectat Olympo.

Ast imperium scientiae, longe celsius est quam imperium in voluntatem, licet liberam & non astrictam. Illa enim rationi, fidei & intellectui ipsi dominatur, qui est altissima pars animi & voluntatem ipsam regit. Etenim nulla proculdubio terrena est potestas, quae in spiritibus hominum & animabus, eorumque cogitationibus & phantasiis, assensu quoque & fide, thronum & quasi cathedram suam erigit & collocat, praeter doctrinam & scientiam. Ac idcirco videmus detestabilem illam, & immensam delectationem, qua haeresiarchae, falsi prophetae & impostores magni perfunduntur & rapiuntur, postquam senserint, in fide & conscientiis hominum coepisse se regnare: tantam certe, ut qui eam semel degustaverit, nullis fere persecutionibus aut tormentis adigi possit, ut hoc regno se abdicet. Sicut autem hoc illud est, quod in Apocalypsi dicitur, *Abyssus sive profunda Satanae*: Ita e contrario, justus & legitimus in animos hominum dominatus, veritatis ipsa evidentia ac commendatione dulcissima stabilitus, sane quam proxime ad potestatis divinae similitudinem accedit.

QUOD ad fortunas & honores spectat, munificentia doctrinae non sic regna integra & respublicas locupletat & ditat, ut non hominum etiam privatorum fortunas & opes amplificet & evehat. Vetus enim observatio est, Homerum pluribus

pluribus suppeditasse victum, quam Syllam, Caesarem, aut Augustum, licet tot congiaria, tot donativa, tot agrorum assignationes largiti sint. Certe difficile dictu est, arma an literae plurium fortunas constituerint. Quin si de summa potestate loquamur, videmus; si arma, aut jus haereditatis regnum contulerunt, at literarum forti saepius cessit sacerdotium, quod regni semper fuit rivale.

RURSUS, si delectationem jucunditatemque scientiae intuearis, multum fane illa voluptates alias omnes exuperat. Quid enim? num forte affectuum voluptates tanto intervallo oblectamenta sensuum excedent, quanto voti affectio felix cantiunculam aut coenam: & non pari gradatione intellectus voluptates, eas quae sunt affectuum, transcendent? In caeteris oblectationibus satietas est finitima, & postquam paulo inveteraverint, flos ipsarum & venustas marcescit: quo docemur non illas liquidas revera voluptates ac sinceras fuisse, sed umbras tantum & fallacias voluptatum, non tam qualitate sua, quam novitate jucundas: unde & voluptarii saepius fiunt monachi, & ambitiosorum principum senectus tristior fere est & melancholia obfessa. Scientiae autem non est satietas, verum & fruendi & appetendi perpetuo & subinde recurrens vicissitudo; ut necesse sit hujus delectationis bonum simplex esse, non ex accidente, aut cum fraude. Neque illa voluptas, quam depingit Lucretius, ultimum in animo locum fortitur.

Suave mari magno turbantibus aequora ventis, &c.

Suave est spectaculum (inquit) stantem aut ambulantiem in littore, navem intueri tempestate in mari jactatam: suave itidem ex edita turri duas cernere acies concursantes in planitie: at nil dulcius est homini, quam mens per doctrinam in arce veritatis collocata, unde aliorum errores & labores dispicere possit.

DENIQUE, ut mittamus vulgaria illa argumenta, quod per doctrinam scilicet, *homo homini in eo praestat, in quo ipse brutis*: quod ope doctrinae ascendat homo intellectu usque ad coelos, quo corpore non potest, & alia similia: cum eo concludamus bono hanc dissertationem de literarum excellentia, ad quod humana natura ante omnia aspirat, hoc est, immortalitate & aeternitate. Huc enim spectant procreatio sobolis, nobilitatio familiae, aedificia, fundationes, monumenta, fama, ac denique humanorum votorum summa. Atqui videmus monumenta ingenii & eruditionis, quanto diutius durent quam ea, quae opere & manu facta sunt. Annon Homeri carmina viginti quinque annorum centurias & supra, absque unius syllabae aut literae jactura, duraverunt? Quo spatio innumera palatia, templa, castella, urbes, collapsa sunt aut diruta; picturae ac statuae Cyri, Alexandri, Caesaris, imo regum & principum multo recentiorum, nullo jam sunt modo parabiles: Archetypa enim ipsa jamdudum confecta vetustate perierunt; exempla autem indies primigenia similitudine mutantur. At ingeniorum imagines perpetuo integrae manent in libris, nullis temporum injuriis obnoxiae, utpote quae jugem renovationem recipere possunt: quanquam nec imagines dici proprie possint, quia perpetuo generant quodammodo, seminaque sua in animos hominum spargunt, atque aetatibus subsequenter infinitas actiones opinionesque suscitant & progignunt. Quod si navis inventum, res existimata tam nobilis & admirabilis fuerit, quae opes mercesque hinc inde transportat, regiones locis disjunctissimas participatione fructuum & commodorum consociat; quanto rectius

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literae celebrari debent, quae tanquam naves fulcantes oceanum temporis remotissima saecula ingeniorum & inventorum commercio & societate copulant? Porro videmus, nonnullos philosophorum, qui maxime immerſi erant ſenſibus, minimeque divini, atque immortalitatem animae praeſtante negabant; hoc tamen vi veritatis adactos conceſſiſſe, quoscuſque motus & actus anima humana abſque corporis organo praeſtare poſſit, eos etiam poſt mortem permanere probabile eſſe: quales nimirum erant intellectus, minime autem affectuum motus. Adeo ſcilicet ſcientia immortalis viſa eſt res illis atque incorruptibilis. Nos autem, quibus divina revelatio illuxit, conculcantes haec rudimenta atque officiās ſenſuum, novimus non ſolum mentem ſed & affectus perpurgatos, neque animam tantum ſed etiam corpus, ad immortalitatem aſſumptum iri ſuo tempore. Sed enim meminerint homines, & nunc & alias ubi opus fuerit, me in probationibus de dignitate ſcientiae, inde ab initio ſejunxiſſe teſtimonia divina ab humanis; quam methodum conſtanter retinui, ſeparatim utrumque explicans.

QUAMVIS vero haec ita ſint, nequaquam tamen hoc mihi ſumo, neque me conſequi poſſe conſido, ut ulla cauſae hujus pro doctrina peroratione aut actione judicia reſcindam; vel AEFOPICI galli, qui granum hordei gemmae praetulit; vel MIDAE, qui cum arbiter factus eſſet inter Apollinem Muſarum, & Panem ovium praefidem, opulentiae palmam detulit; vel PARIDIS, qui, ſpreta ſapientia ac potentia, primas voluptati & amori dedit; vel AGRIPPINAE eligentis, *Occidat matrem modo imperet*, imperium licet cum conditione deteſtanda praeoptantis; vel *Ulyſſis, qui vetulam praetulit immortalitati*; typi certe eorum, qui conſueti optimis praeponunt; plurimaeque ejuſmodi judicia popularia: Haec enim antiquum obtinebunt: Verum & illud etiam manebit, cui innixa eſt ſemper doctrina tanquam firmiſſimo fundamento, quodque nunquam labefactari poterit, *Juſtificata eſt ſapientia a filiis ſuis.*



FRANCISCI

Baronis de VERULAMIO,

Vice-Comitis SANCTI ALBANI,

De Dignitate & Augmentis SCIENTIARUM,

LIBER SECUNDUS:

AD REGEM SUUM.

CONSENTANEUM videri possit, tametsi non raro secus eveniat, (rex optime) ut, qui sobole numerosa aucti sunt, quique immortalitatem suam in posteris ipsorum quasi prospectant, prae caeteris mortalibus sint solliciti de statu futurorum temporum; utpote quibus, satis intelligunt, charissima illa sua tandem debere pignora transmitti. Elizabetha regina, propter vitam coelibem hospes potius in mundo, quam incola fuit; sua quidem tempora ornavit & in multis beavit. Enimvero tuae majestati, (cui Deus pro benignitate sua dedit tot suscipere liberos, dignos certe qui te perpetuent, cujusque aetas vicens & torus foecundus, adhuc plures pollicetur) usquequaque convenit, non modo tuum (quod facis) saeculum irradiare; verum etiam ad illa curas tuas extendere, quae memoria omnis alat, quaeque ipsa intueatur aeternitas. Inter ea autem (nisi studium meum erga literas me fallit) nil dignius est aut nobilius quam si dotetur orbis terrarum augmentis scientiarum solidis & fructuosis. Quousque enim tandem pauculos aliquos scriptores statuemus nobis tanquam Columnas Herculis, ne plus ultra in doctrinis progrediamur, cum habeamus majestatem tuam, instar lucidi & benigni fideris, quod nos inter navigandum conducat & fortunet?

UT igitur ad rem redeamus: recolamus jam & nobiscum perpendamus, quid principes viri alique, hucusque ad literarum amplificationem attulerint, quid praetermiserint? Hoc autem presse & distincte excutiamus, sermone quodam activo & masculo, nusquam digrediendo, nil amplificando. Ponatur igitur illud, (quod quivis concedat) opera quaeque maxima & difficilima, vel praemiorum amplitudine, vel consiliorum prudentia & sanitate, vel laborum conjunctione superari: Quorum primum conatum extimulat, secundum ambages & errores tollit, tertium mortalium fragilitati succurrit. At inter haec tria merito primas tenet, *Consilii prudentia & sanitas*; hoc est, monstratio & delineatio viae rectae & proclivis, ad rem quae proponitur, peragendam. *Claudius enim* (quod dici solet) *in via, antevertit cursorem extra viam*: Et Solomon perapposite ad hanc rem: *Ferrum si retusum fuerit, viribus utendum majoribus: quod vero super omnia praevalet,*

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praevallet, est sapientia. Quibus verbis innuit, medii prudentem electionem efficacius conducere ad rem, quam virium aut intentionem aut accumulati-
onem. Haec ut dicam illud impellit, quod (salvo semper eorum honore, qui de literis quomodocunque meruerunt) perspicio atque animadverto, o-
pera eorum atque acta pleraque, ad magnificentiam potius & nominis sui
memoriam, quam ad scientiarum ipsarum profectum & augmenta spectasse:
& literatorum potius numerum auxisse, quam artibus ipsis multum incre-
menti attulisse.

ACTIONES autem & opera, quae ad literas amplificandas pertinent, cir-
ca tria versantur objecta: Circa literarum sedes; circa libros; & circa per-
sonas eruditorum. Quemadmodum enim aqua, sive ex coelesti rore descen-
dens, sive ex fontibus scaturiens, facile disperditur & dispergitur, nisi colligatur
in aliqua receptacula, ubi per unionem & congregationem se sustentare & fo-
vere possit, (quem in finem excogitavit solertia humana aquaeductus, cisternas,
stagna, eaque etiam variis ornamentis condecoravit, quae magnificentiae &
dignitati, non minus quam usui & necessitati deserviant) similiter liquor iste
scientiae pretiosissimus, sive a divina inspiratione destillet, sive e sensibus
exiliat, mox periret omnis atque evanesceret, nisi conservaretur in libris,
traditionibus, colloquiis, ac praecipue in locis certis his rebus destinatis,
quales sunt academiae, collegia, scholae, ubi & permanentes habeat sedes
& crescendi insuper & se congregandi copiam & facultatem.

At primo, opera, quae ad musarum sedes spectant, quatuor numeran-
tur: Aedificiorum structura; proventuum dotatio; privilegiorum con-
cessio; disciplinae lex & institutio; quae omnia ad secessum & otium
(ut plurimum) conferunt & ad vacationem a curis & molestiis: qualia sunt
quae ad alvearia constituenda, in usum mellis, requirit Virgilius:

*Principio sedes apibus statioque petenda,
Quo neque sit ventis aditus, &c.*

At opera circa libros duo sunt praecipua. Primum bibliothecae, in qui-
bus tanquam mausoleis, priscorum sanctorum reliquiae, virtutis plenae, con-
ditae sunt. Secundo, novae editiones auctorum, emendationibus impressio-
nibus, fidelioribus versionibus, utilioribus commentariis, annotationibus
magis diligentibus, & huiusmodi famulatio, instructae & ornatae.

PORRO opera, quae literatorum hominum personas respiciunt, (praeter-
quam quod ipsi ornandi sint & promovendi) sunt etiam duo: Remuneratio
& designatio lectorum, in artibus jamdudum inventis & cognitis; & re-
muneratio ac designatio scriptorum, circa eas doctrinae partes, quae non fa-
tis hactenus excultae aut elaboratae sunt.

HAEC summatim opera sunt & acta, in quibus inclytorum principum,
aliorumque illustrium virorum promerita, erga rem literariam claruerunt.
De particulari alicujus commemoratione, qui de literis bene meruit, cogi-
tanti, occurrit illud Ciceronis, quod eum, post reditum suum, ad gratias
promiscue agendas impulit; difficile non aliquem ingratum quenquam
praeterire. Potius, (ex scripturarum consilio) spatium intueamur, quod
adhuc restat in stadio decurrendum; quam oculos reflectamus ad ea, quae
a tergo jam pridem reliquimus.

PRIMUM igitur, inter tot totius Europae collegia, praecclarissime fundata,
omnia illa certis professionibus destinata esse demiror, nulla liberis atque
universalibus artium & scientiarum studiis dedicata. Nam si quis judicet
doctrinam

doctrinam omnem referendam esse ad usum & actionem, recte sapit: Veruntamen facile est, isto modo prolabi in errorem illum, quem fabula perantiqua perstringit; in qua caetera corporis membra litem ventriculo intenderunt, quod neque motum praeberet, ut artus, neque sensum ut caput: quamvis interea alimentum coctum atque confectum ventriculus ille in reliquum corpus divideret: plane eodem modo, qui in philosophia ac contemplationibus universalibus positum omne studium, inane atque ignavum arbitratur, non animadvertit, singulis professionibus & artibus, exinde succum & robur suppeditari. Atque certe persuasum habeo, hanc ipsam haud minimam causam fuisse, cur felicior doctrinae progressus hucusque retardatus sit; quod opera hisce fundamentalibus scientiis navata sit tantum in transitu, neque haustus pleniores inde epoti. Nam si arborem solito fructuosiore fieri cupias, de ramis medicandis frustra cogitaveris; terra ipsa circa radicem subigenda & gleba laetior admovenda, aut nihil egeris. Neque rursus silentio praetermittendum est, hanc collegiorum & societatum, in usum tantummodo doctrinae professoriae, dedicationem, non solum scientiarum incrementis inimicam fuisse, sed etiam in regnorum & rerum publicarum detrimentum cessisse. Hinc enim fieri solet ut principes delectum habituri ministrorum, qui rebus civilibus tractandis sint idonei; ejusmodi hominum miram solitudinem circa se reperiant; propterea quod non habeatur educatio aliqua collegiata, in hos usus destinata, ubi scilicet homines a natura ad hoc facti & comparati, (praeter artes alias) historiae, linguis modernis, libris & tractatibus politicis, praecipue incumbant; ut inde ad civilia munera magis habiles & instructi accedant.

QUONIAM vero fundatores collegiorum plantant, praelectionum vero rigant, sequitur jam ordine, ut dicam quid in publicis lectionibus desideretur: nimirum, improbo vel maxime tenuitatem stipendiorum, praelectionibus sive artium sive professionum, (praesertim apud nos) assignatam. Interest enim inprimis progressus in scientiis, ut lectores in unoquoque genere ex optimis instructissimisque eligantur: utpote quorum opera, non in usum transitorium, sed ad sufficiendam sobolem scientiae in saecula adhibeatur. Id fieri nequit, nisi praemia & conditiones tales constituentur, quibus eminentissimus quisque in ea arte plane contentus esse possit; ut illi demum grave non sit, in eodem munere immori, neque practicam cogitet. Quocirca scientiae ut floreat, militaris lex servanda Davidis; *ut aequa esset pars descendantis ad proelium, & manentis ad sarcinas*: Sarcinis male aliter prospectum erit. Sic lectores in scientiis sunt tanquam conservatores & custodes totius literarii apparatus, unde praxis & militia deinceps scientiarum instruatur: proinde aequum est, ut merces ipsorum lucra practicoe exaequare possit. Aliter si patribus scientiarum praemia non constituentur satis ampla & luculenta, eveniet illud:

Et patrum invalidi referent jejunia nati.

DEFECTUM nunc notabo alium, in quo alchymista quispiam in auxilium advocandus foret; cum id genus hominum studiosis authores sint, ut libros vendant, fornaces extruant, Minervam ac musas (tanquam virgines steriles) deserant, ac Vulcano se applicent. Fatendum est enimvero, tam ad penetrabilia contemplationis quam ad operativae fructum, in nonnullis scientiis, (praesertim naturali philosophia & medicina) haud unica subsidia e libris petenda esse. Qua in re neutiquam omnino cessavit munificentia hominum; Vol. I. Q

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quippe videmus, non libros magis, quam sphaeras, globos, astrolabia, mappas & alia similia, ut adminicula quaedam astronomiae & cosmographiae, comparari & studio praebere. Videmus etiam, loca nonnulla, medicinae studio dicata, hortos habere pro simplicium cujusque generis inspectione & notitia; nec usu mortuorum corporum ad observationes anatomicas destitui. Caeterum haec ad pauca spectant. In genere pro certo habeatur, magnos, in rebus naturae abditis eruendis & referendis, progressus vix fieri posse, nisi ad experimenta, sive Vulcani sive Daedali, (fornacis scilicet, aut machinae, vel cujuscumque alterius generis,) sumptus abunde suppeditentur. Ideoque sicut principum secretariis & emissariis conceditur exhibere rationes expensarum pro diligentis suis, in explorando & eruendo res novas & arcana civilia; similiter & exploratoribus ac speculatoribus naturae satisfaciendum de expensis suis; alias de quamplurimis scitu dignissimis nunquam fiemus certiores. Si enim Alexander magnam vim pecuniae suppeditavit Aristoteli, qua conduceret venatores, aucupes, piscatores & alios, quo instructior accederet ad conscribendam historiam animalium, certe majus quiddam debetur iis, qui non in saltibus naturae pererrant, sed in labyrinthis artium viam sibi aperiunt.

DEFECTUS etiamnum alius nobis observandus, (magni certe momenti;) neglectus quidam est, in academiarum rectoribus, consultationis; in regibus sive superioribus, visitationis, in hunc finem, ut diligenter consideretur & perpendatur, utrum praelectiones, disputationes, aliaeque exercitia scholastica, antiquitus instituta & ad nostra usque tempora usitata, continuare fuerit ex usu, vel potius antiquare, aliaeque meliora substituere. Etenim inter majestatis tuae canones prudentissimos, illum reperiō. *In omni vel consuetudine, vel exemplo, tempora spectanda sunt, quando primum res coepta: in quibus si vel confusio regnaverit vel inscitia, derogat illud imprimis auctoritati rerum, atque omnia reddit suspecta.* Quamobrem, quandoquidem academiarum instituta plerumque originem traxerint a temporibus, hae nostris haud paulo obscurioribus & indoctioribus; eo magis convenit, ut examini denuo subjiciantur. Exemplum in hoc genere, unum aut alterum proponam; in rebus quae maxime obviae videntur & familiares. Pro more receptum est, (licet, uti mihi videtur, perperam) ut literarum studiosi logicam, & rhetoricam, praepropere nimis addiscant; artes sane provectionibus magis convenientes, quam pueris & tironibus. Etenim hae duae, si vere res perpendatur, sunt ex artibus gravissimis; cum sint *artes artium*, altera ad iudicium altera ad ornatum. Quinetiam regulam & normam continent, res & materiam subjectam vel disponendi vel illustrandi. Ideoque id agere, ut mentes rerum ignarae & rudes, (quaeque nondum id collegerunt, quod a Cicerone sylva vel supellex appellatur, id est, materiem & copiam rerum,) initium ab istis scientiis sumant; (ac si quis discere vellet ponderare, vel metiri, vel ornare ventum:) haud aliud profecto parit, quam ut harum artium virtus & facultas (quae permagnae sunt & latissime diffusae) fere contemptae jaceant, atque vel in puerilia sophismata affectationesque ridiculas degeneraverint, vel saltem existimatione sua haud parum mulctatae sint. Quinetiam praematura & intempestiva ad has artes accessio dilutam earum atque jejunam traditionem ac tractationem necessario secum traxit, qualis nimirum captui puerorum adaptetur. Alterum exemplum (quod adducam) erroris, qui in academiis jam diu inveteravit, ejusmodi est; quod scilicet inventionis atque memoriae, in exercitiis scholasticis, fieri solet nimio plus noxium divortium: Illic siquidem orationes pleraeque, aut omnino praemeditatae sunt, adeo ut conceptis verbis proferantur

proferantur & inventioni nihil relinquatur; aut plane extemporariae, ut perparum relinquatur memoriae: (cum in vita communi & praxi, rarus sit alterutrius istorum usus seorsim, sed potius mixtura ipsorum; id est, notarum five commentariorum, atque dictionis subitae) ita ut hoc pacto exercitia ad praxim haud sint accommodata, nec imago respondeat vitae. Illud autem in exercitiis perpetuo tenendum est; ut omnia (quam fieri potest) maxime repraesentent ea, quae in vita agi solent: alioqui motus & facultates mentis pervertent non praeparabunt. Hujus autem rei veritas non obscure cernitur, cum academici ad praxim suarum professionum, vel alia civilis vitae munia se accingant: quod cum faciunt, hunc, de quo loquimur, defectum, ipsi in se cito deprehendunt, sed citius etiamnum alii. Caeterum hanc partem, de institutorum academicorum emendatione, clausula illa (ex Caesaris quadam ad Oppium & Balbum epistola desumpta) concludam: *Hoc quemadmodum fieri possit, nonnulla mihi in mentem veniunt, & multa reperiri possunt: de iis rebus rogo vos, ut cogitationem suscipiatis.*

ALTER defectus, quem observo, altius paulo quam praecedens ascendit. Quemadmodum enim doctrinarum progressio, haud parum in prudenti regimine & institutione academiarum singularum consistit; ita magnus ad hoc cumulus accedere possit, si academiae universae, per totam Europam sparsae, arctiorem conjunctionem & necessitudinem contraherent. Sunt enim, uti videmus, multi ordines & sodalitia, quae licet regnis & spatiis longinquis disjuncta sint, tamen societatem & tanquam fraternitatem inter se ineunt & colunt; adeo ut habeant praefectos (alios provinciales, alios generales,) quibus omnes parent. Et certe, quemadmodum natura creat fraternitatem in familiis, artes mechanicae contrahunt fraternitatem in sodalitiis; unctio divina superinducit fraternitatem in regibus & episcopis; vota & regulae conciliant fraternitatem in ordinibus: eodem modo fieri non potest, quin intercedat fraternitas illustribus & generosa, inter homines, per doctrinas & illuminationes, quandoquidem Deus ipse Pater luminum nuncupetur.

POSTREMO illud queror (de quo superius nonnihil praemisi) quod vel nunquam, vel raro admodum, publica aliqua extiterit designatio virorum idoneorum, qui vel scriberent vel inquisitionem instituerent, de illis scientiarum partibus, in quibus satis adhuc non fuerit elaboratum. Cui rei illud inserviet quam maxime, si tanquam lustrum condatur doctrinarum; & census excipiantur, quae ex illis locupletes sint & majorem in modum auctae, quae autem inopes & destitutae. Opinio enim copiae, inter causas inopiae est; atque multitudo librorum luxuriae potius quam penuriae indicium quoddam prae se fert. Quae tamen redundantia (si quis recte judicet) nequaquam delendis antehac scriptis libris, sed novis melioribus edendis tolli debet, qui ejus generis sint, ut, tanquam *serpens Moyses, serpentes magorum* devorent.

HORUM, quos enumeravimus, omnium defectuum remedia, praeter illius postremi, quin etiam ejusdem postremi, quoad partem ejus activam, quae spectat ad designationem scribentium, opera sunt vere basilica: Erga quae, privati alicujus conatus & industria, fere sic se habeat ut Mercurius in bivio: qui digitum potest in viam intendere, pedem inferre non potest. At speculativa illa pars, quae ad examen doctrinarum (quid nimirum in singulis desideretur) pertinet, etiam industriae hominis privati patet. Mihi igitur in animo est, perambulationem doctrinarum & lustrationem generalem

& fidelem aggredi, praecipue cum inquisitione sedula & accurata, quatenus earum partes neglectae incultaeque jaceant, hominum industria nondum subactae & ad usum conversae; ut hujusmodi delineatio & registratio, & publicis designationibus & privatorum spontaneis laboribus facem accendat. In quo nihilominus consilium est, hoc tempore omissiones duntaxat & desiderata notare; non autem errores & infelicitates redarguere: Aliud enim est inculta loca indicare, aliud culturae modum corrigere.

QUAM quidem ad rem, cum me comparo & accingor; non sum nescius, quantum opus moveam, quamque difficilem provinciam sustineam; etiam quam sint vires minime voluntati pares: attamen magnam in spem venio, si ardentior meus erga literas amor me longius provexerit, usurum me excusatione affectus; quia non simul cuiquam conceditur, *amare & sapere*. Nescius equidem non sum, eandem iudicii libertatem aliis relinquendam, quam ipse usurpaverim. Equidem libenter aeque acceperim ab aliis, ac impertiverim, humanitatis illud officium: *Nam qui erranti comiter monstrat viam, &c.* Prospicio etiam animo, complura ex illis, quae tanquam omissa & desiderata in registrum hoc nostrum referre visum fuerit, in diversas censuras incurfura: alia scilicet quod sint dudum peracta & jam extent: alia quod curiositatem sapiant & fructum promittant perexilem: alia quod nimis ardua existant & fere impossibilia quae ab hominibus absolvantur. Ad priora duo quod attinet, res ipsae pro se causam agent; circa postremum de impossibilitate ita statuo: ea omnia possibilia & praestabilia censenda, quae ab aliquibus perfici possint, licet non a quibusvis; & quae a multis conjunctim, licet non ab uno; & quae in successione saeculorum, licet non eodem aevo; & denique quae publica cura & sumptu, licet non opibus & industria singulorum. Si quis tamen sit, qui malit Solomonis illud usurpare: *Dicit piger, leo est in via*; quam illud Virgilii: *Possunt, quia posse videntur*: Satis mihi erit, si labores mei, inter vota tantum sive optata melioris notae habeantur. Sicut enim haud omnino rei imperitum esse oportet, qui quaestionem apposite instituat; ita nec sensus inops videatur, qui haudquaquam absurda optaverit.

CAP. I.

Partitio universalis doctrinae humanae in historiam, poesim, philosophiam, secundum tres intellectus facultates, memoriam, phantasiam, rationem; quodque eadem partitio competat etiam theologicis.

PARTITIO doctrinae humanae ea est verissima, quae sumitur ex triplici facultate animae rationalis, quae doctrinae sedes est: Historia ad memoriam refertur, poesis ad phantasiam, philosophia ad rationem. Per poesim autem, hoc loco intelligimus non aliud, quam historiam confictam, sive fabulas. Carmen enim styli quidam character est, atque ad artificia orationis pertinet; de quo suo loco.

HISTORIA proprie individuorum est, quae circumscribuntur loco & tempore. Etsi enim historia naturalis circa species versari videatur; tamen hoc fit ob promiscuam rerum naturalium, (in plurimis) sub una specie, similitudinem; ut si unam noris, omnes noris. Sicubi autem individua reperiantur, quae aut unica sunt in sua specie, veluti sol & luna; aut a

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specie insigniter deflectunt, ut monstra; non minus recte constituitur narratio de illis in historia naturali, quam de hominibus singularibus in historia civili. Haec autem omnia ad memoriam spectant.

POESIS, eo sensu quo dictum est, etiam individuorum est; confictorum ad similitudinem illorum, quae in historia vera memorantur: ita tamen ut modum saepius excedat, & quae in rerum natura nunquam conventura aut eventura fuissent, ad libitum componat & introducat; quemadmodum facit & pictoria. Quod quidem phantasiae opus est.

PHILOSOPHIA individua dimittit; neque impressiones primas individuorum, sed notiones ab illis abstractas complectitur; atque in iis componendis & dividendis, ex lege naturae & rerum ipsarum evidentia; versatur. Atque hoc prorsus officium est atque opificium rationis.

HAEC autem ita se habere, si quis intellectualium origines petat, facile cernet. Individua sola sensum percellunt, qui intellectus janua est. Individuorum eorum imagines sive impressiones a sensu exceptae, figuntur in memoria, atque abeunt in eam, a principio tanquam integrae, eodem quo occurrunt modo: Eas postea recolit, & ruminat anima humana; quas deinceps aut simpliciter recenset; aut lusu quodam imitatur; aut componendo & dividendo digerit. Itaque liquido constat, ex tribus his fontibus, memoriae, phantasiae & rationis, esse tres illas emanationes, historiae, poeseos, & philosophiae; nec alias aut plures esse posse. Etenim historiam & experientiam pro eadem re habemus; quemadmodum etiam philosophiam & scientias.

NEQUE alia censemus ad theologica partitione opus esse. Differunt certe informationes oraculi & sensus, & re & modo insinuandi: sed spiritus humanus unus est, ejusque arculae & cellae eadem. Fit itaque, ac si diversi liquores, atque per diversa infundibula, in unum atque idem vas recipiantur. Quare & theologia, aut ex historia sacra constat; aut ex parabolis, quae instar divinae poeseos sunt; aut ex praeceptis & dogmatibus, tanquam perenni quadam philosophia. Quod enim ad eam partem pertinet, quae redundare videtur, prophetiam videlicet, ea historiae genus est: quandoquidem historia divina, ea polleat supra humanam praerogativa, ut narratio factum praecedere non minus quam sequi possit.

C A P. II.

Partitio historiae in naturalem & civilem, ecclesiastica & literaria sub civili comprehensa. Partitio historiae naturalis in historiam generationum, praeter-generationum, & artium.

HISTORIA aut naturalis est, aut civilis: in naturali, naturae res gestae & facinora memorantur; in civili, hominum. Elucent proculdubio divina in utrisque, sed magis in civilibus, ut etiam propriam historiae speciem constituent, quam sacram aut ecclesiasticam appellare consuevimus. Nobis vero etiam ea videtur literarum & artium dignitas, ut iis historia propria seorsum attribui debeat; quam sub historia civili (quemadmodum & ecclesiasticam) comprehendi intelligimus.

PARTITIONEM historiae naturalis moliemur ex statu & conditione ipsius naturae, quae in triplici statu posita invenitur, & tanquam regimen trinum subit. Aut enim libera est natura, & cursu consueto se explicans, ut in coe-

lis, animalibus, plantis & universo naturae apparatu; aut a pravitatibus & insolentis materiae contumacis, & ab impedimentorum violentia, de statu suo detruditur, ut in monstis; aut denique ab arte & opera humana constringitur & fingitur, & tanquam novatur, ut in artificialibus. Sit itaque partitio historiae naturalis in historiam generationum; praeter-generationum, & artium; quam postremam, etiam mechanicam & experimentalem appellare consuevimus. Harum prima libertatem naturae tractat: secunda errores: tertia vincula. Libenter autem historiam artium, ut historiae naturalis speciem, constituimus: quia inveteravit prorsus opinio, ac si aliud quippiam esset ars a natura, artificialia a naturalibus: unde illud malum, quod plerique historiae naturalis scriptores, perfunctos se putent, si historiam animalium, aut plantarum, aut mineralium confecerint, omittis artium mechanicarum experimentis. Sed & illabatur etiam animis hominum aliud subtilius malum; nempe, ut ars censeatur solummodo tanquam additamentum quoddam naturae, cujus scilicet ea sit vis, ut naturam (sane) vel inchoatam perficere, vel in deterius vergentem emendare, vel impeditam liberare; minime vero penitus vertere, transmutare, aut in imis concutere possit: Quod ipsum rebus humanis praeproperam desperationem intulit. At contra, illud animis hominum penitus insidere debuerat; artificialia a naturalibus, non forma aut essentia, sed efficiente solummodo differre; homini quippe in naturam, nullius rei potestatem esse, praeterquam motus, ut scilicet corpora naturalia aut admoveat aut amoveat. Ubi igitur datur admotio corporum naturalium, aut remotio, conjungendo (ut vocant) activa passivis, omnia potest homo; ubi non datur, nihil: neque interest, si res ponantur in ordine ad aliquem effectum, utrum hoc fiat per hominem, vel absque homine. Aurum aliquando excoquitur igne, aliquando in arenulis purum invenitur, ministrante sibi ipsi natura: iris similiter fit ex nube roscida in sublimi; fit etiam per asperionem aquae, hic apud nos. Itaque natura omnia regit: subordinantur autem illa tria; cursus naturae; expatiatio naturae; & ars, sive additus rebus homo: Ideoque in historia naturali, tria illa comprehendere par est; quod etiam C. Plinius magna ex parte fecit; qui historiam naturalem solus pro dignitate complexus est; sed complexam, minime ut decuit, imo potius indignis modis tractavit.

HARUM prima habetur mediocriter exculta: sequentes duae ita tenuiter & inutiliter tractantur, ut in desideratorum classe reponendae sint. Neque enim reperias fatis instructam & locupletem collectionem operum naturae eorum, quae a cursu ordinario generationum, productionum, & motuum aberrarunt & deflexerunt: sive sint illa foetus certarum regionum aut locorum singulares; sive temporum eventus insoliti: sive casuum (ut ait ille) ingenia: sive proprietatum abditarum effectus: sive monadica naturae in sua specie. Non negaverim, inveniri libros nimio plures, fabulosis experimentis, commentitiis secretis & frivolis imposturis, ad voluptatem & novitatem, refertos; caeterum narrationem gravem & severam de heteroclitis & mirabilibus naturae, diligenter examinatam ac fideliter descriptam, non, inquam invenio: praesertim cum debita rejectione, & publica tanquam proscriptione mendaciorum & fabularum, quae invaluerunt. Nam ut res se nunc habet, si forte mendacia aliqua circa res naturales obtinuerint & celebrata sint, (sive quod tantum possit reverentia antiquitatis, sive quod illa denuo examini subicere sit molestum, sive quod mirifica scilicet ornamenta putantur orationis, propter similitudines & comparationes) nunquam postea exterminantur aut retractantur.

FINIS huiusmodi operis, quod exemplo suo decoravit Aristoteles, nil minus est, quam ut curiosis & inanibus ingeniis gratificetur, sicut faciunt mirabilarii & prodigiastri: verum duas ob causas, utramque feriam & gravem; unam, ut axiomatum corrigatur iniquitas; quae plerumque in exemplis tritis & vulgatis fundamentum habent; alteram, quod a miraculis naturae ad miracula artis expeditus sit transitus & pervius. Neque enim huic rei plus inest negotii, praeterquam ut naturae vestigia persequaris sagaciter, cum ipsa sponte aberret; ut hoc pacto postea cum tibi libuerit, eam eodem loci deducere & compellere possis. Neque vero praeceperim, ut ex historia ista mirabilium, superstitiosae narrationes, de maleficiis, fascinationibus, incantationibus, somniis, divinationibus & similibus, prorsus excludantur, ubi de facto & re gesta liquido constet. Nondum enim innotuit, quibus in rebus & quousque, effectus superstitioni attributi ex causis naturalibus participant. Ideoque licet huiusmodi artium usum & praxim merito damnandum censeamus, tamen a speculatione & consideratione ipsarum, (si strenue excutiantur) notitiam haud inutilem consequemur, non solum ad delicta in hoc genere reorum rite dijudicanda; sed etiam ad naturae secreta ulterius rimanda. Neque certe haesitandum de ingressu & penetratione intra huiusmodi antra & recessus, si quis sibi unicum veritatis inquisitionem proponat; quod & majestas tua exemplo proprio confirmavit. Tu enim, duobus illis clarissimis & acutissimis religionis ac naturalis philosophiae oculis, tales umbras prudenter ac perspicaciter perlustrasti; ut te soli simillimum probaveris, qui polluta loca ingreditur nec tamen inquinatur. Caeterum illud monuerim, narrationes istas cum rebus superstitiosis conjunctas, seorsum componi, neque cum puris & sinceris naturalibus commisceri oportere. Quod vero ad narrationes attinet, circa prodigia & miracula religionum; illa certe aut non utique vera sunt, aut nulla ex parte naturalia; ideoque ad historiam naturalem non pertinent.

QUANTUM ad historiam naturae subactae & factitiae, quam mechanicam appellare solemus; invenio sane collectiones quasdam de agricultura, etiam de artibus compluribus mechanicis; sed quod pessimum est in hoc genere, semper negliguntur & rejiciuntur experimenta; in artibus singulis familiaria & vulgata; quae tamen ad interpretationem naturae aequae aut plus faciunt quam minus trita. Nam labes quaedam literis aspergi videatur, si forte viri docti se submittant inquisitioni aut observationi rerum mechanicarum, nisi fuerit earum, quae pro arcanis artis, aut pro rebus admodum raris aut subtilibus reputentur: Quod tam inanis ac superciliosae arrogantiae vitium, merito irrisit Plato, quando Hippiam sophistam jactabundum inducit cum Socrate disputantem, sincero & solido veritatis investigatore: Qui, cum de pulchritudine sermo institutus esset, pro vago suo & soluto disputandi more, primum intulit exemplum virginis pulchrae, dein equae pulchrae, postremo ollae fictilis pulchrae & affabre factae: Hoc ultimo exemplo Hippias commotus, dixit: *Stomacharer certe, (nisi humanitatis ratio me eo adigeret,) cum quoquam disputare, qui exempla tam vilia & sordida allegaret.* Cui Socrates, *Te quidem ita decet, cum tam nitidis sis amictus vestibus & pulchris calceis:* & alia per ironiam. Enimvero, illud pro certo asseri possit, grandia exempla haud optimam aut tutissimam asserre informationem. Id quod exprimitur non insulse in pervulgata illa fabula de philosopho: qui cum stellas sublati oculis intueretur, incidit in aquam: Nam si oculos demisisset, stellas illico in aqua videre potuisset: verum suspiciens in coelum, aquam in stellis videre non potuit. Eodem modo saepe accidit, ut res minutae & humiles, plus conferant ad notitiam grandium, quam

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quam grandes ad notitiam minutarum. Bene siquidem notavit Aristoteles, *Cujusque rei naturam in portionibus ejus minimis optime cerni*. Quam ob causam, reipublicae naturam perscrutatur primo in familia & in simplicissimis combinationibus societatis, (mariti scilicet & uxoris, parentum & liberorum, domini & servi) quae in quolibet tuguriolo occurrunt. Simili plane ratione natura hujusce magnae civitatis, (universitatis nimirum rerum) ejusque dispensatio, in prima quaque symbolizatione & minimis rerum portionibus investiganda est: uti fieri videmus, quod secretum illud naturae (habitum pro maximo) de verticitate ferri, tactu magnetis excitati ad polos, se conspiciendum praebuit, non in uestibus ferreis, sed in acubus.

Ego vero si quod sit mei pondus judicii, sic plane statuo; Historiae mechanicae usum erga philosophiam naturalem, esse maxime radicalem & fundamentalem. Talem intelligo philosophiam naturalem, quae non abeat in fumos speculationum subtilium aut sublimium; sed quae efficaciter operetur, ad sublevanda vitae humanae incommoda. Neque enim ad praefens tantum juvabit, nectendo & transferendo observationes unius artis in usum aliarum & inde novas commoditates eliciendo; quod necesse est fieri, cum experimenta diversarum artium in unius hominis observationem & considerationem venient; sed porro ad causas rerum indagandas & artium axiomata deducenda, lucidiorem faciem accendet, quam hactenus unquam affulsi. Quemadmodum enim ingenium alicujus haud bene noris, aut probaris, nisi eum irritaveris; neque Proteus se in varias rerum facies, vertere solitus est, nisi manicis arte comprehensus; similiter etiam natura arte irritata & vexata se clarius prodit, quam cum sibi libera permittitur.

ANTEQUAM vero hoc membrum historiae naturalis, (quod mechanicum atque experimentale vocamus) dimittamus, illud adjiciendum; corpus talis historiae, non solum ex artibus ipsis mechanicis, verum & ex operativa parte scientiarum liberalium, ac simul ex practicis compluribus, (quae in artem non coaluerunt) confici debere, ut nihil utile praetermittatur, quod ad informandum intellectum juvat. Atque haec est historiae naturalis partitio prima.

C A P. III.

Partitio historiae naturalis secunda, ex usu & fine suo, in narrativam & inductivam: Quodque finis nobilissimus historiae naturalis sit, ut ministret & in ordine sit ad condendam philosophiam: Quem finem intuetur inductiva. Partitio historiae generationum in historiam coelestium: historiam meteororum: historiam globi terrae & maris: historiam massarum sive collegiorum majorum: & historiam specierum sive collegiorum minorum.

HISTORIA naturalis ut subjecto triplex (quemadmodum diximus) ita usu duplex est: Adhibetur enim, aut propter cognitionem rerum ipsarum, quae historiae mandantur; aut tanquam materia prima philosophiae. Atque prior illa, quae aut narrationum jucunditate delectat, aut experimentorum usu juvat, atque hujusmodi voluptatis aut fructus gratia quaesita est, longe inferioris notae censenda, prae ea quae inductionis verae & legitimae sylvae sit atque supellex, & primam philosophiae mammam praebeat. Rursus

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fus itaque partiemur historiam naturalem, in narrativam & inductivam: Hanc autem posteriorem inter desiderata ponimus. Neque vero aciem mentis alicujus perstringant, aut magna antiquorum nomina, aut magna recentium volumina. Satis enim scimus, haberi historiam naturalem mole amplam, varietate gratam, diligentia saepius curiosam. Attamen si quis ex ea fabulas & antiquitatem & auctorum citationes, & inanes controversias, philologiam denique & ornamenta eximat, (quae ad convivales sermones hominumque doctorum noctes, potius quam ad instituendam philosophiam sint accommodata,) ad nil magni res recidet. Longe autem profecto abest ab ea historia, quam animo metimur. Primo enim desiderantur duae illae historiae naturalis partes, (de quibus modo diximus) praeter-generationum & artium, in quibus nos plurimum ponimus: Deinde in tertia illa (quae reliqua est) parte generali, nimirum de generationibus, uni tantum ex quinque partibus ejus satisfacit. Siquidem historiae generationum constituuntur partes subordinatae quinque: Prima coelestium quae phaenomena ipsa fincera complectitur atque separata a dogmatibus: Secunda meteororum (annumerando etiam cometas) & regionum, quas vocant, aeris: Neque enim de cometis, meteoris ignitis, ventis, pluviis, tempestatibus, & reliquis invenitur aliqua historia, quae ullius sit pretii. Tertia terrae & maris, (quatenus sunt universi partes integrales) montium, fluminum, aestuum, arenarum, sylvarum, insularum, denique figurae ipsius continentium prout exporriguntur; in his omnibus, potius naturalia inquirendo & observando, quam cosmographica. Quarto, de massis materia communibus, quas collegia majora vocamus, (vulgo elementa dicuntur;) neque enim de igne, aëre, aqua, terra, eorumque naturis, motibus, operibus, impressionibus, narrationes reperiuntur, quae corpus aliquod historiae justum constituant. Quinta & ultima, de collectionibus materiae exquisitis, quae a nobis collegia minora, vulgo species appellantur. In hac autem postrema sola industria scriptorum enituit; ita tamen ut potius luxuriata sit in superfluis, (iconibus animalium, aut plantarum & similibus intumescens) quam solidis & diligentibus observationibus ditata, quae ubique in historia naturali subnecti debeant. Atque ut verbo dicam, omnis, quam habemus, naturalis historia, tam inquisitione sua, quam congerie, nullo modo in ordine ad eum quem diximus finem (condendae scilicet philosophiae) aptata est. Quare historiam inductivam desiderari pronunciamus. Atque de naturali historia haecenus.

C A P. IV.

Partitio historiae civilis, in ecclesiasticam, literariam, & (quae generis nomen retinet) civilem: quodque historia literaria desideretur: Ejus conficiendae praecepta.

HISTORIAM civilem in tres species recte dividi putamus: Primo facram, sive ecclesiasticam: deinde eam quae generis nomen retinet, civilem: Postremo literarum & artium. Ordinem autem ab ea specie, quam postremo posuimus, quia reliquae duae habentur; illam autem inter desiderata referre visum est. Ea est historia literarum: Atque certe historia mundi si hac parte fuerit destituta, non absimilis censi possit statuae Polyphemi, eruto oculo; cum ea pars imaginis desit, quae ingenium & in dolem per-

personae maxime referat. Hanc licet desiderari statuamus, nos nihilominus minime fugit, in scientiis particularibus jurisconsultorum, mathematicorum, rhetorum, philosophorum, haberi levem aliquam mentionem, aut narrationes quasdam jejunas, de sectis, scholis, libris, authoribus & successionibus hujusmodi scientiarum: Inveniri etiam de rerum & artium inventoribus tractatus aliquos exiles & infructuosos; attamen justam atque universalem literarum historiam nullam adhuc editam asserimus. Ejus itaque & argumentum & conficiendi modum & usum proponemus.

ARGUMENTUM non aliud est, quam ut ex omni memoria repetatur, quae doctrinae & artes, quibus mundi aetatibus & regionibus floruerint. Earum antiquitates, progressus, etiam peragrationes per diversas orbis partes; (migrant enim scientiae, non secus ac populi) rursus declinationes, obliviones, instaurationes commemorentur. Observetur simul per singulas artes inventionis occasio & origo; tradendi mos & disciplina; colendi & exercendi ratio & instituta. Adjiciantur etiam sectae & controversiae maxime celebres, quae homines doctos tenuerunt; calumniae, quibus patuerunt; laudes & honores quibus decoratae sunt. Notentur authores praecipui, libri praestantiores, scholae, successiones, academiae, societates, collegia, ordines; denique omnia quae ad statum literarum spectant. Ante omnia etiam id agi volumus (quod civilis historiae decus est & quasi anima) ut cum eventis causae copulentur: videlicet ut memorentur naturae regionum ac populorum; indolesque apta & habilis, aut inepta & inhabilis ad disciplinas diversas; accidentia temporum, quae scientiis adversa fuerint aut propitia; zeli & mixturae religionum; malitiae & favores legum; virtutes denique insignes & efficacia quorundam virorum, erga literas promovendas, & similia. At haec omnia ita tractari praecipimus, ut non criticorum more, in laude & censura tempus teratur; sed plane historice res ipsae narrentur, judicium parcius interponatur.

DE modo autem hujusmodi historiae conficiendae, illud imprimis moneamus; ut materia & copia ejus, non tantum ab historiis & criticis petatur, verum etiam ut per singulas annorum centurias, aut etiam minora intervalla, feriatim, (ab ultima antiquitate facto principio) libri praecipui, qui per ea temporis spatia conscripti sunt, in consilium adhibeantur; ut ex eorum non perlectione, (id enim infinitum quiddam esset) sed degustatione & observatione argumenti, styli, methodi, genius illius temporis literarius, veluti incantatione quadam, a mortuis evocetur.

QUOD ad usum attinet, haec eo spectant; non ut honor literarum & pompa per tot circumfusas imagines celebretur; nec quia pro flagrantissimo, quo literas prosequimur, amore, omnia quae ad eorum statum quoquo modo pertinent, usque ad curiositatem inquirere, & scire, & conservare avemus: sed praecipue ob causam magis seriam & gravem: Ea est, (ut verbo dicamus) quoniam per talem, qualem descripsimus, narrationem, ad virorum doctorum, in doctrinae usu & administratione, prudentiam & solertiam, maximam accessionem fieri posse existimamus; & rerum intellectualium, non minus quam civilium motus & perturbationes, vitiaque & virtutes, notari posse; & regimen inde optimum educi & institui. Neque enim B. Augustini, aut B. Ambrosii opera, ad prudentiam episcopi, aut theologi, tantum facere posse putamus, quantum si ecclesiastica historia diligenter inspiciatur & revolvatur: Quod & viris doctis ex historia literarum obventurum non dubitamus. Casum enim omnino recipit & temeritati exponitur, quod exemplis & memoria rerum non fulcitur. Atque de historia literaria haec dicta sint.

C A P. V.

De dignitate & difficultate historiae civilis.

SEQUITUR historia civilis specialis, cujus dignitas atque autoritas inter scripta humana eminet. Hujus enim fidei, exempla majorum, vicissitudines rerum, fundamenta prudentiae civilis, hominum denique nomen & fama, commissa sunt. Ad dignitatem rei accedit difficultas non minor. Etenim animum in scribendo ad praeterita retrahere, & veluti antiquum facere; temporum motus, personarum characteres, consiliorum trepidationes, actionum (tanquam aquarum) ductus, praetextuum interiora, imperii arcana, cum diligentia scrutari, cum fide & libertate referre, denique verborum lumine sub oculos ponere, magni utique laboris est & judicii; praesertim cum antiquiora quaeque incerta, recentiora periculo obnoxia reperiuntur. Quamobrem & plurima historiam istam civilem circumstant vitia: dum plerique narrationes quasdam inopes & plebeias, & plane dedecora historiarum conscribant; alii particulares relationes & commentariolos opera festinata & textu inaequali confarciant; alii capita tantum rerum gestarum percurrant; alii contra, minima quaeque & ad summas actionum nihil facientia persequantur; nonnulli, nimia erga ingenia propria indulgentia plurima audacter confingant: ast alii, non tam ingeniorum suorum quam affectuum imaginem rebus imprimant & addant, partium suarum memores, rerum parum fideles testes: quidam politica, in quibus sibi complacent, ubique inculcent, & diverticula ad ostentationem quaerendo, narrationem rerum nimis leviter interrumpant: alii in orationum & concionum, aut etiam actorum ipsorum prolixitate, parum cum judicio nimii sint; adeo ut satis constet, non inveniri inter scripta hominum rarius quicquam, quam historiam legitimam & omnibus numeris suis absolutam. Verum nos in praesenti partitionem doctrinarum instituimus, ut omissa, non censuram, ut vitiosa notentur. Nunc partitiones historiae civilis persequemur, easque diversorum generum: Minus enim implicabuntur species, si partitiones diversae proponantur, quam si una partitio curiose per membra deducatur.

C A P. VI.

Partitio prima historiae civilis, in memorias, antiquitates, & historiam justam.

HISTORIA civilis tripartita est, tribus picturarum aut imaginum generibus non absimilis. Videmus enim ex picturis & imaginibus, alias imperfectas, ut quibus ultima manus non accesserit; alias perfectas; alias vero vetustate mutilatas & deformatas. Historiam similiter civilem (quae imago rerum & temporum quaedam est) in tres species, illis picturarum congruas, partiemur; memorias scilicet, historiam justam, & antiquitates. Memoriae sunt historia inchoata, aut prima & rudia historiae lineamenta; anti-

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antiquitates vero historia deformata sunt, five reliquiae historiae, quae casu e naufragio temporum ereptae sunt.

MEMORIAE, five praeparationes ad historiam duplicis generis sunt; quorum alterum commentarios, alterum registra vocare placet. Commentarii nudam actionum & eventuum seriem ac connexionem proponunt, praetermissis causis rerum & praetextibus, initiis quoque earundem & occasionibus, consiliis itidem & orationibus & reliquo actionum apparatu. Talis enim est propria commentariorum natura; licet Caesari, per modestiam quandam cum magnanimitate conjunctam, praestantissimae, inter eas, quae extant historiae, commentariorum nomen indere placuerit. At registra duplicis naturae sunt: Complectuntur enim aut titulos rerum & personarum, in serie temporum; quales dicuntur fasti & chronologiae: Aut actorum solennitates; cujus generis sunt, principum edicta, senatuum decreta, judiciorum processus, orationes publice habitae, epistolae publice missae & similia, absque narrationis contextu five filo continuo.

ANTIQUITATES, seu historiarum reliquiae, sunt (uti jam diximus) tanquam tabulae naufragii, cum deficiente & fere submersa rerum memoria, nihilominus homines industrii & sagaces, pertinaci quadam & scrupulosa diligentia, ex genealogiis, fastis, titulis, monumentis, numismatibus, nominibus propriis & stylis, verborum etymologiis, proverbiiis, traditionibus, archivis & instrumentis, tam publicis quam privatis historiarum fragmentis, librorum neutiquam historicorum locis dispersis; ex his inquam omnibus, vel aliquibus, nonnulla a temporis diluvio eripiunt & conservant. Res sane operosa, sed mortalibus grata, & cum reverentia quadam conjuncta; ac digna certe, quae deletis fabulosis nationum originibus, in locum hujusmodi commentitiorum substituatur; sed tamen eo minus habens auctoritatis, quia paucorum licentiae subjicitur, quod paucis curae est.

IN his imperfectae historiae generibus, defectum aliquem non puto designandum, cum sint tanquam imperfecte mista, ut defectus hujusmodi sit ex ipsa earum natura. Ad epitomas quod attinet, (historiarum certe terebines & tineas) eas exulare volumus; quod etiam cum plurimis, qui maxime sani fuerunt judicii, facimus; utpote quae complura nobilissimarum historiarum corpora exederint & corroderint, atque in faeces inutiles demum redegerint.

C A P. VII.

Partitio historiae justae in chronica, vitas, & relationes; earumque partium explicatio.

AT historia justa trium est generum, pro ratione objecti, quod sibi proponit repraesentandum. Aut enim portionem aliquam temporis repraesentat; aut personam singularem memoria dignam; aut actionem aliquam five rem gestam ex illustrioribus. Primum chronica five annales appellamus; secundum vitas; tertium relationes. Inter quae chronica celebritate & nomine excellere videntur; vitae autem fructu & exemplis; relationes rursus sinceritate & veritate. Chronica namque amplitudinem actionum publicarum, & personarum facies externas, & in publicum versas, proponunt; minora autem, quae tum ad res, tum ad personas pertinent, omitunt, & silentio involvunt. Cum vero id artificii divini sit proprium, ut
maxima

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maxima e minimis suspendat, fit saepenumero, ut hujusmodi historia, majora tantum persecuta, negotiorum pompam potius & solennia, quam eorum veros fomites & texturas subtiliores ostendat; quin etiam, etsi consilia ipsa addat atque immisceat, tamen granditate gaudens, plus gravitatis atque prudentiae, quam revera habent, humanis actionibus aspergat; ut satyra aliqua possit esse verior humanae vitae tabula, quam nonnulla ex ejusmodi historiis. Contra vitae, si diligenter & cum judicio perscribantur, (neque enim de elogiis & hujusmodi commemorationibus jejunis loquimur) quandoquidem personam singularem pro subjecto sibi proponant, in qua necesse est actiones, non minus leves quam graves, parvas quam grandes, privatas quam publicas, componi & commisceri; sane magis vivas & fidas rerum narrationes, & quas ad exemplum tutius & felicius transferre possis, exhibent. At relationes actionum speciales, (quales sunt bellum Peloponnesi, expeditio Cyri, conjuratio Catilinae, & similia) omnino puriore & magis sincero veritatis candore vestiri par est, quam historias justas temporum; quia argumentum in iis deligi & fumi potest habile & definitum; atque ejusmodi, ut de eo notitia & certitudo bona & plena informatio haberi possit; cum contra historia temporis (praesertim quae aetate scriptoris multo antiquior sit) necessario in memoria rerum saepius fatiscat & veluti spatia vacua contineat; quae ingenio & conjectura occupari & suppleri satis licenter consueverunt. Hoc tamen ipsum, quod de relationum sinceritate dicimus, cum exceptione intelligendum est; nam fatendum certe est, (cum humana omnia ex parte laborent, & commoda cum incommodis fere perpetuo conjuncta sint) hujusmodi relationes, praesertim si sub ipsa rerum gestarum tempora edantur, (cum saepius vel ad gratiam, vel ad invidiam scribantur,) omnium narrationum merito maxime suspectas esse. Sed rursus huic incommodo etiam illud connafcitur remedium; quod illae ipsae relationes, cum non ex una parte solummodo sed pro factionibus & partium studiis, ex utraque parte semper fere edantur, viam hoc pacto quandam veritati, tanquam inter extrema, aperiunt & muniunt; atque postquam contentiones animorum deferbuerint, historico bono & prudenti non pessima historiae perfectioris materia & sementis sunt.

Quod vero ad ea, quae in his tribus historiae generibus desiderari videntur; dubium certe non est, quin plurimae historiae particulares (de talibus loquimur quae esse possint) alicujus dignitatis, aut etiam mediocritatis, cum maximo regnorum & rerum publicarum, quibus debentur, honoris & nominis detrimento, hucusque praetermissae sint, quas notare perlongum esset. Caeterum exterarum nationum historias exterorum curae relinquens (ne forte sim in aliena republica curiosus;) non possum non apud majestatem tuam conqueri, de historiae Angliae, quae nunc habetur, vilitate & indignitate, quatenus ad corpus ejus integrum; nec non historiae Scotiae iniquitate & obliquitate, quatenus ad authorem ejus recentissimum & uberrimum: reputans mecum, honorificum admodum majestati tuae futurum, atque opus posteritati gratissimum; si quemadmodum insula haec Magnae Britanniae, se nunc in unam monarchiam coalitam, ad sequentes aetates transmittit; ita in una historia descripta, a praeteritis saeculis repeteretur; eodem modo quo historiam decem tribuum regni Israelis, & duarum tribuum regni Judae, tanquam gemellam, sacra pagina deducit. Quod si moles hujusmodi historiae, magna certe & ardua, quo minus exacte & pro dignitate perscribatur, videatur obfutura, ecce tibi memorabilem multo angustioris temporis periodum, quatenus ad historiam Angliae, nimirum ab unione rosarum ad unionem reg-

norum; spatium temporis, quod, meo quidem iudicio, majorem recipit eventuum, quae raro se ostendunt, varietatem, quam in pari successionum numero uspiam in regno haereditario deprehendere licet. Incipit enim ab adeptione coronae mixta, partim armis, partim jure: ingressum siquidem ferrum aperuit, stabilimentum attulerunt nuptiae: secuta igitur sunt tempora illis initiis consentanea; simillima fluctibus, post magnam tempestatem, tumores & agitationes suas, sed absque aliqua immani procella, retinentibus, atque gubernatoris prudentia, qui unus inter antecessores reges consilio enituit, superatis. Ordine proximus succedit rex, cujus actiones, licet magis impetu quam consilio administratae, non leve tamen in rebus Europae momentum attulerunt, eas subinde librando & inclinando, prout ipsae propendebant: Quo etiam regnante, coepit fieri ingens illa status ecclesiastici mutatio, qualis raro admodum prodit in theatrum. Secutus est rex minor. Dein tentamentum tyrannidis, licet illud brevissimum fuerit, instar febris ephemeræ. Dein regnum foeminae, extero regi nuptae. Rursus regnum foeminae solitariae & coelibis. Haec omnia demum excepit eventus iste faustus & gloriosus; nimirum hujusce insulae Britanniae, a toto orbe divisae, in se unio; per quam vetus illud oraculum, Aeneae redditum, quod requiem ei praemonstrabat;

— *Antiquam exquirite matrem;*

supra nobilissimas gentes Angliae & Scotiae, in nomine illo Britanniae, antiquae suae matris, jam convenientes, adimpletum sit; in pignus & tesseram metae, & exitus errorum & peregrinationis jam reperti. Ita ut, quemadmodum corpora ponderosa jactata, antequam ponant & consistant, trepidationes quasdam experiantur; eodem modo probabile videtur, divina providentia factum esse, ut monarchia ista, priusquam in tua majestate, regiaque tua sobole, (in qua spero eam in perpetuum fore stabilitam) consisteret & confirmata esset, has tam varias mutationes & vicissitudines, tanquam praeludia stabilitatis suae, subiret.

De vitis cogitantem subit quaedam admiratio, tempora ista nostra haud nosse bona sua; cum tam rara sit commemoratio & conscriptio vitarum, eorum, qui nostro saeculo claruerunt. Etsi enim reges, & qui absolutum principatum obtineant, pauci esse possint; principes etiam in republica libera (tot rebus publicis in monarchiam conversis) haud multi; utcunque tamen non defuerunt viri egregii (licet sub regibus) qui meliora merentur, quam incertam & vagam memoriae suae famam, aut elogia arida & jejuna. Etenim hac ex parte, inventum cujusdam ex poetis recentioribus, quo antiquam fabulam locupletavit, non inelegans est. Fingit ille, in extremitate filii Parcarum, numisma quoddam, seu monile pendere in quo defuncti nomen impressum sit: tempus autem cultrum Atropi praetolari, & statim abscisso filo, numismata eripere, eaque asportata paulo post in fluvium lethes ex gremio suo projicere: circa fluvium autem, magnam avium vim volitare, quae numismata arripiunt, ac postquam in rostris ipsarum paulisper eadem circumtulervnt, paulo post per incuriam in fluvium decidere permittunt: inter eas vero, cygnos reperiri nonnullos, qui si numisma aliquod cum nomine prehenderint, illico ad templum quoddam illud deferre solebant, immortalitati consecratum. Hujusmodi itaque cygni nostris temporibus fere defecerunt. Quamvis autem plurimi hominum, curis & studiis suis nimio plusquam corporibus mortales, nominis sui memoriam, veluti fumum aut auram despiciant:

— *Animi nil magnae laudis egentes;*

Quorum scilicet philosophia & severitas ab ea radice pullulat, *Non prius laudes contempsimus, quam laudanda facere desivimus*; id tamen apud nos Solomonis iudicio non praejudicabit, *Memoria iusti cum laudibus, at impiorum nomen putrescet*: Altera perpetuo floret, alterum aut in oblivionem protinus abit, aut in odorem tetrum computrescit. Ac propterea in eo ipso stylo vel loquendi formula, quae recte admodum recepta est, ut defunctis tribuatur, (*felicis memoriae, piae memoriae, bonae memoriae*) agnoscere videmur illud, quod Cicero (mutuatus id ipsum a Demosthene) protulit, *Bonam famam propriam esse possessionem defunctorum*: Quam quidem possessionem non possum non notare, nostro aevo incultam ut plurimum, & neglectam jacere.

QUANTUM ad relationes, optandum esset prorsus, ut multo major circa eas adhiberetur diligentia: Quippe vix incidit aliqua actio paulo illustrior, cui non intersit calamus aliquis ex melioribus, qui eam excipere & describere possit. Quoniam autem is perpaucorum hominum esse debet, qui historiam iustam pro dignitate conscribat, (ut ex paucitate historicorum vel mediocrium satis liquet;) idcirco si actiones particulares, sub tempus ipsum quo geruntur, tolerabili aliquo scripto memoriae mandarentur, sperandum esset, exorituros quandoque, qui historiam iustam, ope & auxilio illarum relationum, conscribere possent. Illae enim instar seminarii esse possint, unde, cum usus foret, hortus amplus & magnificus confereretur.

C A P. VIII.

Partitio historiae temporum in historiam universalem & particularem, & utriusque commoda & incommoda.

HISTORIA temporum aut universalis est aut particularis; haec aliqujus regni, vel reipublicae, vel nationis res gestas complectitur, illa universi orbis. Neque enim defuerunt, qui historiam mundi etiam ab origine scripsisse videri volunt; farraginem rerum & compendia narrationum pro historia exhibentes: Alii sui temporis res, per orbem terrarum memorabiles, tanquam iusta historia complecti posse confisi sunt, conatu profecto magnanimo, atque fructu haud exiguo. Neque enim res humanae ita imperiis aut regionibus divisae sunt, ut non habeant multa connexa; quare juvat certe, fata, alicui saeculo aut aetati destinata, veluti una tabula contenta & descripta intueri. Fit etiam ut plurima scripta non contemnenda, (qualia sunt eae, de quibus antea locuti sumus, relationes) alias forte peritura, neque prelum saepius passura, aut saltem capita ipsorum, in hujusmodi historiam generalem recipiantur, atque hoc pacto figantur & conserventur. Veruntamen, si quis rem rectius perpendat, animadvertet, tam severas esse historiae iustae leges, ut eas in tanta argumenti vastitate exercere vix liceat; adeo ut minuatur potius historiae majestas molis granditate, quam amplificetur. Fiet enim ut qui tam varia undequaque persequitur, is, informationis religione paulatim remissa, & diligentia sua, quae ad tot res extenditur, in singulis elanguescente, aures populares & rumores captet; & ex relationibus non admodum authenticis, aut hujusmodi aliqua levidensi materia,

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materia, historiam conficiat. Quinetiam necesse ei erit, (ne opus in immensum excrescat) plurima relatu digna consulto praetermittere, atque ad epitomarum rationes saepius delabi. Incumbit etiam aliud periculum non parvum, atque utilitati illi historiae universalis ex diametro oppositum: Quemadmodum enim universalis historia, narrationes aliquas, quae alias forte fuissent periturae, conservat; ita contra saepenumero narrationes alias satis fructuosas, quae aliter victurae fuissent, propter grata mortalibus rerum compendia, perimit.

C A P. IX.

Partitio alia historiae temporum, in annales & acta diurna.

ETIAM historia temporum recte dividitur in annales & diaria: Quae divisio, licet ex periodis temporum nomina sumat, tamen ad delectum rerum etiam pertinet. Recte enim Cornelius Tacitus, cum in mentionem magnificentiae quarundam structurarum incidit, statim subdit: *Ex dignitate populi Romani repertum esse, res illustres annalibus, talia diurnis urbis actis mandare*: Applicando annalibus res, quae ad statum reipublicae pertinent; acta vero & accidentia leviora, diariis. Meo utique iudicio, valere conveniret disciplinam quandam heraldicam, in disponendis non minus librorum, quam personarum dignitatibus. Sicut enim nihil rebus civilibus magis detrahit, quam ordinum & graduum confusio; ita etiam auctoritati historiae gravis haud parum derogat, si admisceantur politicis res levioris momenti; quales sunt pompae, & solennitates, & spectacula, & huiusmodi. Atque sane optandum esset, ut illa ipsa distinctio in consuetudinem veniret. Nostri vero temporibus, diaria in navigationibus tantum & expeditionibus bellicis, in usu sunt. Apud antiquos certe regum honori dabatur, ut acta palatii sui in diaria referrentur; quod videmus factum fuisse sub Ahafuero Persarum rege; qui cum noctem ageret insomnem, diaria poposcit; ubi conjurationem eunuchorum recognovit: at in Alexandri Magni diariis, tam pusilla continebantur, ut etiam, si forte ad mensam dormiret in acta reponeretur: Neque enim sicut annales tantum gravia, ita diaria tantum levia complexa sunt; sed omnia promiscue & cursim diariis excipiebantur, seu majoris seu minoris momenti.

C A P. X.

Partitio secunda historiae civilis, in meram & mixtam.

POSTREMA vero partitio historiae civilis ea sit, ut dividatur in meram aut mixtam. Mixturae celebres duae. Altera ex scientia civili: Altera praecipue ex naturali. Introductum est enim ab aliquibus genus scribendi, ut quis narrationes aliquas, non in serie historiae continuatas, sed ex delectu auctoris excerptas conscribat: deinde easdem recolat & tanquam ruminet; & sumpta ab ipsis occasione, de rebus politicis differat. Quod genus historiae ruminatae nos sane magnopere probamus, modo huiusmodi scriptor hoc agat, & hoc se agere confiteatur. Historiam autem justam ex professo scribenti, politica ubique ingerere, atque per illa filum historiae interrumpere,

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rumpere, intempestivum quiddam & molestum est. Licet enim historia quaeque prudentior, politicis praeceptis & monitis veluti impraegnata sit, tamen scriptor ipse sibi obstetricari non debet.

MIXTA etiam est historia cosmographica, idque multipliciter: Habet enim ex historia naturali, regiones ipsas, atque earum situs & fructus; ex historia civili, urbes, imperia, mores: Ex mathematicis, climata & configurationes coeli, quibus tractus mundi subjacent. In quo genere historiae, sive scientiae, est quod saeculo nostro gratulemur. Orbis enim terrarum factus est, hac nostra aetate, mirum in modum fenestratus atque patens. Antiqui certe zonas & antipodas noverant,

*(Nosque ubi primus equis oriens afflavit anhelis;
Illic sera rubens accendit lumina vespers:)*

idque ipsum magis per demonstrationes, quam per peregrinationes. Verum ut carina aliqua parva coelum ipsum aemularetur; atque universum globum terrestrem, magis etiam obliquo & flexuoso, quam coelestia solent, itinere circumverit, ea est nostri saeculi praerogativa: ita ut praesens aetas jure in symbolo suo usurpare possit, non tantum illud plus ultra, ubi antiqui usurpabant non ultra; atque insuper illud imitabile fulmen, ubi antiqui, non imitabile fulmen;

Demens qui nimbos & non imitabile fulmen!

Verum & illud, quod omnem admirationem superat, imitabile coelum, propter navigationes nostras, quibus circa universum terrae ambitum, coelestium corporum more, volvi & circumagi saepius concessum fuit.

ATQUE haec praeclara, in re nautica atque orbe perlustrando, felicitas, de ulterioribus etiam progressibus & augmentis scientiarum, spem magnam facere possit; praesertim cum divino videatur consilio esse decretum, ut haec duo coaeva sint: Sic enim Daniel propheta, de novissimis temporibus verba faciens, praedicit *Plurimi pertransibunt & augebitur scientia*; quasi pertransitus sive perlustratio mundi atque multiplex augmentum scientiarum eidem saeculo destinarentur: Sicut magna ex parte jam completum videmus; quandoquidem tempora nostra, duabus illis prioribus doctrinarum periodis, aut revolutionibus, (alteri apud Graecos, alteri apud Romanos) eruditione non multum cedant, eas vero in aliquibus longe superent.

C. A P. XI.

Partitio historiae ecclesiasticae, in ecclesiasticam specialem, historiam ad prophetias, & historiam nemeseos,

HISTORIA ecclesiastica in genere, easdem fere cum historia civili partitiones subit. Sunt enim chronica ecclesiastica, sunt vitae patrum, sunt relationes de synodis & reliquis ad ecclesiam spectantibus. Proprio vero nomine, recte dividitur in historiam ecclesiasticam (generis nomine servato) & historiam ad prophetias, & historiam nemeseos sive providentiae. Prima ecclesiae militantis tempora & statum diversum memorat: sive illa

illa fluctuet, ut arca in diluvio: five itineretur, ut arca in eremo: five consistat, ut arca in templo: hoc est statum ecclesiae in persecutione, in motu, & in pace. In hac parte, defectum aliquem non invenio, quin supersunt in illa complura potius quam defunt: Illud sane optarem, ut massae tam praegrandi virtus quoque & sinceritas narrationum responderent.

SECUNDA pars, quae est historia ad prophetias, ex duobus relativis constat, prophetia ipsa & ejus adimplerione. Quapropter tale esse debet hujus operis institutum, ut cum singulis ex scripturis prophetiis eventuum veritas conjungatur; idque per omnes mundi aetates, tum ad confirmationem fidei, tum ad instituendam disciplinam quandam & peritiam in interpretatione prophetiarum, quae adhuc restant complendae. Attamen in hac re, admittenda est illa latitudo, quae divinis vaticiniis propria est & familiaris; ut adimpleriones eorum fiant & continenter & punctualiter: Referunt enim authoris sui naturam; *Cui unus dies tanquam mille anni, & mille anni tanquam unus dies*: Atque licet plenitudo & fastigium complementi eorum, plerumque alicui certae aetati vel etiam certo momento destinetur; attamen habent interim gradus nonnullos & scalas complementi, per diversas mundi aetates. Hoc opus desiderari statuo, verum tale est, ut magna cum sapientia, sobrietate & reverentia tractandum sit, aut omnino dimittendum.

TERTIA pars, quae historia nemeseos est, sane in calamos nonnullorum piorum virorum incidit, sed non sine partium studio: occupata est autem in observanda divina illa convenientia, quae nonnunquam intercedit inter Dei voluntatem revelatam & secretam. Quamvis enim tam obscura sint consilia & judicia Dei, ut homini animali sint penitus inscrutabilia, quinetiam facilius eorum oculis, qui prospiciunt e tabernaculo, se subducant; divinae tamen sapientiae visum, aliquando per vices, ad suorum confirmationem & confusionem eorum, qui tanquam sine Deo sunt in mundo, ea quasi majoribus characteribus descripta, sic proponere conspicienda, uti (sicut loquitur propheta) *Quis etiam in cursu ea perlegere possit*; hoc est, ut homines mere sensuales & voluptarii, qui judicia illa divina praetervehi festinant, neque cogitationes suas in ea unquam defigunt, tamen, quamvis prope currant & aliud agant, ipsa agnoscere cogantur. Talia sunt vindictae ferae & inopinae; salutes subito affulgentes & insperatae; consilia divina per ambages rerum tortuosas & stupendas spiras, tandem se manifesto expedientia, & similia: Quae valent, non solum ad consolandos animos fidelium, sed ad percullendas & convincendas conscientias improborum.

C A P. XII.

De appendicibus historiae, quae circa verba hominum (quemadmodum historia ipsa circa facta) versantur: Partitio earum in orationes, epistolas & apophthegmata.

AT non factorum solummodo humani generis, verum etiam dictorum memoria servari debet. Neque tamen dubium, quin dicta illa quandoque historiae ipsi inferantur, quatenus ad res gestas perspicue & graviter narrandas faciant & deserviant. Sed dicta five verba humana proprie custodiunt libri orationum, epistolarum & apophthegmatum. Atque orationes sane virorum prudentium, de negotiis & causis gravibus & arduis habitae,

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tum ad rerum ipsarum notitiam, tum ad eloquentiam multum valent. Sed majora adhuc praestantur auxilia ad instruendam prudentiam civilem ab epistolis, quae a viris magnis de negotiis feriis missae sunt: Etenim ex verbis hominum, nil fanius aut praestantius, quam hujusmodi epistolae. Habent enim plus nativi sensus, quam orationes; plus etiam maturitatis, quam colloquia subita. Eaedem quando continuantur secundum seriem temporum, (ut fit in illis, quae a legatis, praefectis provinciarum & aliis imperii ministris, ad reges, vel senatus, vel alios superiores suos mittuntur; aut vicissim ab imperantibus ad ministros) sunt certe ad historiam, prae omnibus, pretiosissima supellex. Neque apophthegmata ipsa ad delectationem & ornatum tantum profunt; sed ad res gerendas etiam & usus civiles. Sunt enim (ut aiebat ille) veluti *secures* aut *mucrones verborum*, qui rerum & negotiorum nodos acumine quodam secant & penetrant: Occasiones autem redeunt in orbem, & quod olim erat commodum rursus adhiberi & prodesse potest; sive quis ea tanquam sua proferat, sive tanquam vetera. Neque certe de utilitate ejus rei ad civilia dubitari potest, quam Caesar dictator opera sua honestavit; cujus liber utinam extaret, cum ea, quae usquam habentur in hoc genere, nobis parum cum delectu congesta videantur.

ATQUE haec dicta sint de historia, ea scilicet parte doctrinae, quae respondet uni ex cellis sive domiciliis intellectus, quae est memoria.

C A P. XIII.

De secundo membro principali doctrinae, nempe poesi. Partitio poeseos in narrativam, dramaticam, & parabolicam. Exempla parabolicae tria proponuntur.

JAM ad poesin veniamus. Poesis est genus doctrinae, verbis plerunque adstrictum, rebus solutum & licentiosum; itaque ut initio diximus, ad phantasiam refertur, quae iniqua & illicita prorsus rerum conjugia & divertoria comminisci & machinari solet. Poesis autem (ut supra innuimus) duplici accipitur sensu, quatenus ad verba, vel quatenus ad res respiciat. Priore sensu, sermonis quidam character est: Carmen enim styli genus, & elocutionis formula quaedam; nec ad res pertinet: Nam & vera narratio carmine, & ficta oratione soluta conscribi potest. Posteriore vero sensu, constituimus eam, ab initio, doctrinae membrum principale, eamque juxta historiam collocavimus, cum nihil aliud sit, quam historiae imitatio ad placitum. Nos igitur in partitionibus nostris, veras doctrinarum venas indagantes & persequentes; neque consuetudini & divisionibus receptis (in multis) cedentes; satyras, & elegias, & epigrammata, & odas, & hujusmodi, ab instituto sermone removemus; atque ad philosophiam & artes orationis rejicimus. Sub nomine autem poeseos, de historia ad placitum conficta, tantummodo tractamus.

PARTITIO poeseos verissima, atque maxime ex proprietate, praeter illas divisiones, quae sunt ei cum historia communes, (sunt enim ficta chronica, vitae fictae, fictae etiam relationes) ea est, ut sit aut narrativa; aut dramatica; aut parabolica. Narrativa prorsus historiam imitatur, ut fere fallat, nisi quod res extollat saepius supra fidem. Dramatica est veluti historia spectabilis; nam constituit imaginem rerum tanquam praesentium; historia

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historia autem tanquam praeteritarum. Parabolica vero est historia cum typo, quae intellectualia deducit ad sensum.

ATQUE de poesi narrativa, five eam heroicam appellare placet, (modo hoc intelligas de materia non de versu,) ea a fundamento prorsus nobili excitata videtur, quod ad dignitatem humanae naturae imprimis spectat. Cum enim mundus sensibilis sit anima rationali dignitate inferior, videtur poesis haec humanae naturae largiri, quae historia denegat; atque animo umbris rerum utcunque satisfacere, cum solida haberi non possint. Si quis enim rem acutius introspiciat, firmum ex poesi sumitur argumentum, magnitudinem rerum magis illustrem, ordinem magis perfectum, & varietatem magis pulchram, animae humanae complacere, quam in natura ipsa post lapsum, reperire ullo modo possit. Quapropter cum res gestae & eventus, qui verae historiae subjiciuntur, non sint ejus amplitudinis, in qua anima humana sibi satisfaciat, praesto est poesis, quae facta magis heroica confingat: Cum historia vera successus rerum, minime pro meritis virtutum & scelerum, narret; corrigit eam poesis, & exitus & fortunas, secundum merita & ex lege nemeseos, exhibet: Cum historia vera, obvia rerum satietate & similitudine, animae humanae fastidio sit; reficit eam poesis, inexpectata, & varia, & vicissitudinum plena canens. Adeo ut poesis ista, non solum ad delectationem, sed etiam ad animi magnitudinem & ad mores conferat. Quare & merito etiam divinitatis cujuspiam particeps videri possit; quia animum erigit & in sublime rapit; rerum simulachra ad animi desideria accommodando, non animum rebus (quod ratio facit & historia) submittendo. Atque his quidem illecebris & congruitate, qua animum humanum demulcet, addito etiam consortio musices, unde suavius insinuari possit, adiutum sibi patefecit, ut honori fuerit etiam saeculis plane rudibus & apud nationes barbaras, cum aliae doctrinae prorsus exclusae essent.

DRAMATICA autem poesis, quae theatrum habet pro mundo, usu eximia est, si sana foret. Non parva enim esse posset theatri & disciplina & corruptela: Atque corruptelarum in hoc genere, abunde est; disciplina plane nostris temporibus est neglecta. Attamen licet in rebus publicis modernis habeatur pro re ludicra actio theatri, nisi forte nimium trahat e satyra & mordeat; tamen apud antiquos curae fuit, ut animos hominum ad virtutem institueret. Quinetiam viris prudentibus & magnis philosophis veluti animorum plectrum quoddam censebatur. Atque sane verissimum est, & tanquam secretum quoddam naturae, hominum animos, cum congregati sint, magis quam cum soli sint, affectibus & impressionibus patere.

AT poesis parabolica, inter reliquas eminet, & tanquam res sacra videtur & augusta; cum praesertim religio ipsa ejus opera plerumque utatur, & per eam commercia divinorum cum humanis exercent. Attamen & haec quoque, ingeniorum circa allegorias levitate & indulgentia, contaminata invenitur. Est autem usus ambigui, atque ad contraria adhibetur. Facit enim ad involucrium; facit etiam ad illustrationem. In hoc docendi quaedam ratio; in illo occultandi artificium quaeri videtur. Haec autem docendi ratio, quae facit ad illustrationem, antiquis saeculis plurimum adhibebatur. Cum enim rationis humanae inventa, & conclusiones, (etiam eae quae nunc tritae & vulgatae sunt) tunc temporis novae & insuetae essent, vix illam subtilitatem capiebant ingenia humana, nisi propius eae ad sensum, per hujusmodi simulachra & exempla, deducerentur. Quare omnia apud illos, fabularum omnigenarum, & parolarum, & aenigmatum, & similitudinum, plena fuerunt. Hinc tesserae Pythagorae, AEnigmata Sphingis, AEsopi Fabulae, & similia.

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similia. Quinetiam apophthegmata veterum sapientum fere per similitudines rem demonstrabant. Hinc Menenius Agrippa apud Romanos (gentem eo saeculo minime literatam) seditionem fabula repressit. Denique ut hieroglyphica literis, ita parabolae argumentis erant antiquiores. Atque hodie etiam & semper eximius est & fuit parabolarum vigor, cum nec argumenta tam perspicua, nec vera exempla tam apta esse possint.

ALTER est usus poeseos parabolicae, priori quasi contrarius, qui facit (ut diximus) ad involucrum; earum nempe rerum, quarum dignitas tanquam velo quodam discreta esse mereatur: hoc est, cum occulta & mysteria religionis, politicae, & philosophiae, fabulis & parabolis vestiuntur. Utrum vero fabulis veteribus poëtarum subsit aliquis sensus mysticus, dubitationem nonnullam habet; atque ipsi certe fatemur nos in eam sententiam propendere, ut non paucis antiquorum poëtarum fabulis mysterium infusum fuisse putemus. Neque nos movet, quod ista pueris fere & grammaticis relinquuntur & vilescant, ut de illis contemptim sententiam feramus: quin contra, cum plane constet scripta illa, quae fabulas istas recitant, ex scriptis hominum, post literas sacras esse antiquissima, & longe his antiquiores fabulas ipsas; (etenim tanquam prius creditae & receptae, non tanquam excogitatae ab illis scriptoribus referuntur) videntur esse instar tenuis cujusdam aurae, quae ex traditionibus nationum magis antiquarum in Graecorum fistulas inciderunt. Cum vero, quae circa harum parabolarum interpretationem, adhuc tentata sint per homines scilicet imperitos, nec ultra locos communes doctos, nobis nullo modo satisfaciant; philosophiam secundum parabolas antiquas inter desiderata referre visum est. Ejus autem operis exemplum unum aut alterum subjungemus. Non quod res sit fortasse tanti, sed ut institutum nostrum fervemus. Id hujusmodi est, ut de operibus illis, quae inter desiderata ponimus (si quid sit paulo obscurius) perpetuo aut praecepta ad opus illud instruendum, aut exempla proponamus: ne quis forte existimet levem aliquam tantum notionem de illis mentem nostram perstrinxisse, nosque regiones, sicut augures, animo tantum metiri, neque eas ingrediendi vias nosse. Aliam aliquam partem in poesi desiderari non invenimus; quin potius cum planta sit poesis, quae veluti a terra luxuriante, absque certo semine, germinaverit, supra caeteras doctrinas excrevit & diffusa est. Verum jam exempla proponemus, tria tantum numero, unum e naturalibus, e politicis unum, atque unum denique e moralibus.

Exemplum primum philosophiae secundum parabolas antiquas in naturalibus. De universo, secundum fabulam Panis.

ANTIQUI generationem Panis in dubio relinquunt: Alii enim eum a Mercurio genitum: alii longe alium generationis modum ei tribuunt. Aiunt enim procos universos cum Penelope rem habuisse, ex quo promiscuo concubitu Pana communem filium ortum esse. Neque praetermittenda est tertia illa generationis explicatio: Quidam enim prodiderunt, eum Jovis & Hybreos (id est, contumeliae,) filium fuisse. Utcunque orto, Parcae illi sorores fuisse perhibentur: quae in specu subterraneo habitabant: Pan autem morabatur sub dio. Effigies Panis talis ab antiquitate describitur; cornutus, cornibus in acutum surgentibus, & usque ad coelum fastigiatis; corpore toto hispidus & villosus; barba imprimis promissa; figura biformis, humana quoad superiora, sed semifera & in caprae pedes desinente. Gestabat autem insignia potestatis; sinistra fistulam ex septem calamis compactam,

dextra pedum five baculum, superius curvum & inflexum. Induebatur chlamyde ex pelle pardalis. Potestates ei & munera hujusmodi attribuuntur, ut sit deus venatorum, etiam pastorum, & in universum rusticorum; praeses item montium. Erat etiam proximus a Mercurio nuncius deorum. Habebatur etiam dux & imperator nympharum, quae circa eum perpetuo choreas ducere & tripudiare solebant: comitabantur & satyri, & his seniores fileni. Habebat insuper potestatem terrores immittendi, praesertim inanes & superstitiosos, qui & Panici vocati sunt. Res gestae autem ejus non multae memorantur: illud praecipuum, quod Cupidinem provocavit ad luctum, a quo etiam in certamine victus est. Etiam Typhonem gigantem retibus implicavit & cohibuit; atque narrant insuper, cum Ceres moesta & ob raptam Proserpinam indignata se abscondisset; atque dii omnes ad eam investigandam magnopere incubuissent, & se per varias vias disperiti essent; Panis solummodo ex felicitate quadam contigisse, ut inter venandum eam inveniret & indicaret. Ausus est quoque cum Apolline de victoria musices decertare, atque etiam Mida iudice praelatus est; ob quod iudicium Midas afinas aures tulit, sed clam & secreto. Amores Panis nulli referuntur, aut saltem admodum rari; quod mirum, inter turbam deorum prorsus tam profuse amatoriam, videri possit. Illud solummodo ei datur, quod Echo adamaret, quae etiam uxor ejus est habita; atque unam praeterea nympham, Syringam nomine; in quam propter iram & vindictam Cupidinis (quem ad luctum provocare non reveritus esset) incensus est. Etiam lunam quondam in altas sylvas sevocasse dicitur. Neque etiam prolem ullam suscepit; (quod similiter mirum est, cum dii, praesertim masculi, prolifici admodum essent) nisi quod ei attribuitur tanquam filia, muliercula quaedam ancilla, lambe nomine; quae ridiculis narratiunculis oblectare hospites solebat, ejusque proles ex conjuge Echo esse a nonnullis existimabatur. Parabola talis esse videtur.

PAN (ut & nomen ipsum etiam sonat) universum five universitatem rerum repraesentat & proponit. De hujus origine duplex omnino sententia est, atque adeo esse potest. Aut enim a Mercurio est verbo scilicet divino, (quod & sacrae literae extra controversiam ponunt; & philosophi ipsi, qui magis divini habitus sunt, viderunt) aut ex confusis rerum seminibus. Etenim quidam e philosophis semina rerum etiam substantia infinita statuerunt; unde opinio de homoiomeris fluxit, quam Anaxagoras aut invenit, aut celebravit. Nonnulli vero magis acute & sobrie censebant ad varietatem rerum expediendam sufficere, si semina, substantia eadem, figuris varia, sed certis & definitis, essent; & reliqua in positura & complexu feminum ad invicem ponebant: ex quo fonte opinio de atomis emanavit; ad quam Democritus se applicavit, cum Leucippus ejus auctor fuisset. At alii, licet unum rerum principium assererent, (aquam Thales, aërem Anaximenes, ignem Heraclitus) tamen illud ipsum principium actu unicum, potentia varium & dispensabile posuerunt, ut in quo rerum omnium semina laterent. Qui vero materiam omnino spoliata & informem, & ad formas indifferentem introduxerunt, (ut Plato & Aristoteles) multo etiam propius & propensius ad parabolae figuram accesserunt. Posuerunt enim materiam tanquam publicam meretricem, formas vero tanquam procos: adeo ut omnes de rerum principiis opiniones huc redeant, & ad illam distributionem reducantur, ut mundus sit, vel a Mercurio, vel a Penelope & procis omnibus. Tertia autem generatio Panis ejusmodi est, ut videantur Graeci aliquid de Hebraeis mysteriis, vel per Aegyptios internuncios, vel utcumque inau-

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inaudivisse. Pertinet enim ad statum mundi, non in meris natalibus suis, sed post lapsum Adami, morti & corruptioni expositum & obnoxium factum. Ille enim status, Dei, & peccati, (sive contumeliae) proles fuit, ac manet. Fuit enim peccatum Adami ex genere contumeliae, cum Deo similis fieri vellet. Itaque triplex ista narratio de generatione Panis, etiam vera videri possit, si rite & rebus & temporibus distinguatur. Nam iste Pan (qualem eum nunc intuemur & complectimur) ex verbo divino, mediante confusa materia, (quae tamen ipsa Dei opus erat) & subintrante praevaricatione, & per eam corruptione, ortum habet.

NATURAE rerum, fata rerum sorores vere perhibentur & ponuntur. Fata enim vocantur ortus rerum, & durationes, & interitus; atque depressiones etiam, & eminentiae, & labores, & felicitates, denique conditiones quaecunque individui: quae tamen nisi in individuo nobili (utpote homine, aut urbe, aut gente) fere non agnoscuntur. Atqui ad istas conditiones tam varias deducit individua illa singula Pan, rerum scilicet natura; ut tanquam eadem sit res (quatenus ad individua) catena naturae & filum parcarum. Ad haec insuper finxerunt antiqui Panem semper sub dio morari, sed parcas sub specu ingenti subterraneo habitare, atque inde maxima pernecitate ad homines subito advolare: quia natura, atque universi facies, spectabilis est & aperta; at fata individuorum occulta & rapida. Quod si fatum accipiatur largius, ut omnem prorsus eventum, non illustriores tantum denotet, tamen utique & eo sensu optime convenit cum universitate rerum; cum ex ordine naturae, nil tam exiguum sit, quod sine causa fiat; & rursus nil tam magnum, ut non aliunde pendeat; adeo ut fabrica ipsa naturae suo sinu & gremio omnem eventum & minimum & maximum complectatur; & suo tempore certa lege prodat. Itaque nil mirum si parcae ut Panis sorores introductae sint & certe legitimae. Nam fortuna vulgi filia est, & levioribus tantum philosophis placuit. Sane Epicurus, non solum profanum instituere sermonem, sed etiam desipere videtur, cum dixit, *Praestare credere fabulam Deorum quam fatum asserere*, ac si quicquam in universo esse possit instar insulae, quod a rerum nexu separetur. Verum Epicurus philosophiam suam naturalem (ut ex ipsius verbis patet) morali suae accommodans & subjiciens, nullam opinionem admittere voluit, quae animum premeret & morderet, atque euthymiam illam (quam a Democrito acceperat) lacefferet aut turbaret. Itaque suavitati cogitationum indulgens, potius quam veritatis patiens, plane jugum jactavit, & tam fati necessitatem quam deorum metum repudiavit. Verum de parcarum germanitate cum Pane satis dictum est.

CORNUA autem mundo attribuuntur, ab imo latiora, ad verticem acuta. Omnis enim rerum natura instar pyramidis acuta est. Quippe individua, in quibus basis naturae exporrigitur, infinita sunt; ea colliguntur in species, & ipsas multiplices; species rursus insurgunt in genera, atque haec quoque ascendendo in magis generalia contrahuntur; ut tandem natura tanquam in unum coire videatur; quod figura illa pyramidalis cornuum Panis significatur. Mirum vero minime est Panis cornua etiam coelum ferire; cum excelsa naturae, sive ideae universales ad divina quodammodo pertingant. Itaque & catena illa Homeri decantata, (causarum scilicet naturalium) ad pedem solii Jovis fixa memorabatur; neque quisquam (ut videre est) metaphysicam, & quae in natura aeterna & immobilia sunt, tractavit, atque animum a fluxu rerum paulisper abduxit, qui non simul in theologiam naturalem inciderit; adeo paratus & propinquus est transitus a vertice illa pyramidis ad divina.

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CORPUS autem naturae elegantissime & verissime depingitur hirsutum, propter rerum radios. Radii enim sunt tanquam naturae crines, sive villi: atque omnia fere vel magis vel minus radiofa sunt; quod in facultate visus manifestissimum est; nec minus in omni virtute magnetica, & operatione ad distans. Quicquid enim operatur ad distans, id etiam radios emittere recte dici potest. Sed maxime omnium prominet barba Panis, quia radii corporum coelestium, & praecipue solis, maxime ex longinquo operantur & penetrant; adeo ut superiora terrae, atque etiam interiora, ad distantiam nonnullam plane verterint & subegerint, & spiritu impleverint. Elegantior autem est figura de barba Panis, quod & sol ipse, quando parte superiore ejus nube obvoluta, radii inferius erumpunt, ad aspectum barbatus cernitur.

ETIAM corpus naturae rectissime describitur biforme, ob differentiam corporum superiorum & inferiorum. Illa enim ob pulchritudinem & motus aequalitatem & constantiam, necnon imperium in terram & terrestria, merito sub humana figura repraesentantur; cum natura humana ordinis & dominationis particeps sit: haec autem ob perturbationem & motus incompósitos, & quod a coelestibus in plurimis regantur, bruti animalis figura contenta esse possunt. Porro eadem corporis biformis descriptio pertinet ad participationem specierum: Nulla enim naturae species, simplex videri potest, sed tanquam ex duobus participans, & concreta. Habet enim homo nonnihil ex bruto, brutum nonnihil ex planta, planta nonnihil ex corpore inanimato, omniaque revera biformia sunt & ex specie superiore & inferiore compacta. Acutissima autem est allegoria de pedibus caprae, propter ascensionem corporum terrestrium versus regiones aëris & coeli, ubi etiam pensilia fiunt, & inde dejiciuntur, magis quam descendunt. Capra enim animal scanforium est, eaque e rupibus pendere, atque in praecipitiis haerere amat; similiter etiam res, licet inferiori globo destinatae, faciunt, idque miris modis, ut in nubibus & meteoris manifestissimum est. Imo non sine causa Gilbertus, qui de magnete laboriosissime & secundum viam experimentalem conscripsit, dubitationem iniecit; numnon forte corpora gravia, post longam a terra distantiam, motum versus inferiora paulatim exuant?

INSIGNIA autem in manibus Panis ponuntur duplicia; alterum harmoniae, alterum imperii. Fistula enim ex septem calams concentum rerum & harmoniam, sive concordiam cum discordia mistam, (quae ex septem stellarum errantium motu conficitur,) evidenter ostendit. Neque enim alii, praeterquam septem planetarum, inveniuntur in coelo errores, sive expatiationes manifestae, quae cum aequalitate stellarum fixarum, earumque perpetua & invariabili ad se invicem distantia compositae & temperatae, tum constantiam specierum, tum fluxum individuorum tueri & ciere possint. Si qui vero sint planetae minores, qui non conspiciuntur; si qua etiam mutatio in coelo major, (ut in cometis nonnullis superlunaribus) videntur illa profecto tanquam fistulae, aut omnino mutae, aut ad tempus tantum streperae; utpote quarum operationes vel ad nos non perlabantur, vel harmoniam illam septem fistularum Panis non diu interturbent. Pedum autem illud imperii nobilis translatio est, propter vias naturae partim rectas, partim obliquas. Atque baculum illum, sive virga, versus superiorem partem praecipue curva est, quia omnia providentiae divinae opera in mundo fere per ambages & circuitus fiunt, ut aliud agi videri possit, aliud revera agatur, sicut Josephi venditio in Aegyptum, & similia. Quinetiam in regimine humano omni prudentiore, qui ad gubernacula sedent, populo convenientia, per praetextus &

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vias obliquas, felicius quae volunt, quam ex directo superinducunt & insinuant. Etiam (quod mirum fortasse videri possit) in rebus mere naturalibus citius naturam fallas quam premas: adeo, quae ex directo fiunt, inepta sunt, & se ipsa impediunt; cum contra, via obliqua & insinuans molliter fluat, & effectum fortiatur. Vestis Panis & amiculum ingeniose admodum ex pelle pardalis fuisse fingitur, propter maculas ubique sparsas. Coelum enim stellis, maria insulis, tellus floribus consperguntur; atque etiam res particulares fere variegatae esse solent circa superficiem, quae veluti rei chlamys est.

OFFICIUM autem Panis nulla alia re, tam ad vivum proponi atque explicari potuerit, quam quod deus venatorum sit. Omnis enim naturalis actio, atque adeo motus & progressio, nihil aliud quam venatio est. Nam & scientiae & artes opera sua venantur; & consilia humana fines suos; atque res naturales omnes vel alimenta sua, ut conserventur, vel voluptates & delicias suas, ut perficiantur, venantur; (omnis siquidem venatio est aut praedae, aut animi causa:) idque modis peritis & sagacibus.

*Torva leaena lupum sequitur, lupus ipse capellam,
Florentem cytisum sequitur lasciva capella.*

Etiam ruricularum in genere Pan deus est, quia huiusmodi homines magis secundum naturam vivunt; cum in urbibus & aulis, natura a cultu nimio corrumpatur, ut illud poetae amatorium, verum, propter huiusmodi delicias, etiam de natura sit:

— *Pars minima est ipsa puella sui.*

Montium autem imprimis praefes dicitur Pan, quia in montibus & locis editis natura rerum panditur, atque oculis & contemplationi magis subijcitur. Quod alter a Mercurio deorum nuncius sit Pan, ea allegoria plane divina est, cum proxime post verbum Dei, ipsa mundi imago, divinae potentiae & sapientiae praeconium sit. Quod & poeta divinus cecinit, *Coeli enarrant gloriam Dei, atque opera manuum ejus indicat firmamentum.*

At Pana oblectant nymphae, animae scilicet: deliciae enim mundi animae viventium sunt. Hic autem merito illarum imperator, cum illae naturam quaeque suam tanquam ducem sequantur, & circa eum infinita cum varietate, veluti singulae more patrio, saltent, & choreas ducant, motu neutiquam cessante. Itaque acute quidam ex recentioribus, facultates animae omnes ad motum reduxit, & nonnullorum ex antiquis fastidium & praecipitationem notavit, qui memoriam & phantasiam, & rationem defixis praepropere oculis intuentes & contemplantes, vim cogitativam, quae primas tenet, praetermiserunt. Nam & qui meminit, aut etiam reminiscitur, cogitat; & qui imaginatur, similiter cogitat; & qui ratiocinatur, utique cogitat: denique anima, sive a sensu monita, sive sibi permissa, sive in functionibus intellectus, sive affectuum & voluntatis, ad modulationem cogitationum saltat; quae est illa nympharum tripudiatio. Una vero perpetuo comitantur satyri & silenii, senectus scilicet & juvenus. Omnium enim rerum est aetas quaedam hilaris & motu gaudens, atque rursus aetas tarda & bibula: utriusque autem aetatis studia vere contemplanti fortasse ridicula & deformia videantur, instar satyri alicujus aut Silenii. De Panicis autem terroribus prudentissima doctrina proponitur. Natura enim rerum omnibus viventibus indidit metum & formidinem, vitae atque essentiae suae conservatricem, ac mala ingruentia vitantem & depellentem. Veruntamen eadem natura modum tenere nescia est, sed timoribus salutaribus semper

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vanos & inanes admiscet; adeo ut omnia (si intus conspici darentur) Panicis terroribus plenissima sint; praesertim humana; & maxime omnium apud vulgum, qui superstitione (quae vere nihil aliud quam Panicus terror est) in inmensum laborat & agitur, praecipue temporibus duris & trepidis & adversis. Neque superstitio ista tantummodo in vulgo regnat, sed ab opinionibus vulgi etiam in sapientiores aliquando insilit, ut divine Epicurus (si caetera quae de diis disseruit ad hanc normam fuissent) locutus sit: *Non deos vulgi negare profanum, sed vulgi opiniones diis applicare profanum.*

Quod vero attinet ad audaciam Panis & pugnam per provocationem cum Cupidine; id eo spectat, quia materia non caret inclinatione & appetitu ad dissolutionem mundi & recidivationem in illud chaos antiquum, nisi praevalida rerum concordia (per amorem sive Cupidinem significata) malitia & inipetus ejus cohiberetur, & in ordinem compelleretur. Itaque bono admodum hominum & rerum fato fit, (vel potius immensa bonitate divina) ut Pan illud certamen adversum experiatur, & victus abscedat. Eodem prorsus pertinet & illud de Typhone in retibus implicato, quia utcumque aliquando vasti & insoliti rerum tumores sint, (id quod Typhon sonat) sive intumescant maria, sive intumescant nubes, sive intumescat terra, sive alia, tamen rerum natura hujusmodi corporum exuberantias atque insolentias reti inextricabili implicat & coercet, & veluti catena adamantina devincit.

Quod autem inventio Cereris huic deo attribuitur, idque inter venationem; reliquis autem diis negetur, licet sedulo quaerentibus, & illud ipsum agentibus; monitum habet verum admodum & prudens: hoc scilicet, ne rerum utilium ad vitam & cultum inventio, a philosophiis abstractis, tanquam diis majoribus, expectetur, licet totis viribus in illud ipsum incumbant; sed tantummodo a Pane, id est experientia sagaci, & rerum mundi notitia universali; quae etiam casu quodam, ac veluti inter venandum, in hujusmodi inventa incidere solet. Utilissima enim quaeque inventa experientiae debentur, & veluti donaria quaedam fuere casu in homines sparsa.

ILLUD autem musices certamen, ejusque eventus, salutarem exhibet doctrinam, atque eam quae rationi & judicio humano gestienti & se efferenti, sobrietatis vincula injicere possit. Duplex enim videtur esse harmonia & quasi musica, altera sapientiae divinae, altera rationis humanae. Judicio enim humano, ac veluti auribus mortalium, administratio mundi & rerum, & judicia divina secretiora, sonant aliquid durum & quasi absonum: Quae inscitia licet asininis auribus merito insigniatur, tamen & illae ipsae aures secreto non palam gestantur. Neque enim hujusce rei deformitas a vulgo conspicitur aut notatur.

POSTREMO minime mirum est, si nulli amores Pani attribuantur, praeter conjugium Echus; mundus enim se ipso, atque in se rebus omnibus fruitur: Qui amat autem frui vult, neque in copia desiderio locus est. Itaque mundi amores esse nulli possunt, nec potiundi cupido, (cum se ipse contentus sit) nisi fortasse amores sermonis. Il sunt nymphea Echo, res non solida sed vocalis; aut si accuratiores sint, syringa quando scilicet verba & voces, numeris quibusdam sive poeticis, sive oratoriis, & tanquam modulamine, reguntur. Inter sermones autem sive voces excellenter ad conjugium mundi sumitur sola Echo: Ea enim demum vera est philosophia, quae mundi ipsius voces fidelissime reddit, & veluti dictante mundo conscripta est; & nihil aliud est quam ejusdem simulachrum & reflexio; neque addit quicquam de proprio, sed tantum iterat & resonat. Nam quod lunam Pan in altis sylvas aliquando sevocasset, videtur pertinere ad congressum sensus cum rebus

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rebus coelestibus five divinis. Nam alia est Endymionis ratio alia Panis: Ad Endymionem dormientem sponte se demittit luna; siquidem ad intellectum sopitum & a sensibus abductum, quandoque sponte influunt divina: Quod si accersantur & vocentur a sensu, tanquam a Pane, tum vero non aliud lumen praebent quam illud:

*Quale sub incertam lunam sub luce maligna
Est iter in sylvis.* —

Ad mundi etiam sufficientiam & perfectionem pertinet, quod prolem non edat. Ille enim per partes generat; per totum quomodo generare possit, cum corpus extra ipsum non sit? Nam de muliercula illa Iambe, filia Panis putativa, est sane ea adjectio quaedam ad fabulam sapientissima. Per illam enim repraesentantur eae, quae perpetuis temporibus passim vagantur atque omnia implent, vaniloquae de rerum natura doctrinae, re ipsa infructuosae, genere quasi subditiuae, garrulitate vero interdum jucundae, interdum molestae & importunae.

Exemplum alterum philosophiae, secundum parabolas antiquas in politicis. De bello secundum fabulam Persei.

PERSEUS orientalis cum fuisset, missus traditur a Pallade, ad obtruncandam Medusam, quae populis plurimis ad occidentem, in extremis Iberiae partibus, maximae calamitati fuit. Monstrum enim hoc, alias crudele & immane, etiam aspectu tam dirum atque horrendum fuit, ut eo solo homines in saxa verteret. Erat autem e Gorgonibus una, Medusa, ac sola inter eas mortalis, cum reliquae passivae non essent. Persens igitur ad tam nobile facinus se comparans, arma ac dona a tribus diis mutuo accepit; alas a Mercurio, talaris scilicet non axillares; a Plutone autem galeam; scutum denique a Pallade & speculum. Neque tamen (licet tanto apparatu instructus) ad Medusam recta perrexit, sed primum ad Graecas divertit. Eae sorores, ex altera parente, Gorgonibus erant; atque Graecae istae canae etiam a nativitate erant & tanquam vetulae. Oculus autem iis tantummodo & dens erat omnibus unicus; quos prout exire foras quamque contigerat, vicissim gestabant, reversae autem deponere solebant. Hunc itaque oculum, atque hunc dentem illae Perseo commodarunt. Tum demum cum se abunde ad destinata perficienda instructum judicaret, ad Medusam properavit, impiger & volans. Illam autem offendit dormientem, neque tamen aspectui ejus si (forsan evigilaret) se committere audebat, sed cervice reflexa, & in speculum illud Palladis inspiciens, atque hoc modo ictus dirigens, caput Medusae abscidit: Ex sanguine autem ejusdem in terram fuso, statim Pegasus alatus emicuit. Caput autem abscissum Perseus in scutum Palladis transtulit & inseruit: Cui etiamnum sua mansit vis, ut ad ejus intuitum omnes ceu attoniti aut siderati obrigerent.

FABULA conficta videtur de belligerandi ratione & prudentia. Atque primo omnis belli susceptio debet esse tanquam missio a Pallade; non a Venerere certe, (ut bellum Trojanum fuit) aut alia levi ex causa; quippe cum in consiliis solidis decreta de bellis fundari oporteat. Deinde de genere belli eligendo, tria proponit fabula praecepta, sana admodum & gravia. Primum est, ut de *subjugatione nationum finitimarum* quis non magnopere laboret. Neque enim eadem est patrimonii & imperii amplificandi ratio. Nam in possessionibus privatis, vicinitas praediorum spectatur, sed in propagando

pagando imperio occasio, & belli conficiendi facilitas & fructus, loco vicinitatis esse debent. Itaque Perseus licet orientalis, tamen tam longinquam expeditionem, usque ad extremum occidentem, minime detrectavit. Huius rei exemplum insigne est in belligerandi diversa ratione patris & filii regum, Philippi & Alexandri. Ille enim in finitimis bellis occupatus, urbes paucas imperio adjecit, idque non sine maxima contentione & periculo. Quippe qui & alias & praecipue in proelio Chaeroneo, in ultimum discrimen adductus fuit: At Alexander longinquam expeditionem bene ausus in Persas, nationes infinitas subjugavit, magis itineribus quam proeliis fatigatus. Hoc ipsum adhuc clarius cernitur, in propagatione imperii Romanorum; qui quo tempore, ex parte occidentis, vix ultra Liguriam armis penetraverant, eodem tempore orientis provincias usque ad montem Taurum armis & imperio complexi sunt. Etiam Carolus Octavus rex Galliae, bellum Britannicum (quod matrimonio tandem compositum est) non admodum facile expertus, expeditionem illam Neapolitanam longinquam, admiranda quadam facilitate & felicitate transegit. Habent certe hoc bella longinqua, ut cum iis manus conferatur, qui militiae & armis invasoris minime sint affueti: Quod in finitimis secus se habet. Etiam & apparatus in huiusmodi expeditionibus solet esse diligentior & instructior; & terror apud hostes ex ipso ausu & fiducia major. Neque etiam fere possit fieri in illis expeditionibus remotis per hostes, ad quos tam longo itinere pervenitur, diversio aliqua aut invasio reciproca, quae in belligerandi ratione cum finitimis saepius adhibetur. Caput autem rei est, quod in subjugandis finitimis, occasionum delectus in angusto versatur; at si quis longinquiora non detrectet, poterit pro arbitrio suo eo transferre bellum, ubi aut disciplina militaris maxime est enervata, aut vires nationis plurimum attritae & consumptae, aut dissidia civilia opportune oborta, aut aliae huiusmodi commoditates se ostendant. Secundum est, ut semper subsit causa belli iusta, & pia, & honorifica, & favorabilis: Id enim alacritatem tum militibus, tum populis impensas conferentibus, addit, & societates aperit & conciliat, & plurimas denique commoditates habet. Inter causas autem belli, admodum favorabilis est ea, quae ducit ad debellandas tyrannides, sub quibus populus succumbit, & prosternitur sine animis & vigore, tanquam sub aspectum Medusae; quod etiam Herculi divinitatem conciliavit. Romanis certe magna religio fuit, strenue & impigre accurrere ad socios tuendos, si quoquo modo oppressi fuissent. Etiam bella ob vindictam iustam fere semper felicia fuerunt, sicut bellum adversus Brutum & Cassium, ad vindicandam mortem Caesaris; Severi ad vindicandam mortem Pertinacis; Junii Bruti ad vindicandam mortem Lucretiae. Denique quicumque bello calamitates hominum & injurias aut levant aut vindicant, sub Perseo militant. Tertium ut in omni bello suscipiendo vera sit aestimatio virium; atque recte perpendatur, utrum bellum sit tale, quod confici & ad exitum perducere possit, ne quis vastas & infinitas spes persequatur. Prudenter enim Perseus inter Gorgonas (per quas bella repraesentantur) eam delegit, quae in sua natura mortalis erat, neque ad impossibilia animum adjecit. Atque de iis, quae in suscipiendo bello deliberationem subeunt, haec praecipit fabula, reliqua ad belligationem ipsam pertinent.

IN bello maxime omnium profunt illa tria dona deorum, adeo ut fortunam ipsam fere regant & trahant. Accepit enim Perseus celeritatem a Mercurio, occultationem consiliorum ab Orco, & providentiam a Pallade: Neque caret allegoria, eaque prudentissima, quod alae illae celeritatis in rebus conficiendis (cum celeritas in bello plurimum possit) talares, non axillares fuerint,

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fuerint, atque pedibus, non humeris additae; quia non tam in primis belli aggressibus, quam in iis quae sequuntur & primis subsidio sunt, celeritas requiritur. Nullus enim error in bello magis frequens fuit, quam quod prosecutiones & subsidiarii impetus initiorum alacritati non respondeant. At galea Plutonis (quae homines invisibiles reddere solebat) manifesta parabola est. Nam consiliorum occultatio post celeritatem maximi ad bellum est momenti: Cujus etiam celeritas ipsa pars magna est. Celeritas enim consiliorum evulgationem praevertit. Ad galeam Plutonis spectant, ut unus bello praesit, cum mandatis liberis; consultationes enim cum multis, habent aliquid potius ex crisi Martis, quam ex galea Plutonis. Eodem spectant praetextus varii, & designationes ancipites, & famae emissariae, quae oculos hominum aut perstringunt aut avertunt, atque vera consiliorum in obscuro ponunt. Etiam cautiones diligentes & suspicaces, de literis, de legatis, de perfugis, & complura alia, galeam Plutonis ornant & revinciunt. At non minus interest, consilia hostium explorare, quam sua occultare: Itaque galeae Plutonis adjungendum est speculum Palladis, per quod hostium vires, inopia, occulti fautores, dissidia & factiones, progressus, consilia cernantur. Quoniam vero tantum fortuitorum suscipit ratio belli, ut nec in consiliis propriis occultandis, nec in hostium explorandis, nec in celeritate ipsa, multum fiduciae ponendum sit, ideo ante omnia sumendum Palladis scutum, providentiae scilicet, ut quam minimum fortunae relinquatur. Huc pertinent explorato vias inire, castra diligenter munire, (quod in militia moderna in desuetudinem fere abiit; castra vero instar urbis munitae, Romanis ad adversos proelii eventus erant) acies stabilis & ordinata, non nimium fidendo cohortibus levis armaturae, aut etiam equitum turmis; denique omnia quae ad solidam & sollicitam defensivam spectant: cum plus valeat utique in bellis scutum Palladis quam gladius ipse Martis. Verum Perseo utcumque copiis aut animis instructo, restat aliud quidpiam, maximi per omnia momenti, antequam bellum incipiatur: Nimirum, ut divertat ad Graecas. Graecae autem prodictiones sunt, bellorum scilicet sorores, non germanae illae quidem, sed generis nobilitate quasi impares: Bella enim generosa; prodictiones degeneres & turpes. Earum descriptio elegans est, ut canae a nativitate sint & tanquam vetulae, propter perpetuas proditorum curas & trepidationes. Earum autem vis (antequam in manifestam defectionem erumpant) aut in oculo aut in dente est: Omnis enim factio, a statu quopiam alienata, & in prodicionem propensa, & speculatur & mordet. Atque huiusmodi oculus & dens tanquam communis est. Nam quicquid didicerunt & noverunt, fere per manus ab una ad alteram transit & percurrit. Et quod ad dentem attinet, uno quasi ore mordent, & eadem scandala jactant; ut si unam audias omnes audias. Itaque Perseo sunt istae Graecae conciliandae, atque in auxilium adducendae, praesertim ut oculum & dentem suum ei commodent; oculum ad indicia; dentem ad rumores ferendos & invidiam conflandam, & animos hominum sollicitandos. Postquam vero omnia bene fuerint ad bellum praeparate disposita, illud imprimis curandum, quod Perseus fecit, ut Medusa dormiens inveniat. Prudens enim belli susceptor semper fere hostem assequitur imparatum, & securitati propiorem. Denique in ipsis belli actionibus atque insultibus, ille intuitus in speculum Palladis, adoperandus est. Plurimi enim ante ipsa pericula res hostium acute & attente introspicere possunt; at in ipso periculi articulo aut terrore offunduntur, aut pericula nimium praecipites & a fronte spectant; unde in illa temere ruunt, vincendi memores, vitandi obliti. At neutrum horum fieri

debet, sed in speculum Palladis, cervice reflexa inspiciendum, ut impetus recte dirigatur, absque vel terrore vel furore.

A bello perfecto & victoria, sequuntur effecta duo: Pegasi illa generatio & exsuscitatio; quae satis evidenter famam denotat, quae per omnia volat, & victoriam celebrat, & reliquias belli faciles & in votum cedentes efficit. Secundum, gestatio capitis Medusae in scuto; siquidem nullum praesidii genus huic ob praestantiam comparari possit. Unicum enim facinus insigne & memorabile, feliciter gestum & perpetratum, omnes hostium motus obriegescere facit, atque malevolentiam ipsam stupidam reddit.

Exemplum tertium philosophiae secundum parabolas antiquas, in moralibus. De cupiditate, secundum fabulam Dionysi.

NARRANT, Semelem, Jovis pellicem, postquam juramento eum inviolabili ad votum indefinitum obstrinxisset, petiisse, ut ad amplexus suos accederet talis, qualis cum Junone consueffet. Itaque illa ex conflagratione perit. Infans autem, quem in utero gestabat, a patre exceptus, in femur ejus insutus est, donec menses foetui destinatos compleret: Ex quo tamen onere Jupiter interim nonnihil claudicabat. Itaque puer quod Jovem, dum in femore ejus portaretur, gravaret & pungeret, Dionysi nomen accepit. Postquam autem editus esset, apud Proserpinam per aliquot annos nutritus est. Cum vero adultus esset, ore fere muliebri conspiciebatur, ut sexus videretur tanquam ambigui. Etiam extinctus & sepultus quondam erat ad tempus, non ita multo post revixit. Atque prima juvenia vitis culturam, atque adeo vini confectionem & usum primus invenit & edocuit: Ex quo celebris factus & inclytus, orbem terrarum subjugavit, & ad ultimos Indorum terminos perrexit. Cursu autem vehabatur a tigris tracto; circa eum subsultabant daemones deformes, Cobali vocati, Acratus & alii. Quin & musae comitatu ejus se adjungebant: Uxorem autem sibi sumpsit Ariadnem, a Theseo desertam & relictam. Arbor ei sacra erat hedera. Etiam sacrorum & ceremoniarum inventor & institutor habebatur; ejus tamen generis, quae & fanaticae erant & plenae corruptelarum, atque insuper crudeles. Furores quoque immittendi potestatem habebat. Certe in orgiis ejus, a mulieribus furore percitis, duo viri insignes discerpti narrantur, Pentheus & Orpheus: Ille, dum arbore conscensa spectator eorum quae agerentur, curiosus esse voluisset; hic, cum lyram suaviter & perite pulsaret: Atque hujus dei res gestae cum Jovis rebus fere confunduntur.

FABULA videtur ad mores pertinere, ut vix quicquam in philosophia morali melius inveniatur. Describitur autem sub persona Bacchi natura cupiditatis, sive affectuum & perturbationum animi. Primum igitur, quod ad natalia cupiditatis attinet; origo cupiditatis omnis, licet nocentissimae, non alia est, quam bonum apparens. Sicut enim virtutis mater est bonum existens, similiter cupiditatis mater est bonum apparens. Altera Jovis (sub cujus persona anima humana repraesentatur) uxor legitima, altera pellex: quae tamen Junonis honores aemuletur, tanquam Semele. Concipitur vero cupiditas in voto illicito, prius temere concesso, quam rite intellecto & judicato. Atque postquam effervescente coeperit, mater ejus (natura scilicet & species boni) ex nimio incendio destruitur & perit. Processus autem cupiditatis a conceptu suo talis est: illa ab animo humano (qui ejus est genitor) & nutricatur & occultatur, praecipue in inferiore parte ejus, tanquam femore; atque animum pungit & convellit & deprimit, adeo ut actiones &

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decreta ab ea impediuntur & claudicent. Quinetiam postquam consensu & tempore confirmata est, & in actus erumpit, ut jam quasi menses compleverit, & edita plane sit atque nata, primo tamen ad tempus nonnullum apud Proserpinam educatur, id est, latebras quaerit, atque clandestina est, & quasi subterranea; donec remotis pudoris & metus fraenis, & coalita audacia, aut virtutis alicujus praetextum sumit, aut infamiam ipsam contemnit. Atque illud verissimum est, omnem affectum vehementiorem tanquam ambigui sexus esse. Habet enim impetum virilem, impotentiam autem muliebrem. Etiam illud praeclare, *Bacchum mortuum reviviscere*: Videntur enim affectus quandoque sopiti, atque extincti; sed nulla fides habenda est eis, ne sepultis quidem: siquidem praebita materia & occasione resurgunt.

DE inventione vitis parabola prudens est: omnis enim affectus ingeniosus est admodum & sagax, ad investigandum ea, quae ipsum alant & foveant. Atqui ante omnia, quae hominibus innotuere, vinum ad perturbationes cujuscunque generis excitandas & inflammandas potentissimum est, & maxime efficax; atque est cupiditatibus in genere instar fomitis communis. Elegantissime autem ponitur affectus sive cupiditas, provinciarum subjugator, & expeditionis infinitae susceptor: nunquam enim partis acquiescit, sed appetitu infinito, neque satiabili, ad ulteriora tendit & novis semper inhiat. Etiam tigres apud affectus stabulant, & ad currum eorum subinde jugantur. Postquam enim affectus curulis esse coeperit, non pedestris, sed victor rationis & quasi triumphator factus sit, in omnes, qui adversantur aut se opponunt, crudelis est & indomitus ac immitis. Facetum autem est, quod circa currum Bacchi subsultant illi daemones deformes & ridiculi. Omnis enim affectus vehementior progignit motus in oculis & ore ipso & gestu indecoros & inconditos, subsultorios & deformes; adeo ut qui sibi ipsi fortasse in aliquo affectu (veluti ira, arrogantia, amore) videatur magnificus & tumidus, aliis tamen appareat turpis & ridiculus. Conspiciuntur autem in cupiditatis comitatu musae: Neque enim reperitur ullus fere affectus, tam pravus & vilis, cui non blandiatur aliqua doctrina. Hac enim in re, ingeniorum indulgentia & procacitas, musarum majestatem in immensum minuit; ut cum duces vitae & signiferi esse debeant, sint non raro cupiditatum pedissequae & oblectatrices.

IMPRIMIS vero nobilis est illa allegoria, Bacchum amores suos in eam effudisse, quae ab alio relictæ erat & fastidita. Certissimum enim est, affectus id petere atque ambire, quod experientia jam pridem repudiavit. Atque norint omnes, qui affectibus suis servientes & indulgentes, pretium potiundi in immensum augent, (sive honores appetant, sive amores, sive gloriam, sive scientiam, sive alia quaecunque) se res relictas petere & a compluribus, per omnia fere saecula, post experimentum, dimissas & repudiatas. Neque mysterio caret, quod hedera Baccho sacra fuerit; hoc enim duplici modo convenit. Primum, quod hedera hyeme virescat; deinde, quod circa tot res (arbores, parietes, aedificia) serpat, ac circumfundatur & se attollat. Quod ad primum enim attinet, omnis cupiditas per renitentiam & vetitum, & tanquam antiperistasin (veluti per frigora brumae hedera) virefcit, ac vigorem acquirit: secundo, affectus aliquis in humana anima praedominans, omnes ejus actiones & decreta, tanquam hedera, circumsepit; neque fere quicquam purum invenias, quo illa claviculas suas non imprimat. Neque mirum est, si supersticiosi ritus Baccho attribuantur, cum omnis fere maleficus affectus in pravis religionibus luxuriatur: adeo ut haereticorum colluvies Bacchanalia ethnicorum superarit; quorum etiam superstitiones,

non

non minus cruentae, quam turpes extiterunt. Neque itidem mirum est, si furores a Baccho immitti putentur, cum & omnis affectus in excessu suo, veluti furor brevis sit, & si vehementius obsideat & incumbat, in infania saepius terminetur. Illud autem de Pentheo & Orpheo inter orgia Bacchi laceratis, evidentem parabolam habet; cum affectus quisque praevalidus erga duas res sit asperrimus atque insensibilissimus; quarum altera est inquisitio in eum curiosa, altera, admonitio salutaris & libera. Neque auxilio fuerit, si illa inquisitio fiat tantum contemplationis aut spectandi gratia, tanquam arbore conscensa, absque omni animi malignitate; neque rursus, si admonitio illa, multa cum suavitate & dexteritate adhibeatur; verum utcunque non tolerant orgia aut Pentheum aut Orpheum. Postremo, illa confusio personarum Jovis & Bacchi, ad parabolam recte traduci potest; quandoquidem res gestae nobiles & clarae, atque merita insignia & gloriosa, interdum a virtute & recta ratione & magnanimitate, interdum autem a latente affectu & occulta cupiditate (utcunque famae & laudis celebritate utraque res pariter gaudeat) proveniant; ut non facile sit distinguere facta Dionysi a factis Jovis.

VERUM in theatro nimis diu moramur; transeamus ad palatium animi; cujus limina majori cum veneratione & cura ingredi convenit.



FRANCISCI

Baronis de VERULAMIO,

Vice-Comitis SANCTI ALBANI,

De Dignitate & Augmentis SCIENTIARUM,

LIBER TERTIUS:

AD REGEM SUUM.

CAP. I.

Partitio scientiae in theologiam & philosophiam. Partitio philosophiae in doctrinas tres; de Numine, de natura, de homine. Constitutio philosophiae primae, ut matris communis omnium.

HISTORIA omnis (rex optime) humi incedit, & ducis potius officio quam lucis perfungitur: poësis autem doctrinae tanquam somnium: res dulcis & varia, & volens videri aliquid in se habere divini; quod etiam somnia vendicant. Verum jam tempus est mihi, ut evigilem, & me humo attollam, philosophiae & scientiarum liquidum aethera secans.

SCIENTIA aquarum similis est: Aquarum aliae descendunt coelitus, aliae emanant e terra. Etiam scientiarum primaria partitio sumenda est ex fontibus suis: Horum alii in alto siti sunt, alii hic infra. Omnis enim scientia duplicem sortitur informationem. Una inspiratur divinitus; altera oritur a sensu. Nam quantum ad illam, quae docendo infunditur, scientiam; cumulativa ea est, non originalis: sicut etiam fit in aquis, quae praeter fontes primarios, ex aliis rivulis in se receptis, augefcunt. Partiemur igitur scientiam, in theologiam & philosophiam. Theologiam hic intelligimus inspiratam sive sacram, non naturalem; de qua paulo post dicturi sumus. At illam (inspiratam nimirum) ad ultimum locum reservabimus, ut cum ea sermones nostros claudamus; cum sit portus & sabbatum humanarum contemplationum omnium.

PHILOSOPHIAE autem objectum triplex, Deus, natura, homo: Et triplex itidem radius rerum. Natura enim percutit intellectum radio directo; Deus autem propter medium inaequale (creaturas scilicet) radio refracto; homo vero, sibi ipsi monstratus & exhibitus, radio reflexo. Convenit igitur parti philosophiam in doctrinas tres; doctrinam de Numine, doctrinam de natura, doctrinam de homine. Quoniam autem partitiones scientiarum non sunt lineis diversis similes, quae coeunt ad unum angulum; sed potius ramis arborum,

qui conjunguntur in uno trunco, (qui etiam truncus ad spatium nonnullum integer est & continuus, antequam se partiatur in ramos;) idcirco postulat res, ut priusquam prioris partitionis membra persequamur, constituatur una scientia universalis, quae sit mater reliquarum, & habeatur in progressu doctrinarum, tanquam portio viae communis, antequam viae se separent & disjungant. Hanc scientiam philosophiae primae, five etiam sapientiae (quae olim rerum divinarum atque humanarum scientia definiebatur) nomine insignimus. Huic autem scientiae nulla alia opponitur; cum ab aliis scientiis, potius limitibus, intra quos continetur, quam rebus & subiecto differat, fastigia scilicet rerum tantummodo tractans. Hanc ipsam utrum inter desiderata reponere oporteat, haesito; sed arbitror tamen poni debere. Equidem invenio farraginem quandam & massam inconditam doctrinae ex theologia naturali, ex logica, ex partibus quibusdam physicae, (veluti de principiis, & de anima) compositam & congestam, & sublimitate quadam sermonis hominum, qui se ipsos admirari amant, tanquam in vertice scientiarum collocatam. Nos vero, misso fastu, id tantum volumus, ut designetur aliqua scientia, quae sit receptaculum axiomatum; quae particularium scientiarum non sint propria, sed pluribus earum in commune competant.

PLURIMA autem id genus axiomata esse nemo ambigat. Exempli gratia, *Si inaequalibus aequalia addas, omnia erunt inaequalia*: Regula est ex mathematicis; eadem & in ethicis obtinet, quatenus ad justitiam distributivam; siquidem in justitia commutativa, ut paria imparibus tribuantur, ratio aequitatis postulat; at in distributiva, nisi imparia imparibus praestentur, iniquitas fuerit maxima. *Quae in eodem tertio conveniunt, & inter se conveniunt*: Regula est itidem ex mathematicis; verum simul tam potens in logica, ut syllogismi sit fundamentum. *Natura se potissimum prodit in minimis*: regula est in physicis, tam valida, ut etiam Democriti atomos produxerit; veruntamen eam recte adhibuit Aristoteles in politicis, qui contemplationem reipublicae orditur a familia. *Omnia mutantur, nil interit*: Regula itidem in physicis hoc modo prolata; *Quantum naturae, nec minuitur, nec augetur*: Eadem competit theologiae naturali, sic variata; *Omnipotentiae sunt opera: aliquid ex nihilo facere, & aliquid in nihilum redigere*: Quod etiam scriptura testatur, *Didici, quod omnia opera, quae fecit Deus, perseverent in perpetuum; non possumus eis quicquam addere nec auferre. Interitus rei arcetur per reductionem ejus ad principia*: Regula est in physicis; eadem valet in politicis, (ut recte notavit Machiavellus) cum illa quae interitum rerumpublicarum maxime prohibent, nihil aliud fere sint, quam reformatio earum, & reductio ad antiquos mores. *Putredo serpens magis contagiosa est, quam matura*: Regula est in physicis, eadem insignis etiam in moralibus; cum homines profligatissimi & maxime facinorosi, minus corruptelae inferant publicis moribus, quam qui aliquid videntur habere sanitatis & virtutis, & ex parte tantum mali sunt. *Quod conservativum est formae majoris, id activitate potentius*: Regula est in physicis. Etenim, ut non abscindatur ipse rerum nexus, nec detur (ut loquuntur) vacuum, facit ad conservandam fabricam universi. Ut vero gravia congregentur ad massam terrae, facit ad conservandam tantum regionem densorum. Itaque prior motus posteriorem domat. Eadem tenet in politicis. Nam quae faciunt ad conservandam ipsam politiam in sua natura, validiora sunt, quam quae ad bene esse particularium in republica membrorum conducunt. Similiter eadem locum habet in theologia. Etenim in theologicis virtutibus, charitas, quae est virtus maxime

xime communicativa, prae reliquis omnibus eminet. *Augetur vis agentis per antiperistasin contrarii*: Regula est in physicis. Eadem mira praestat in politicis; cum omnis factio, ex contraria ingruente vehementer irritetur. *Tonus discors in concordem actutum desinens, concentum commendat*: regula est musicae. Eadem in ethicis & affectibus obtinet. Tropus ille musicus, a clausula aut cadentia, (quam vocant) cum jamjam adesse videatur, placide elabendi; convenit cum tropo rhetorico expectationem eludendi. *Fidium sonus tremulus*, eandem affert auribus voluptatem, quam lumen aquae aut gemmae infiliens oculis;

— *Splendet tremulo sub lumine pontus.*

Organa sensuum cum organis reflexionum conveniunt. Hoc in perspectiva locum habet; oculus enim similis speculo five aquis. Et in acoustica; instrumentum enim auditus obici intra cavernam simile. Haec pauca enumerasse sufficiet ad exempla. Quinimo magia Persarum (quae in tantum est celebrata) in eo potissimum versabatur, ut architecturas & fabricas rerum naturalium & civilium symbolizantes notaret. Neque haec omnia, quae diximus, & alia hujus generis, similitudines merae sunt, (quales hominibus fortasse parum perspicacibus videri possint) sed plane una eademque naturae vestigia aut signacula, diversis materiis & subjectis impressa. Atque haec res adhuc sedulo tractata non est. Invenias fortasse in scriptis, quae ab ingeniis celsioribus promanarunt, hujusmodi axiomata raro & sparsim inserta, ex usu argumenti quod tractant: corpus vero aliquod talium axiomatum, quae vim habeant quandam primitivam & summariam ad scientias, nemo composuit; cum tamen sit res ejusmodi, quae insigniter naturam unam faciat; quod philosophiae primae munus esse autumant.

EST & alia hujus philosophiae primae pars, quae, si ad vocabula respicias, vetus est; si ad rem, quam designamus, nova. Est autem inquisitio de conditionibus adventitiis entium, (quas transcendentes dicere possumus) paucos, multos, simili, diverso, possibili, impossibili; etiam ente, & non ente; atque ejusmodi. Quandoquidem enim ista sub physica proprie non cadant, dissertatio autem dialectica circa ea, magis ad argumentandi rationes quam ad rerum existentiam fit accommodata; consentaneum omnino est, ut haec contemplatio (in qua non parum est dignitatis & utilitatis) haud deferatur prorsus, sed in scientiarum partitionibus nonnullum saltem inveniat locum: veruntamen hoc intelligimus fieri debere, longe alio, quam quo tractari solet, modo. Exempli gratia: nemo, qui de multo & paucos verba fecit, hoc egit, ut causa reddatur, cur alia in natura, tam numerosa & ampla sint & esse possint, alia tam rara & modica: Nam certe fieri non potest, ut in rerum natura, tanta sit copia auri, quanta ferri; tanta rosae, quanta graminis; tanta specificati quanta non specificati. Similiter nemo qui de simili & diverso disseruit, satis explicavit, cur quasi perpetuo inter species diversas, interponantur participia quaedam, quae sunt speciei ambiguae; veluti muscus inter putredinem & plantam; pisces qui haerent & loco non moventur, inter plantam & animal; forices & mures, & alia nonnulla, inter animalia ex putredine & ex semine progata; vespertiliones inter aves & quadrupedes; pisces volantes (qui jam notissimi sunt) inter aves & pisces; phocae inter pisces & quadrupedes; & alia hujusmodi. Neque rursus causam indagavit quispiam, cur cum similia similibus gaudeant, ferrum ferrum non trahat, quod magnes facit, neque aurum ipsum aurum, licet argentum vivum alliciat. Circa haec & similia in disceptatione de transcendentibus illis, altum est silentium: orationis enim apices,

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ces, non rerum subtilitates, secuti sunt homines. Quamobrem horum transcendendum, five conditionum entium adventitiarum inquisitionem veram & solidam, secundum naturae non sermonis leges, philosophiam primam recipere volumus. Atque de philosophia prima (five de Sophia) quam inter desiderata haud immerito retulimus, haec dicta sint.

C A P. II.

De theologia naturali: & doctrina de Angelis & Spiritibus; quae ejusdem est appendix.

COLLOCATA igitur sua in sede communi scientiarum parente, instar Berecynthiae tanta gaudentis coelesti sobole;

Omnes coelicolas, omnes supera alta tenentes;

revertamur ad partitionem illam trium philosophiarum, divinae, naturalis & humanae. Nam theologia naturalis, philosophia etiam divina recte appellatur. Definitur autem haec, ut sit talis scientia, seu potius scientiae scintilla, qualis de Deo haberi potest, per lumen naturae & contemplationem rerum creaturarum: & ratione objecti sane divina, ratione informationis, naturalis censeretur potest. Hujus scientiae limites ita vere signantur, ut ad atheismum confutandum & convincendum, & ad legem naturae informandam se extendant; ad religionem autem adstruendam non proferantur. Quamobrem nec Deus unquam edidit miraculum, quo converteretur atheus; quia poterat ipso naturae lumine ad notitiam Dei perducere; verum miracula ad convertendos idololatrias & supersticiosos designata sunt, qui Numen agnoverunt, sed in cultu ejus aberrarunt; quoniam non sufficit lumen naturae, Dei voluntati declarandae, aut cultui ejus legitimo prodendo. Sicut enim opificis potentiam & peritiam ostendunt opera ejus, imaginem autem minime; sic opera Dei, Conditoris omnipotentiam & sapientiam ostendunt, imaginem ejus haudquaquam depingunt. Atque hac in re, ethnicorum opinio a sacra veritate recedit: Illi siquidem mundum imaginem Dei statuebant, hominem mundi. At sacrae literae haud tali honore mundum dignantur, ut Dei uspiam imago dicatur, sed solummodo opus manuum ejus; hominem vero imaginem Dei immediate substituunt. Quocirca, quod sit Deus, quod rerum habenas tractet, quod summe potens, quod sapiens & praescius, quod bonus, quod remunerator, quod vindex, quod adorandus, etiam ex operibus ejus demonstrari & evinci potest: & admirabilia complura secreta circa attributa ejus, & multo magis circa regimen & dispensationem super universum, etiam sobrie ex iisdem elici & manifestari queunt; estque istud argumentum a nonnullis utiliter pertractatum. Verum ex intuitu rerum naturalium, atque humanae rationis principiis, de fidei mysteriis vel ratiocinari vel etiam suadere vehementius, aut rursus ea curiosius introspicere & ventilare, & de modo mysterii inquirere, haud tutum meo judicio fuerit. *Da fidei quae fidei sunt.* Nam vel ethnici, in illustri illa & divina, de aurea catena, fabula, hoc ipsum concedunt: *quod Jovem de coelo ad terras deducere nec homines potuerunt, nec dii; e contrario, quod Jupiter pertrahere eos potuerit e terra ad coelum.* Quare frustra sudaverit, qui coelestia religionis arcana, nostrae rationi adaptare conabitur: decebit potius, mentes nostras ad coelestis veritatis thronum adorandum attollere. In hac igitur parte

parte theologiae naturalis, tantum abest, ut defectum aliquem observem, ut excessum potius reperiam; ad quem subnotandum paulum sum digressus, propter maxima incommoda & pericula, quae ex eo tum religioni, tum philosophiae impendent; utpote qui & religionem haereticam procudet, & philosophiam phantasticam & superstitiosam.

SECUS est, quod ad Angelorum & spirituum naturam attinet; quae nec inscrutabilis est, nec interdicta; ad quam etiam, ex affinitate, quam habet cum anima humana, aditus magna ex parte est patefactus. Praecipit certe sacra scriptura; *Nemo vos decipiat in sublimitate sermonum & religione Angelorum, ingerens se in ea, quae non novit.* Attamen si hoc monitum diligenter perpendas, duo duntaxat in eo vetita reperies; adorationem scilicet, qualis Deo debetur, Angelorum; & fanaticas de iis opiniones, vel ultra creaturae sortem eos efferentes, vel ampliorem de iis cognitionem, quam quis revera adeptus sit, venditantes. Caeterum sobria circa illos inquisitio, quae vel per rerum corporearum scalam ad eorum naturam pernoctandam ascendat, vel in anima humana, veluti in speculo, eam intueatur, neutiquam prohibetur. Idem de spiritibus statuendum immundis, qui a statu suo deciderunt. Consortium cum iis, atque usus operae eorum, illicitus est; multo magis qualiscunque cultus vel veneratio. At contemplatio & cognitio illorum naturae, potestatis, illusionum, non solum ex locis scripturae sacrae, sed ex ratione, aut experientia, haud postrema pars est sapientiae spiritualis. Sic certe Apostolus, *strategematum ejus non ignari sumus.* Ac non minus daemonum naturam investigare in theologia naturali conceditur, quam venenorum in physica, aut vitiorum in ethica. Hanc autem scientiae partem de Angelis & daemonibus inter desiderata numerare non licet, quippe quae ab haud paucis sit tentata: aequius esset, ut scriptorum in hoc genere pars haud parva, aut vanitatis, aut superstitionis, aut subtilitatis inutilis arguantur.

C A P. III.

Partitio naturalis philosophiae in speculativam & operativam: quodque illae duae, & in intentione tractantis, & in corpore tractatus segregari debeant.

MISSA igitur theologia naturali (cui inquisitionem de spiritibus, ut appendicem attribuimus,) accedamus ad secundam partem; videlicet illam de natura, sive philosophiam naturalem. Optime Democritus, *Scientiam de natura in profundis mineris, sive puteis latere demersam.* Non male Chymici; *Vulcanum alteram naturam esse; quinetiam id celeriter perficere, quod natura per ambages & temporis moras solet.* Quidni igitur philosophiam in duas partes secemus, fodinam & fornacem; & duo constituamus philosophorum munera, operarios in mineris & fabros? Sane utcunque videamur haec per lusum loqui; tamen hujus generis partitionem utilissimam esse censemus, cum proponetur vocabulis familiaribus & scholasticis; hoc est, ut dividatur *Doctrina de natura in inquisitionem causarum & productionem effectuum, speculativam & operativam.* Altera naturae viscera perscrutatur, altera naturam veluti super incudem efformat. Neque me fugit, quam arcto copulentur vinculo causae & effectus, ut explanationem eorum aliquatenus conjungi sit necesse. Attamen quandoquidem

omnis solida & fructuosa naturalis philosophia duplicem adhibeat scalam, eamque diversam, ascensoriam & descensoriam; ab experientia ad axiomata, & ab axiomatibus ad nova inventa, consultissimum judico ut hae duae partes, speculativa & operativa, & in intentione tractantis, & in corpore tractatus separentur.

C A P. IV.

Partitio doctrinae speculativae de natura, in physicam specialem & metaphysicam: quarum physica causam efficientem & materiam, metaphysica causam finalem & formam inquirat. Partitio physicae in doctrinas de principiis rerum, de fabrica rerum sive de mundo, & de varietate rerum. Partitio physicae de varietate rerum in doctrinam de concretis, & doctrinam de abstractis. Partitio doctrinae de concretis Rejicitur ad easdem partitiones, quas suscipit historia naturalis. Partitio doctrinae de abstractis in doctrinam de schematismis materiae & doctrinam de motibus. Appendices duae physicae speculativae, problemata naturalia placita antiquorum philosophorum. Partitio metaphysicae, in doctrinam de formis, & doctrinam de causis finalibus.

NATURALIS philosophiae partem, quae speculativa est & theoretica, in physicam specialem & metaphysicam dividere placet. Atque in hac partitione attendant homines nos vocabulum metaphysicae usurpare, sensu a recepto & vulgato discrepanti. Hic autem locus admoneodi videtur, de nostro in genere, circa usum vocabulorum, instituto. Id hujusmodi est, ut tam in praemisso vocabulo metaphysicae, quam in aliis, ubi conceptus & notiones nostrae novae sunt & a receptis recedunt, maxima certe cum religione antiqua vocabula retineamus. Cum enim futurum speremus, ut ordo ipse & dilucida rerum explicatio, quam subungere conamur, nos a prava vocabulorum (quibus utimur) intelligentia liberent; in caeteris omnino avemus (quatenus sine veritatis ac scientiarum dispendio fieri possit) vel minimum ab antiquorum aut opinionibus aut loquendi more desistere. Quia in re Aristotelis confidentiam proinde subit mirari; qui impetu quodam periculis contradictionis, & bellum universae antiquitati indicens, non solum nova artium vocabula pro libitu cudendi licentiam usurpavit; sed etiam priscam omnem sapientiam extinguere & delere animus est. Adeo ut neque nominet usquam auctores antiquos, neque dogmatum eorum mentionem ullam faciat, nisi quo aut homines perstringeret, aut placita redargueret. Sane si famam nomini suo, ac sequacium turbam affectaverit, hoc rationibus suis imprimis accommodatum. Siquidem in veritate philosophica asserenda & recipienda, idem contingit, quod in veritate divina, *Veni in nomine Patris, nec recipitis me, si quis venerit in nomine suo, eum recipietis.* Sed ex hoc coelesti aphorismo, si quem praecipue designaverit, spectemus; (nempe antichristum omnium saeculorum impostorem maximum) colligere licet, istud ipsum, *Venire in nomine suo*, nulla antiquitatis, aut (si ita loqui liceat) paternitatis habita ratione, rem mali ominis esse ad veritatem; utcumque eam saepe numero comitetur illa fortuna, eum recipietis. Caeterum de viro tam eximio certe, & ob acumen ingenii mirabili, Aristotele, crediderim facile

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facile hanc ambitionem eum a discipulo suo accepisse, quem fortasse aemulatus est; ut si ille omnes nationes, hic omnes opiniones subigeret, & monarchiam quandam in contemplationibus sibi conderet. Quanquam fieri possit, ut apud aliquos tetricos & linguae acerbae, simili cum discipulo suo titulo insigniretur.

*Felix terrarum praedo, non utile mundo
Editus exemplum: —*

Eodem modo,

Felix doctrinae praedo, &c.

Nobis vero ex altera parte (quibus, quantum calamo valemus, inter vetera & nova in literis foedus & commercium contrahere cordi est) decretum manet, antiquitatem comitari usque ad aras; atque vocabula antiqua retinere, quanquam sensum eorum & definitiones saepius immutemus; secundum moderatum illum & laudatum in civilibus novandi modum, quo rerum statu novato, verborum tamen solennia durent; quod notat Tacitus, *Eadem magistratuum vocabula.*

REDEAMUS igitur ad acceptionem vocabuli metaphysicae, nostro sensu. Patet ex iis, quae supra differuimus, disjungere nos philosophiam primam a metaphysica, quae hactenus pro re eadem habitae sunt. Illam communem scientiarum parentem, hanc naturalis philosophiae portionem, posuimus. Atqui philosophiae primae communia & promiscua scientiarum axiomata assignavimus. Etiam relativas & adventitias entium conditiones; (quas transcendentes nominavimus) multum, paucum; idem, diversum; possibile, impossibile; & hoc genus reliqua eidem attribuimus; id solummodo cavendo, ut physice non logice tractentur. At inquisitionem de Deo, uno, bono, angelis, spiritibus, ad theologiam naturalem retulimus. Merito igitur quaeri possit, quid tandem sit, quod metaphysicae relinquatur? Certe ultra naturam nihil, sed ipsius naturae pars multo praestantissima. Atque profecto citra veritatis dispendium, huc usque de veterum sententia respondere liceat, physicam ea tractare, quae penitus in materia mersa sunt & mobilia, metaphysicam abstracta magis & constantia. Rursus physicam in natura supponere existentiam tantum, & motum, & naturalem necessitatem; at metaphysicam etiam mentem & ideam. Nam huc forte redit ea, quam dicemus, res. Verum nos eam, missa sermonis sublimitate, perspicue & familiariter proponemus. Partiti sumus *Naturalem philosophiam in causarum inquisitionem, & productionem effectuum. Inquisitionem causarum in theoricam coniecimus.* Eam in physicam & metaphysicam partiti sumus. Ergo necesse est, ut vera differentia harum sumatur ex natura causarum, quas inquirunt. Itaque absque aliqua obscuritate aut circuitione, physica est, quae inquit de efficiente & materia, metaphysica quae de forma & fine.

PHYSICA igitur causarum vaga & incerta, & pro modo subjecti, mobilia complectitur; causarum constantiam non assequitur.

*Limus ut hic durescit, & haec ut cera liquefit,
Uno eodemque igne —*

Ignis duritiei causa, sed in limo; ignis colliquationis causa, sed in cera. Partiemur autem physicam in doctrinas tres. Natura enim aut collecta in unum, aut fusa & sparsa est. Colligitur vero in unum natura, aut propter commu-

communia rerum omnium principia; aut propter unicam integram universi fabricam. Itaque haec unio naturae duas peperit physicae partes: unam de principiis rerum; alteram de fabrica universi, sive de mundo; quas etiam doctrinas de summis appellare consuevimus. Tertia doctrina (quae de natura sparsa sive fusa tractat) omnimodam rerum varietatem & summas minores exhibet. Ex his igitur patet tres omnino reperiri doctrinas physicas; de principiis rerum; de mundo sive de fabrica rerum, & de natura multiplici sive sparsa; quae postrema (ut diximus) omnimodam rerum varietatem continet; estque veluti glossa prima, aut paraphrasis circa naturae interpretationem. Harum trium partium desideratur totaliter nulla; caeterum quam vere & solide tractentur, non est hic definiendi locus.

At physicam sparsam sive de varietate rerum, rursus in duas partes dividemus; physicam de concretis, & physicam de abstractis, sive physicam de creaturis, & physicam de naturis. Altera (ut logicis vocabulis utamur) inquit de substantiis, cum omni varietate suorum accidentium: altera de accidentibus per omnem varietatem substantiarum. Veluti si inquiratur de leone aut quercu, illa complura diversa accidentia suffulciunt: contra si inquiratur de calore aut gravitate, illa plurimis distinctis substantiis insunt. Cum vero omnis physica sita sit in medio, inter historiam naturalem & metaphysicam; prior pars (si recte advertas) historiae naturali propior est, posterior metaphysicae. Physica autem concreta eandem subit divisionem, quam historia naturalis; ut sit vel circa coelestia; vel circa meteora; vel circa globum terrae & maris; vel circa collegia majora, quae elementa vocant; vel circa collegia minora, sive species; etiam circa praetergenerationes, & circa mechanica. Etenim in hisce omnibus historia naturalis factum ipsum perscrutatur & refert; at physica itidem causas: sed intellige hoc de causis fluxis, materia scilicet & efficiente. Inter hasce physicae portiones, manca prorsus & imperfecta est ea, quae inquit de coelestibus, cum tamen propter nobilitatem subjecti praecipuae hominibus curae esse deberet. Etenim astronomia fundata est in phaenomenis non male; sed humilis est & minime etiam solida: at astrologia in plurimis etiam fundamento caret. Certè astronomia talem offert humano intellectui victimam, qualem Prometheus olim, cum fraudem Jovi fecit: adduxit ille loco bovis veri pellem bovis grandis & pulchri, stramine, & foliis, & viminibus suffarcinatam. Exhibet similiter & astronomia exteriora coelestium, (astrorum dicimus numerum, situm, motus, periodos) tanquam pellem coeli, pulchram, & in systemata fabre concinnatam: at viscera desunt (rationes nempe physicae) ex quibus (hypothesibus astronomicis adjunctis) eruatur theoria; non quae phaenomenis tantum satisfaciatur, (cujus generis complures ingeniose confingi possent,) sed quae substantiam, & motum, & influxum coelestium, prout revera sunt, proponat. Explosa enim fere jam pridem sunt illa; *Raptus primi mobilis & soliditas Coeli* (stellis in orbibus suis tanquam clavis in laquearibus infixis.) Nec multo melius asseritur; quod sint diversi poli zodiaci & mundi; quod sit secundum mobile renitentiae in adversum primi mobilis raptus; quod omnia in coelo ferantur per circulos perfectos; quod sint eccentrici & epicycli, quibus motuum in circulis perfectis constantia servetur; quod a luna in superius nulla sit mutatio, aut violentia, & hujusmodi. Atque harum suppositionum absurditas in motum terrae diurnum (quod nobis constat falsissimum esse) homines impegit. At vix quisquam est, qui inquisivit causas physicas, tum de substantia coelestium tam stellari, quam interstellari, tum de celeritate & tarditate corporum coelestium ad invicem, tum de incitatione motus diversa

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in eodem planeta, tum de motuum consecutione ab oriente in occidentem, aut e contra, deque progressionibus, stationibus & retrogradationibus, tum de motuum sublatione & casu, per apogaea & perigaea; tum de motuum obliquatione, vel per spiras se versus tropicos texendo & retexendo, vel per sinuationes, quas dracones vocant; tum de polis rotationum, cur magis in tali parte coeli siti sint, quam in alia; tum de alligatione quorundam planetarum ad distantiam certam a sole: Hujus, inquam, generis inquisitio vix tentata est, sed in mathematicis tantum observationibus & demonstrationibus infundatur. Eae autem ostendunt, quomodo haec omnia ingeniose concinnari & extricari possint, non quomodo vere in natura subsistere: Et motus tantum apparentes, & machinam ipsorum & fictitiam, & ad placitum dispositam, non causas ipsas & veritatem rerum indicant. Quocirca male astronomia, qualis nunc habetur, inter artes mathematicas, non sine dignitatis suae dispendio, numeratur; cum debeat potius, si proprias partes tueri velit, constitui physicae pars quasi nobilissima. Quicumque enim superlunarium & sublunarium conficta divortia contempserit, & materiae appetitus & passionnes maxime catholicas (quae in utroque globo validae sunt, & universitatem rerum transverberant) bene perspexerit; is ex illis quae apud nos cernuntur, luculentam capiet de rebus coelestibus informationem; & ab iis e contra, quae in coelo fiunt, haud pauca de motibus inferioribus, qui nunc latent, perdiscet; non tantum quatenus hi ab illis regantur, sed quatenus habeant passiones communes. Quamobrem hanc partem astronomiae, quae physica est, desiderari statuimus. Eam astronomiam vivam nominabimus, ad differentiam bovis illius Promethei suffarcinati, & solummodo figura tenuis bovis.

At astrologia multa superstitione referta est, ut vix aliquid sanum in ea reperiatur. Attamen eam potius expurgandam, quam prorsus abjiciendam esse censemus. Quod si quis hanc scientiam non in ratione aut contemplationibus physicis, sed in caeca experientia, & complurium saeculorum observatione fundatam esse contendat, ideoque rationum physicarum examen rejiciat, quod jactabant Chaldaei: is eadem opera & auguria revocet, & aruspicinam, & exta, & omnigenas fabulas deglutiat: Nam & haec omnia, ut diutinae experientiae, & per manus traditae disciplinae, dictamina fuisse asserebantur. Nos vero & ut physicae portionem, astrologiam recipimus, & non plus ei, quam ratio & rerum evidentia concedit, tribuimus; demptis superstitionibus & commentis. Ut vero rem paulo attentius introspeciamus; primo, quam inane illud commentum; quod singuli planetae vicissim per horas regnent, ut spatio viginti quatuor horarum, regna sua ter repetant, praeter horas tres supernumerarias? Attamen hoc commentum nobis divisionem hebdomadae (rem tam antiquam & tam late receptam) peperit, ut ex alternatione dierum manifestissime patet; cum in principio diei sequentis, regnet semper planeta, a planeta prioris diei quartus; propter tres illas horas, quas diximus supernumerarias. Secundo, pro commento vano rejicere non dubitamus, doctrinam de thematibus coeli, ad puncta temporis certa, cum distributione domorum; ipsas scilicet astrologiae delicias; quae Bacchanalia quaedam in coelestibus exercuerunt: Nec satis mirari possumus, viros quosdam egregios & in astrologia principes, tam levi ad ista astruenda argumento innixos esse. Aiunt enim, quando illud prodit experientia ipsa, solstitia, aequinoctia, novilunia, plenilunia, & hujusmodi stellarum revolutiones majores, manifesto & insigniter operari super corpora naturalia; necesse esse, ut positurae stellarum magis exactae & subtiliores, effectus quo-

que magis exquisitos & occultiores producant. Illi vero seponere primo debuerant, operationes solis per calorem manifestum; & similiter lunae vim quandam magneticam, super incrementa aestuum semimensestrua: (nam fluxus & refluxus maris quotidianus alia res est:) his vero sepositis, reliquas planetarum vires super naturalia (quatenus experientia comprobantur) tenues admodum, & infirmas, & quasi latitantes reperient, etiam in revolutionibus majoribus. Quare contrario prorsus modo concludere debuerant: Nimirum; cum revolutiones illae majores tam parum possint; exactas illas & minutas positurarum differentias nihil omnino virium obtinere. Tertio fatalia illa, quod hora nativitatis aut conceptionis fortunam foetus regat, hora inceptionis fortunam incepti, hora quaestionis fortunam rei inquisitae, atque (ut verbo dicamus) doctrinas de nativitatibus, electionibus, & quaestionibus, & istiusmodi levitates, maxima ex parte, nihil certi aut solidi habere, & rationibus physicis plane redargui & evinci, judicamus. Illud igitur magis attinet dicere, quid tandem in astrologicis retineamus aut probemus? Atque in iis quae probamus, quid desideremus? Nam hujus postremae rei gratia (nempe ejus quod desideratur) sermonem hunc instituimus, cum alias censuris (ut saepe diximus) non vacemus. Atque inter recepta certe, doctrinam de revolutionibus, plus sanitatis quam reliqua, habere censemus. Verum id optimum factu foret, si regulas quasdam praescribamur, ad quarum trutinam & normam astrologica examinentur; ut utilia retineantur, rejiciantur inania. Prima ea sit, de qua jam ante monuimus, *Revoluciones majores retineantur, valeant minores horoscoporum & domorum*. Illae instar tormentorum grandium, ictus suos a longinquo jacere queant, hae tanquam arcus minores spatia evadere & vires deferre non possunt. Secunda est; *Operatio coelestium in corpora omni genera non valet, sed tantum in teneriora*, qualia sunt humores, aer & spiritus: Atque hic tamen excipimus operationes caloris, solis & coelestium, qui & ad metalla & ad plurima subterranea proculdubio penetrat. Tertia est: *Omnis operatio coelestium, potius ad massas rerum extenditur, quam ad individua*: Oblique tamen pervenit etiam ad individua nonnulla: Illa scilicet, quae ex individuis ejusdem speciei sunt maxime passibilia, & tanquam cera mollior; veluti cum constitutio aeris pestilens corpora minus resistentia occupat, magis resistentia praeterit. Quarta est praecedenti non dissimilis: *Omnis operatio coelestium, non in puncta temporum, aut angustias minutas, sed in spatia majora defluit & dominatur*: Itaque praedictiones de temperaturis anni, verae esse possint de diebus singulis, pro vanis merito habentur. Postrema est (quae etiam prudentioribus astrologis semper placuit) quod *nulla insit astris fatalis necessitas*; sed quod inclinent ea potius quam cogant. Ad-
dimus & illud, (in quo in partes astrologiae, si fuerit emendata, non obscure venire videbimur;) nimirum quod nobis pro certo constet, coelestia in se habere alios quosdam influxus, praeter calorem & lumen: Qui tamen ipsi, secundum regulas illas, quas jam posuimus & non aliter, valent. Verum illi in intima physica latent, & longiorem dissertationem postulant. Visum est igitur nobis (his, quae diximus, rite perpensis) inter desiderata reponere astrologiam his principiis nostris consentaneam: Atque sicut astronomiam, quae physicis rationibus nitatur, astronomiam vivam nominavimus; ita & astrologiam, quae per easdem regitur, astrologiam sanam appellare placet. Circa quam recte conficiendam, licet ea quae diximus non parum profutura sint; pauca tamen addemus more nostro, quae liquido proponunt, & ex quibus sit coagmentanda & ad quae adhibenda. Primo in astrologiam sanam recipi-

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recipiatur doctrina de commixtionibus radiorum, conjunctionibus scilicet & oppositionibus & reliquis syzygiis, five aspectibus planetarum inter se: planetarum autem per signa zodiaci pertransitum, & locationem sub iisdem signis, etiam huic parti de commixtionibus radiorum assignamus: Locatio enim planetae sub signo, est conjunctio quaedam ejusdem cum stellis signi: Quinetiam sicut conjunctiones, ita & oppositiones, & reliquae syzygiae planetarum, erga stellas signorum notandae sunt; quod adhuc plene factum non est. At commixtiones radiorum stellarum fixarum ad invicem, utiles quidem sunt ad contemplationem de fabrica mundi, & regionum subjacentium natura; ad praedictiones minime, quia semper eodem modo se habent. Secundo recipiantur accessiones singulorum planetarum propius ad perpendiculum aut recessiones ab ipso, secundum regionum climata: Habent enim planetae singuli, non minus quam sol sua saetates, suas hyemes, in quibus fortius aut infirmius radios jaciant, propter rationem perpendiculi. Etenim nobis dubium non est, quin luna posita in leone, fortius operetur super corpora naturalia, apud nos, quam posita in piscibus: non quod luna sub leone ad cor respiciat, sub piscibus ad pedes (sicut fabulantur;) sed propter elevationem versus perpendiculum & approximationem ad stellas majores, eadem prorsus ratione, qua & sol. Tertio recipiantur apogaea & perigaea planetarum, cum debita disquisitione, ad quae pertineat planetae vigor in se ipso, ad quae vicinitas ad nos. Planeta enim in apogaeo, five exaltatione sua, magis alacer est; in perigaeo autem, five casu suo, magis communicat. Quarto recipiantur (ut summam dicamus) omnia reliqua accidentia motus planetarum; quales singulorum in itinere suo accelerationes, retardationes, progressus, stationes, retrogradationes; quales distantiae a sole, combustiones, augmenta & diminutiones luminis, eclipses; & si quae sint alia? Etenim faciunt haec omnia, ut planetarum radii, vel fortius, vel debilius, diversis denique modis & virtutibus, operentur. Atque quatuor ista ad radiationes stellarum spectant. Quinto recipiantur, quae naturas stellarum, five erraticarum, five fixarum, in propria sua essentia & activitate, referare & detegere ullo modo queant: qualis magnitudo; qualis color & aspectus: qualis scintillatio & vibratio luminis: qualis situs versus polos, aut aequinoctium: Quales asterismi: quae aliis stellis magis immixtae, quae magis solitariae: quae superiores, quae inferiores; quae ex fixis intra vias solis & planetarum, (zodiacum scilicet,) quae extra: quis ex planetis velocior, quis tradior: quis moveatur in ecliptica, quis pervagetur in latitudine: quis possit esse retrogradus, quis minime: quis patiatur omnimodam distantiam a sole, quis alligetur: quis moveatur celerius in apogaeo, quis in perigaeo: Denique anomalia martis, expatiatio veneris, & labores five passionis admirandae, quae non semel & in sole & in venere deprehensae sunt: & si quae sint alia? Postremo recipiantur etiam ex traditione naturae & inclinationes planetarum particulares, atque etiam stellarum fixarum; quae, quandoquidem magno consensu tradantur, non leviter (praeterquam ubi cum physicis rationibus plane discordant) rejiciendae sunt. Atque ex talibus observationibus coagmentatur astrologia sana; & secundum eas tantum, schemata coeli & componere & interpretari oportet.

ADHIBETUR autem astrologia sana; ad praedictiones fidentius, ad electiones cautius, ad utraque autem intra terminos debitos. Praedictiones fieri possint, de cometis futuris, qui (ut nostra fert conjectura) praenunciari possunt: & de omni genere meteororum, de diluviis, siccitatibus, ardoribus, conglaciationibus, terrae motibus, irruptionibus aquarum, eruptionibus ignium, ventis & pluviis majoribus, anni variis tempestatibus, pestilentis, mor-

his,

bis grassantibus, ubertate & caritate frugum, bellis, seditionibus, sectis, transmigrationibus populorum; denique de omnibus rerum vel naturalium vel civilium motibus, aut innovationibus majoribus: ad magis autem specialia, & forte singularia, praedictiones istae (licet minore certitudine) deduci possint, si repertis primo hujusmodi temporum inclinationibus generalibus, acri judicio vel physico vel politico, applicentur illis speciebus aut individuis, quae hujusmodi accidentibus maxime sint obnoxia; veluti si quis ex praecognitione tempestatum anni, eas reperiet (exempli gratia) magis oleis quam vitibus, magis phthificis quam hepaticis, magis incolis collium quam vallium, magis monachis quam aulicis, (propter victus rationem diversam) propitias aut perniciosas. Aut si quis ex cognitione influxus, quem coelestia habent super spiritus humanos, reperiat eum talem esse, ut magis populis quam regibus, magis viris doctis & curiosis quam animosis & militaribus, magis voluptariis quam negotiosis aut politicis, faveat aut adversetur. Hujusmodi autem innumera sunt, sed (quemadmodum diximus) non tantum cognitionem illam generalem, quae sumitur ex astris, (quae sunt agentia,) verum etiam particularem subsectorum (quae sunt passiva) requirunt. Neque electiones prorsus rejiciendae sunt; sed parcius illis quam praedictionibus fidendum. Videmus enim in plantationibus & seminationibus, & infitionibus, aetatum lunae observationes, non esse res omnino frivolas. Sunt & multa ejus generis. Verum & electiones istae etiam magis, quam praedictiones, per nostras regulas cohibendae sunt. Atque illud semper attendendum; valere electiones in illis tantum casibus, ubi & virtus coelestium talis sit, quae non subito transeat; & actio inferiorum similiter talis, quae non statim absolvatur; quemadmodum fit in illis exemplis, quae memoravimus: nam nec incrementa lunae subito transiguntur, nec incrementa plantarum. Punctualitas vero temporis omnino repudianda. Inveniuntur autem & talia complura (quod quis minus putet) in electionibus circa civilia. Quod si quis nos compellat eo nomine, quod ex quibus ista astrologia emendata elici possit; & rursus, ad quae utiliter adhiberi, aliquid monstravimus; quis vero sit eliciendi modus, neutiquam docuimus: ille minus aequus fuerit, cum artem ipsam (cujus debitores non sumus) a nobis exigat. Hoc tamen circa illud ipsum, quod petit, monebimus; quatuor tantum esse modos, quibus ad hanc scientiam via sternatur. Primo per experimenta futura; dein per experimenta praeterita; rursus per traditiones; ultimo per rationes physicas. Atque quod ad experimenta futura, quid attinet dicere? cum illa saeculis compluribus ad eorum copiam comparandam indigeant; ut de iisdem cogitationem suscipere frustra fuerit. Quod vero ad experimenta praeterita; ea certe in manu hominum sunt; licet res sit laboriosa & multi otii. Possint enim astrologi (si sibi non defint) omnes casus majores, (veluti inundationes, pestilentias, proelia, seditiones, mortes regum, si placet, & similia) ex historiae fide depromere; & situm coelestium, non secundum thematum subtilitatem, sed juxta regulas eas revolutionum, quae a nobis adumbratae sunt, qualis fuerit sub iisdem temporibus, intueri: ut ubi manifestus fuerit eventuum consensus & conspiratio, ibi praedictionis norma probabilis constituitur. Quatenus ad traditiones; eas ita ventilare oportet, ut quae cum rationibus physicis manifesto pugnent, e medio tollantur; quae vero cum iis bene consentiant, etiam autoritate sua valeant. Quantum denique ad physicas rationes; illae maxime huic inquisitioni accommodatae sunt, quae de catholicis materiae appetitibus & passionibus, & de motibus corporum simplicibus & genuinis inquirunt. His enim alis ad coelestia ista materiata ascenditur tutissime. Atque de astrologia sana haecenus.

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INSANIAE autem astrologicae (praeter ea, quae a principio notavimus, commenta) alia quaedam portio superest non praetermittenda: quae tamen ab astrologia secludi solet, & in magiam, quam vocant, coelestem transferri. Ea nacta est mirum commentum ingenii humani, nimirum, ut benevolus aliquis situs astrorum in sigillis aut signaculis (puta metalli, aut gemmae alicujus ad intentionem propriae) excipiatur, quae horae ejus felicitatem alias praetervolaturam detineant, & quasi volatilem figant. Quemadmodum graviter ille conqueritur, de tam nobili apud antiquos arte, jampridem amissa:

*Annulus infuso non vivit mirus olympo,
Non magis ingentes humili sub lumine phoebos
Fert gemma, aut celso divulsas cardine lunas.*

Certe reliquias sanctorum, earumque virtutes, recepit ecclesia Romana, (neque enim in divinis & immateriatis fluxus temporis obest) verum ut condantur reliquiae coeli, quo hora, quae recessit & tanquam mortua est, reviviscat & continuetur, mera est superstitio. Missa igitur haec faciamus, nisi forte musae aniculae jam factae sint.

PHYSICAM abstractam in duas partes rectissime dividi posse statuimus: doctrinam de schematistis materiae, & doctrinam de appetitibus & motibus. Utrosque cursim enumerabimus, unde verae physicae de abstractis adumbratio quaedam deduci possit. Schematistae materiae sunt, densum, rarum, grave, leve, calidum, frigidum, tangibile, pneumaticum, volatile, fixum, determinatum, fluidum, humidum, siccum, pingue, crudum, durum, molle, fragile, tensile, porosum, unitum, spirituosum, jejunum, simplex, compositum, absolutum, imperfecte mistum, fibrosum atque venosum, simplicis positurae sive aequum: simile, dissimile: specificatum, non specificatum: organicum, inorganicum: animatum, inanimatum: neque ultra rem extendimus. Sensibile enim & insensibile, rationale & irrationale, ad doctrinam de homine rejicimus. Appetituum vero & motuum duo genera sunt: Sunt enim vel motus simplices, in quibus radix omnium naturalium actionum continetur, pro ratione tamen schematistae materiae, vel motus compositi sive producti; a quibus ultimis recepta philosophia (quae parum de corpore naturae stringit) auspicatur. Debent autem haberi hujusmodi motus compositi (quales sunt generatio, corruptio & reliqui) pro pensis quibusdam, aut summis motuum simplicium, potius quam pro motibus primitivis. Motus simplices sunt, motus antitypiae, quem vulgo motum, ne fiat penetratio dimensionum, vocant: motus nexus, quem motum ex fuga vacui appellant: motus libertatis, ne detur compressio aut extensio praeter-naturalis: motus in sphaeram novam, sive ad rarefactionem & condensationem: motus nexus secundi, sive ne detur solutio continuitatis: motus congregationis majoris, sive ad massas connaturalium suorum, qui vulgo dicitur motus naturalis: motus congregationis minoris, qui vulgo dicitur sympathiae & antipathiae: motus disponens, sive ut partes bene collocentur in toto: motus assimilationis sive multiplicationis naturae suae super aliud: motus excitationis, ubi agens nobilius motum in alio latentem & sopitum excitat: motus sigilli sive impressionis, operatio scilicet absque communicatione substantiae: motus regius, sive cohibitio reliquorum motuum a motu praedominante: motus absque termino, sive rotatio spontanea: motus trepidationis; sive systoles & diastoles, corporum scilicet, quae locantur inter commoda & incommoda: postremo decubitus, sive exhorrentia motus, quae etiam plurimarum rerum est causativa. Hujusmodi sunt motus simplices, qui ex penetralibus na-

turae vere prodeunt: quique complicati, continuati, alternati, fraenati, repetiti, & multis modis aggregati, motus illos compositos, five summas motuum, quae receptae sunt, aut illis similes constituunt. Summae motuum, sunt decantati illi motus, generatio, corruptio, augmentatio, diminutio, alteratio & latio: Etiam mixtio, separatio, versio. Superfunt tantum tanquam appendices physicae, mensurae motuum: Quid possit quantum, five dos naturae? Quid possit distantia? id quod orbis virtutis five activitatis non male vocatur. Quid possint incitatio & tarditas? Quid brevis aut longa mora? Quid vis aut hebetudo rei? Quid stimulus peristaseos? Atque haec sunt physicae verae de abstractis partes genuinae. Etenim, in schematistis materiae, in motibus simplicibus, in summis five aggregationibus motuum, & in mensuris motuum, physica de abstractis absolvitur. Nam motum voluntarium in animalibus; motum qui fit in actionibus sensuum; motum phantasiae, appetitus & voluntatis; motum mentis, decreti & intellectualium, ad proprias doctrinas amandamus. Illud tamen iterato monemus, universa haec, quae diximus in physica non ulterius tractari, quam ut inquirantur materia & efficiens ipsorum; retractantur enim in metaphysica, quoad formas & fines.

PHYSICAE subjungemus appendices insignes duas; quae non tam ad materiam, quam ad modum inquisitionis spectant: problemata naturalia & placita antiquorum philosophorum. Prior naturae multiplicis five sparsae appendix est: Secunda naturae unitae, five summarum; Utraque ad solertem dubitationem pertinet, quae scientiae pars est non contemnenda. Nam problemata particulares dubitationes complectuntur; placita generales circa principia & fabricam. Problematum exemplum nobile est in libris Aristotelis: Quod genus operis meruit certe, non solum ut posterorum laudibus celebraretur, verum etiam ut eorum laboribus continuaretur: cum dubitationes indies oriantur novae. Attamen in hac re adhibenda est cautio magni utique momenti. Dubiorum commemoratio & propositio duplicem in se habet fructum: unum quod philosophiam muniat contra errores; quando id quod non plane liquet, non judicatur aut asseritur, (ne error errorem gigneret) sed suspenditur de eo iudicium & non fit positivum: Alterum, quod dubitationes in codicillos relatae, totidem spongiae sunt, quae incrementa scientiae perpetuo ad se fugant & alliciant; unde fit, ut illa quae nisi praecessissent dubitationes, leviter & sicco pede transmissa fuissent, dubitationum admonitu attente & studiose observentur. Verum haec duae utilitates vix unum compensant incommodum, quod, nisi sedulo prohibeatur, se ingeret: Nimirum quod dubitatio, si semel admittatur tanquam iusta, & fiat quasi authentica, statim defensores in utramque partem suscitabit, qui etiam posteris eandem licentiam dubitandi transmittant: adeo ut homines ingenia sua intendant & applicent ad hoc, ut alatur potius dubitatio, quam terminetur aut solvatur. Cujus quidem rei exempla & in jurisperitis, & in academicis ubique occurrunt: quibus moris est, ut dubitationem semel admissam, perpetuam esse velint, nec minus dubitandi, quam asserendi auctoramenta amplectantur: Cum tamen ille demum sit ingenii usus legitimus, qui ex dubiis certa faciat, non qui certa in dubium vocet. Quare calendarium dubitationum five problematum in natura & desiderari assero, & suscipi probo: modo curae sit, ut aucta scientia indies, (quod fiet proculdubio si nos audiant homines) quae clare discussae sint dubitationes ex albo deleantur. Huic calendario aliud addi cuperem, non minus utile: Cum enim in omni inquisitione inveniantur haec tria, perspicue vera, dubia, perspicue falsa: utilissimum foret, calendarium dubiorum, calendarium falsitatum & errorum popula-

popularium, vel in historia naturali, vel in dogmatibus grassantium, adjungere: ne illae amplius scientiis molestae sint.

QUOD ad placita antiquorum philosophorum, qualia fuerunt Pythagorae, Philolai, Xenophanis, Anaxagorae, Parmenidis, Leucippi, Democriti, aliorum; (quae homines contemptim percurrere solent:) non abs re fuerit paulo modestius in ea oculos conjicere. Etsi enim Aristoteles, more Ottomanorum, regnare se haud tuto posse putaret, nisi fratres suos omnes contrucidasset; tamen iis, qui non regnum aut magisterium, sed veritatis inquisitionem atque illustrationem sibi proponunt, non potest non videri res utilis, diversas diversorum, circa rerum naturas, opiniones, sub uno aspectu intueri. Neque tamen subest spes quod veritas aliqua purior, ex illis aut similibus theoriis, speranda ullo modo sit. Quemadmodum enim eadem phaenomena, iidem calculi & Ptolemaei principiis astronomicis, & Copernici competunt: ita experientia ista vulgaris, qua utimur, atque obvia rerum facies, pluribus diversis theoriis se applicare potest: ubi ad rectam veritatis indagacionem longe alia severitate opus fuerit. Eleganter enim Aristoteles: *Infantes primo balbutientes, quasvis mulieres appellare matres, post autem propriam matrem discernere*. Sic certe puerilis experientia, omnem philosophiam appellabit matrem: adulta vero matrem veram internoscet. Interea juvabit philosophias discrepantes, veluti diversas naturae glossas, (quarum una fortasse uno loco, alia alio est emendatior,) perlegere. Optarim igitur, ex vitis antiquorum philosophorum, ex fasciculo Plutarchi de placitis eorum, ex citationibus Platonis, ex confutationibus Aristotelis, ex sparsa mentione, quae habetur in aliis libris, tam ecclesiasticis, quam ethnicis, (Lactantio, Philone, Philostrato, & reliquis) opus confici, cum diligentia & judicio, de antiquis philosophiis. Tale enim opus nondum extare video. Attamen hic moneo, ut hoc fiat distincte: ita ut singulae philosophiae seorsum componantur & continentur; non per titulos & fasciculos (quod Plutarchus fecit) excipiantur. Quaevis enim philosophia integra se ipsam sustentat: atque dogmata ejus sibi mutuo & lumen & robur adjiciunt: quod si distraherentur, peregrinum quiddam & durum sonant. Certe quando apud Tacitum lego facta Neronis aut Claudii, circumstantiis temporum, personarum & occasionum vestita; nil video quod a probabilitate prorsus abhorreat: cum vero eadem lego in Suetonio Tranquillo, per capita & communes locos, minimeque in serie temporis repraesentata, portenta quaedam videntur, & plane incredibilia. Neque absimilis est ratio philosophiae, quando proponitur integra & quando in frustra concisa & dissecta. Neque vero ex hoc placitorum philosophiae calendario nuperas theorias & dogmata excludo; sicut illam Theophrasti Paracelsi, eloquenter in corpus quoddam & harmoniam philosophiae, redactam a Severino Dano; aut Telesii Consentini, qui Parmenidis philosophiam instaurans, arma Peripateticorum in illos ipsos vertit; aut Patricii Veneti, qui Platoniorum fumos sublimavit; aut Gilberti popularis nostri, qui Philolai dogmata reposuit; aut alterius cujuscunque, si modo dignus sit. Horum vero (quoniam volumina integra extant) summae tantum inde conficiendae, & cum caeteris jungendae. Atque de physica cum appendicibus haec dicta sint.

QUANTUM ad metaphysicam, assignavimus jam ei inquisitionem causarum formalium & finalium; quae assignatio, quatenus ad formas, incassum facta videatur. Invaluit siquidem opinio atque inveteravit, rerum formas essentielles, seu veras differentias, nulla humana inveniri diligentia posse. Quae opinio interim nobis elargitur, atque concedit, inventionem formarum

ex omnibus scientiae partibus dignissimam esse, quae investigetur, si modo fieri possit, ut reperiantur. Ad inventionis possibilitatem vero quod attinet, sunt certe ignavi regionum exploratores, qui ubi nil nisi coelum & pontum vident, terras ultra esse prorsus negant. At manifestum est Platonem, virum sublimis ingenii, (quique veluti ex rupe excelsa omnia circumspiciebat) in sua de ideis doctrina, *Formas esse verum scientiae objectum*, vidisse; utcumque sententiae hujus verissimae fructum amiserit, formas penitus a materia abstractas, non in materia determinatas, contemplando & prensando: unde factum est, ut ad speculationes theologicas diverteret; quod omnem naturalem suam philosophiam infecit & polluit. Quod si diligenter, serio, & sincere ad actionem & usum oculos convertamus; non difficile erit disquirere, & notitiam assequi, quae sint illae formae, quarum cognitio res humanas miris modis locupletare & beare possit. Substantiarum enim formae (uno homine excepto, de quo scriptura, *Formavit hominem de limo terrae, & spiravit in faciem ejus spiraculum vitae*; non ut de caeteris speciebus, producant aquae, producat terra) species, inquam, creaturarum, (prout nunc per compositionem & transplantationem inveniuntur multiplicatae,) ita perplexae sunt & complicatae, ut aut omnino de iis inquirere frustra sit; aut inquisitio earum, qualis esse potest, seponi ad tempus, & postquam formae simplicioris naturae rite exploratae sint & inventae, tum demum institui debeat. Quemadmodum enim nec facile esset, nec ullo modo utile, formam soni investigare ejus, qui verbum aliquod constituat, cum verba compositione & transpositione literarum sint infinita: at soni, qui literam aliquam simplicem exprimat, formam inquirere, (quali scilicet collisione, quali instrumentorum vocis applicatione, constituatur,) comprehensibile est, imo facile: quae tamen formae literarum cognitae ad formas verborum illico nos deducunt. Eadem prorsus ratione, formam inquirendo leonis, quercus, auri, imo etiam aquae, aut aëris, operam quis luserit: formam vero inquirere densi, rari; calidi, frigidi; gravis, levis; tangibilis, pneumatici; volatilis, fixi; & similibus, tam schematismorum, quam motuum, quos in physica tractanda, magna ex parte, enumeravimus, (& formas primae classis appellare consuevimus) quique (veluti literae alphabeti) numero haud ita multi sunt, & tamen essentias & formas omnium substantiarum conficiunt & sustinent; hoc est, inquam, illud ipsum, quod conamur; quodque eam partem metaphysicae, de qua nunc inquiremus, constituit & definit. Neque haec officiunt, quo minus physica easdem naturas consideret quoque, (ut dictum est,) sed tantum quoad causas fluxas. Exempli gratia, si de causa inquiretur albedinis in nive, vel spuma; recte redditur, quod sit subtilis intermixtio aëris cum aqua. Haec autem, longe abest, ut sit forma albedinis, cum aër etiam pulveri vitri aut crysalli intermixtus, albedinem similiter procreet, non minus quam si admisceatur aquae; verum causa efficiens illa tantum est, quae nihil aliud quam vehiculum est formae. At in metaphysica, si fiat inquisitio, hujusmodi quidpiam reperies: corpora duo diaphana intermixta portionibus eorum opticis, simplici ordine sive aequaliter collocatis, constituere albedinem. Hanc metaphysicae partem desiderari reperio. Nec mirum; quia illo inquirendi modo, qui hucusque in usum venit, nunquam in saeculum comparebunt rerum formae. Radix autem mali hujus, ut & omnium, ea est; quod homines & propere nimis & nimis longe, ab experientia & rebus particularibus, cogitationes suas divellere & abstrahere consueverunt, & suis meditationibus & argumentationibus se totos dedere.

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Usus autem hujus partis metaphysicae, quam desideratis annuero, duas ob causas vel maxime excellit. Prima est, quod scientiarum omnium officium sit & propria virtus, ut experientiae ambages, & itinera longa, (quantum veritatis ratio permittit) abbrevient; ac proinde remedium veteri querimoniae afferant, de vita brevi & arte longa. Illud vero optime praestatur, axiomata scientiarum in magis generalia, & quae omni materiae rerum individuarum competant, colligendo & uniendo. Sunt enim scientiae instar pyramidum, quibus historia & experientia, tanquam basis unica, substernuntur; ac proinde basis naturalis philosophiae est historia naturalis: tabulatum primum a basi est physica; vertici proximum metaphysica: ad conum quod attinet & punctum verticale, (opus quod operatur Deus a principio usque ad finem; summariam nempe naturae legem) haesitamus merito, an humana possit ad illud inquisitio pertingere. Caeterum haec tria, verae sunt scientiarum contabulationes, suntque apud homines propria scientia inflatos & theomachos, tanquam tres moles giganteae:

Ter sunt conati imponere Pelio Ossam,

Scilicet atque Ossae frondosum involvere Olympum.

Apud eos vero, qui se ipsos exinanientes, omnia ad Dei gloriam referunt; tanquam trina illa acclamatio, Sancte, Sancte, Sancte. Sanctus enim Deus in multitudine operum suorum, sanctus in ordine eorum, sanctus in unione: Quare speculatio illa Parmenidis & Platonis (quamvis in illis nuda fuerit speculatio) excelluit tamen; *Omnia per scalam quandam ad unitatem ascendere.* Atque illa demum scientia caeteris est praestantior, quae humanum intellectum minimum multiplicitate onerat, quam liquet esse metaphysicam: quippe quae contemplatur praecipue simplices illas rerum formas, (quas superius formas primae classis nominavimus;) quandoquidem licet numero paucae, tamen commensurationibus & co-ordinationibus suis omnem varietatem constituunt. Secunda res, quae hanc metaphysicae partem de formis nobilitat, haec nimirum est; quod potestatem humanam emancipet maxime & liberet; eamque in amplissimum & apertissimum operandi campum educat. Nam physica per angustos & impeditos calles humanam operam dirigit, naturae ordinariae flexuosos tramites imitata. Sed latae undique sunt sapientibus viae; sapientiae nimirum (quae a veteribus rerum divinarum & humanarum scientia definiebatur) mediorum copia & varietas semper suppetit. Causae enim physicae, novis inventis, in simili materia lucem & ansum praebent: At qui formam aliquam novit, novit etiam ultimam possibilitatem superinducendi naturam illam in omnigenam materiam, eoque minus inter operandum restringitur & alligatur, vel ad materiae basim, vel ad conditionem efficientis. Quod genus scientiae eleganter describit etiam Solomon, etsi sensu magis divino: *Non arctabuntur gressus tui, & currens non habebis offendiculum.* Intelligit scilicet sapientiae vias, nec angustis nec obicibus obnoxias esse.

METAPHYSICAE pars secunda est finalium causarum inquisitio; quam non ut praetermissam, sed ut male collocatam notamus. Solent enim inquiri inter physica, non inter metaphysica. Quanquam si ordinis hoc solum vitium esset, non mihi fuerit tanti. Ordo enim ad illustrationem pertinet, neque est ex substantia scientiarum. At haec ordinis inversio defectum insignem peperit, & maximam philosophiae induxit calamitatem. Tractatio enim causarum finalium in physicis, inquisitionem causarum physicarum expulit & dejecit, effecitque ut homines in istiusmodi speciosis & umbratilibus

causis acquiescerent, nec inquisitionem causarum realium, & vere physicarum strenue urgerent; ingenti scientiarum detrimento. Etenim reperio hoc factum esse, non solum a Platone, qui in hoc littore semper anchoram figit, verum etiam ab Aristotele, Galeno, & aliis, qui saepissime etiam ad illa yada impingunt. Etenim qui causas adduxerit huiusmodi; *Palpebras cum pilis, pro sepi & vallo esse, ad munimentum oculorum*: Aut *corii in animalibus firmitudinem esse ad propellendos calores & frigora*: Aut *ossa pro columnis & trabibus a natura induci, quibus fabrica corporis innitatur*: Aut *folia arborum emitti, quo fructus minus patiantur a sole & vento*: Aut *nubes in sublimi fieri, ut terram imbris irrigent*: Aut *terram densari & solidari, ut statio & mansio sit animalium*; & alia similia: Is in metaphysicis non male ista allegavit; in physicis autem nequaquam. Imo, quod coepimus dicere, huiusmodi sermonum discursus (instar remororum, uti fingunt, navibus adhaerentium) scientiarum quasi velificationem & progressum retardarunt, ne cursum suum tenerent, & ulterius progredirentur: & jam pridem effecerunt, ut physicarum causarum inquisitio neglecta deficeret, ac silentio praeteriretur. Quapropter philosophia naturalis Democriti, & aliorum, qui Deum & mentem a fabrica rerum amoverunt; & structuram universi infinitis naturae praelusionibus & tentamentis, (quas uno nomine fatum aut fortunam vocabant) attribuerunt; & rerum particularium causas materiae necessitati, sine intermixtione causarum finalium, assignarunt; nobis videtur, (quantum ex fragmentis & reliquiis philosophiae eorum conicere licet,) quatenus ad causas physicas, multo solidior fuisse, & altius in naturam penetrasse; quam illa Aristotelis & Platonis: hanc unicum ob causam, quod illi in causis finalibus nunquam operam triverunt; hi autem eas perpetuo inculcarunt. Atque magis in hac parte accusandus Aristoteles quam Plato: quandoquidem fontem causarum finalium, Deum scilicet, omiserit, & naturam pro Deo substituerit, causasque ipsas finales, potius ut logicae amator quam theologiae, amplexus sit. Neque haec eo dicimus, quod causae illae finales verae non sint, & inquisitione admodum dignae in speculationibus metaphysicis, sed quia dum in physicarum causarum possessiones excurrunt & irruunt, misere eam provinciam depopulantur & vastant. Alioquin, si modo intra terminos suos coercerentur, magnopere hallucinantur, quicumque eas physicis causis adversari aut repugnare putent. Nam causa reddita, quod *Palpebrarum pili oculos muniant*, nequicquam sane repugnat alteri illi, quod *pilositas solat contingere humiditatum orificiis*:

Muscoli fontes, &c.

Neque causa reddita, quod *coriorum in animalibus firmitudo pertinet ad coeli injurias propulsandas*, adversatur illi alteri, quod *illa firmitudo fit ob contractionem pororum, in extimis corporum, per frigus & depravationem aeris*. Et sic de reliquis, conspirantibus optime utrisque causis; nisi quod altera intentionem, altera simplicem consecutionem denotet. Neque vero ista res in dubium vocat providentiam divinam, aut ei quicquam derogat; sed potius eandem miris modis confirmat & evehit. Nam sicut in rebus civilibus prudentia politica fuerit multo altior & mirabilior, si quis opera aliorum ad suos fines & desideria abuti possit, quibus tamen nihil consilii sui impertit, (ut interim ea agant, quae ipse velit, neutiquam vero se hoc facere intelligant;) quam si consilia sua cum ministris voluntatis suae communicaret: Sic Dei sapientia effulget mirabilius, cum natura aliud agit,

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ag^{ti}, providentia aliud elicit; quam si singulis schematibus & motibus naturalibus, providentiae characteres essent impressi. Scilicet Aristoteli, postquam naturam finalibus causis impraegnasset: *Naturamque nihil frustra facere, suique voti semper esse compotem, (si impedimenta abessent,)* & hujusmodi multa eo spectantia posuisset; amplius Deo non fuit opus: At Democritus & Epicurus, cum atomos suos praedicabant, eoque a subtilioribus nonnullis tolerabantur; verum cum ex eorum fortuito concursu, fabricam ipsam rerum absque mente coaluisse assererent, ab omnibus risu excepti sunt. Adeo ut tantum absit, ut causae physicae homines a Deo & providentia abducant, ut contra potius philosophi illi, qui in iisdem eruendis occupati fuerunt, nullum exitum rei reperiant, nisi postremo ad Deum & providentiam confugiant. Atque haec de metaphysica dicta sint: cujus partem de causis finalibus, in libris & physicis & metaphysicis tractatam non negaverim; in his recte, in illis perperam, propter incommodum inde secutum.

C A P. V.

Partitio operativae doctrinae de natura in mechanicam & magiam: Quae respondent partibus speculativae: Physicae mechanica, metaphysicae magia; & expurgatio vocabuli magiae. Appendices duae operativae; inventarium opum humanarum, & catalogus polychrestorum.

OPERATIVAM de natura similiter in duas partes dividemus, idque ex necessitate quadam. Subjicitur enim haec divisio divisioni priori doctrinae speculativae. Physica siquidem, & inquisitio causarum efficientium & materialium, producit mechanicam; at metaphysica, & inquisitio formarum, producit magiam: nam causarum finalium inquisitio sterilis est, & tanquam virgo Deo consecrata nihil parit. Neque nos fugit; esse & mechanicam saepius mere empiricam & operariam, quae a physica non pendeat; verum hanc in historiam naturalem conjecimus; a philosophia naturali segregamus. Loquimur tantum de ea mechanica, quae cum causis physicis conjuncta est. Veruntamen intervenit quaedam mechanica, quae nec proprius operaria est, neque tamen philosophiam proprie attingit. Operum enim inventa omnia, quae in hominum notitiam venerunt, aut casu occurrerunt, & deinceps per manus tradita sunt; aut de industria quaesita: quae autem intentionaliter inventa sunt; illa aut per causarum & axiomatum lucem eruta sunt; aut per extensionem quandam, vel translationem, vel compositionem inventorum priorum deprehensa; quae magis ingeniosa quaedam res est & sagax, quam philosophica. Hanc vero partem, quam nequiquam contemnimus, non multo post, cum de experientia literata inter logica tractabimus, cursim perstringemus. Enimvero mechanicam, de qua nunc agimus, tractavit Aristoteles promiscue: Hero in spiritalibus; etiam Georgius Agricola, scriptor recens, diligenter admodum in mineralibus; alique quamplurimi in subjectis particularibus: adeo ut non habeam, quod dicam de omnis in hac parte; nisi quod mechanica promiscua, secundum exemplum Aristotelis, diligentius debuissent continuari per labores recentiorum; praesertim cum delectu eorum mechanicorum, quorum aut causae magis obscurae, aut effectus magis nobiles. Verum qui in hisce insunt, quasi oras tantum maritimas perreptant:

—Pre-

— *Premendo littus iniquum.*

Meo si quidem iudicio, vix possit aliquid in natura radicitus verti aut innovari, vel per casus aliquos fortuitos, vel per tentamenta experimentorum, vel ex luce causarum physicarum, sed solummodo per inventionem formarum. Si igitur desiderari eam partem metaphysicæ, quæ de formis agit, posuimus; sequitur, ut naturalis etiam magia, quæ ad eam est relativa, similiter desideretur. Verum hoc loco postulandum videtur, ut vocabulum istud magiæ, in deteriore partem jam pridem acceptum, antiquo & honorifico sensui restituatur. Etenim magia apud Persas, pro sapientia sublimi, & scientia consensuum rerum universalium, accipiebatur; atque etiam tres illi reges, qui ab oriente ad Christum adorandum venerunt, magorum nomine vocabantur. Nos vero eam illo in sensu intelligimus, ut sit scientia, quæ cognitionem formarum abditarum ad opera admiranda deducat; atque quod dici solet, activa cum passivis coniungendo, magnalia naturæ manifestet. Nam quantum ad naturalem magiam, (quæ in libris plurimorum volitat,) credulas quasdam & superstitiosas traditiones & observationes, de sympathiis & antipathiis rerum, atque de occultis & specificis proprietatibus complectentem, cum frivolis ut plurimum experimentis, potius occultandi artificio & larva quam re ipsa admirandis: non erraverit sane, qui eam dixerit a scientia, quam quaerimus, tantum distare, quoad veritatem naturæ, quantum libri rerum gestarum Arthuri ex Britannia, aut Hugonis Burdegalenfis, & huiusmodi heroum umbratiliū, differunt a Caesaris commentariis, quoad veritatem historicam. Manifestum enim est, Caesarem maiora revera perpetrasse, quam illi de heroibus suis confingere ausi sunt; sed modis faciendi minime fabulosis. Huiusmodi doctrinas bene adumbravit fabula de Ixione; qui cum Junonis, potentiae deæ, concubitu animo sibi designaret, cum evanida nube rem habuit; ex qua centauros & chimaeras progeniit. Sic qui insana & impotenti cupiditate feruntur ad ea, quæ per imaginationis tantum fumos & nebulas cernere se putant, loco operum, nil aliud quam spes inanes, & deformia quaedam ac monstrosa spectra, suscipiunt. Hujus autem magiæ naturalis, levis & degeneris, operatio super homines, similis est soporiferis quibusdam medicamentis; quæ somnum conciliant, atque insuper inter dormiendum laeta & placencia somnia immittunt. Primo enim intellectum humanum in soporem conjicit; canendo proprietates específicas & virtutes occultas, & tanquam coelitus demissas, & per traditionum susurros solummodo perdiscendas; unde homines ad veras causas eruendas & indagandas non amplius excitantur & evigilant; sed in huiusmodi otiosis & credulis opinionibus acquiescunt: deinde vero innumera commenta grata, & qualia quis optaret maxime, instar somniorum insinuat. Atque operæ pretium est notare, in illis scientiis, quæ nimium trahunt ex phantasia & fide, (quales sunt magia ista levis, de qua nunc loquimur, alchymia, astrologia, & aliae consimiles,) media sua & theoriam solere esse magis monstrosa, quam finis ipse est & actio, quo tendunt. Versio argenti aut argenti vivi, aut alicujus alterius metalli in aurum, res creditu dura: attamen longe verisimilius est ab homine, qui ponderis, coloris flavi, malleabilis & extensibilis, fixi etiam & volatilis, naturas cognititas & perspectas habuerit; quique similiter prima mineralium semina & menstrua diligenter introspexerit, posse aurum multa & sagaci molitione tandem produci; quam quod pauca elixiris grana, paucis momentis, alia metalla in aurum vertere valeant, per activitatem ejusdem elixiris, quæ natu-

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ram scilicet perficere & omni impedimento liberare possit. Similiter senectutis retardatio, aut gradus alicujus juventutis instauration, non facile fidem reperiatur: Attamen longe verisimilius est ab homine, qui naturam arefactionis, & spirituum super solida corporis deprædationes bene norit; quique naturam assimilationis, atque alimentationis vel perfectioris, vel pravioris, perspexerit; naturam etiam spirituum, & quasi flammæ corporis, alias ad consumendum appositæ, alias ad reparandum, notarit; posse per diætas, balnea, unctiones, medicinas proprias, accommodata etiam exercitia & similia, vitam prolongari, aut vigorem juventutis, aliqua ex parte renovari: quam quod hoc fieri possit per guttas pauculas aut scrupulos alicujus pretiosi liquoris, aut quintessentiæ. Rursus ex astris fata elici posse, non statim aut facile homines consenserint: Illa vero; quod hora nativitatis, (quæ sæpissime ex pluribus accidentibus naturalibus, vel acceleratur vel differtur,) vitæ totius fortunam regat, aut quod hora quaestionis, sit cum re ipsa, quæ quaeritur, confatalis, meras nugas dixeris. Attamen tanta exercet humanum genus impotentia & intemperies, ut non solum, quæ fieri non possunt, sibi spondeant, sed etiam maxime ardua, sine molestia aut sudore tanquam feriantes, se adipisci posse confidunt. Verum de magia hætenus, cujus & vocabulum ipsum ab infamia vindicavimus, & speciem veram a falsa & ignobili segregavimus.

Hujus vero partis operativæ, scilicet de natura, duæ sunt appendices, magni utraque pretii. Prima est, ut fiat inventarium opum humanarum, quo excipiantur & breviter enumerentur omnia hominum bona & fortunæ, (sive sint ex fructibus & proventibus naturæ, sive artis) quæ jam habentur, & quibus homines fruuntur, adjectis iis, quæ olim innotuisse constat, nunc autem perierunt: ad hunc finem, ut qui ad nova inventa accingitur, de jam inventis & extantibus negotium sibi non faceßat. Hoc vero inventarium magis erit artificiosum, magisque etiam utile, si quæ communi hominum opinione impossibilia reputantur, in unoquoque genere adjunxeris: atque una proxima impossibilibus, quæ tamen habentur, copules; ut alterum humanam inventionem acuat, alterum quadantenus dirigat, utque ex his optativis & potentialibus, activa promptius deducantur. Secunda est, ut fiat calendarium eorum experimentorum, quæ maxime polychresta sunt, & ad aliorum inventionem faciunt & ducunt. Exempli gratia, *Experimentum artificialis congelationis aquæ*, per glaciem cum sale nigro, ad infinita pertinet: Hoc enim modum condensationis secretum revelat, quo homini nihil est fructuosius. Præsto enim est ignis ad rarefactiones; verum in condensationibus laboratur. Plurimum autem facit ad inveniendi compendium, si hujusmodi polychresta proprio catalogo excipiuntur.

C A P. VI.

De magna philosophiæ naturalis, tam speculativæ quam operativæ, appendice mathematica: quodque inter appendices potius poni debet, quam inter scientias substantivas. Partitio mathematicæ in puram & mixtam.

OPTIME Aristoteles, *physicam & mathematicam generare practicam sive mechanicam.* Quare cum jam tam speculativam quam operativam

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tivam partem doctrinae de natura tractaverimus, locus est ut de mathematica dicamus, quae ad utramque est scientia auxiliaris. Haec siquidem in philosophia recepta, physicae & metaphysicae pars tertia adjungitur. At nobis ista retractantibus & recolentibus, si eam ut scientiam substantivam & principalem, designare in animo esset, magis consentaneum videretur, & rei ipsius naturae, & ordinis perspicuitati, ut constitueretur tanquam portio metaphysicae. Quantitas enim (quae subiectum est mathematicae) materiae applicata, veluti dosis naturae est, & plurimorum effectuum in rebus naturalibus causativa: ideoque inter formas essentielles numeranda est. Figurae autem & numerorum potentia in tantum apud antiquos valere visa est, ut Democritus, *Principia varietatis rerum, in figuris atomorum*, praecipue collocaverit: Ac Pythagoras, *Naturam rerum ex numeris constitui asseruerit*. Illud interim verum est quantitatem inter formas naturales (quales nos eas intelligimus) omnium maxime esse abstractam, & a materia separabilem: Quod ipsum in causa fuit, cur & diligentius exculta & acrius inquisita ab hominibus fuerit, quam aliae quaecunque formae, quae omnes in materia magis sunt immercae. Cum enim id hominum animis plane insitum sit, (plurimo certe cum scientiarum detrimento) ut generalium quasi campis liberis, magis quam particularium sylvis & septis delectentur, nil repertum est mathematicis gratius & jucundius, quo appetitus iste expatiendi & meditandi expleretur. Etsi autem haec vera sint, nobis tamen, qui non tantum veritati & ordini, verum etiam usui & commodis hominum consulimus, satius demum visum est, mathematicas, cum & in physicis, & in metaphysicis, & in mechanicis, & in magicis plurimum polleant, ut omnium appendices & copias auxiliares, designare: Quod etiam quodammodo facere compellimur, propter delicias & fastum mathematicorum, qui hanc scientiam physicae fere imperare discipiant. Nescio enim quo fato fiat, ut mathematica & logica, quae ancillarum loco erga physicam se gerere debeant, nihilominus certitudinem suam prae ea jactantes, dominatum contra exercere praesumant. Verum de loco & dignitate hujus scientiae minus curandum: de re ipsa videamus.

MATHEMATICA aut pura est aut mixta. Ad puram referuntur scientiae, quae circa quantitatem occupatae sunt, a materia & axiomatibus physicis penitus abstractam. Eae duae sunt, geometria & arithmetica: quantitatem altera continuam, altera discretam tractans. Quae duae artes, magno certe cum acumine & industria, inquisitae & tractatae sunt: veruntamen & Euclidis laboribus, in geometricis, nihil additum est a sequentibus, quod intervallo tot saeculorum dignum sit, & doctrina de solidis, nec a veteribus, nec a modernis, pro rei usu & excellentia, instructa & aucta est. In arithmetice autem, nec satis varia & commoda inventa sunt supputationum compendia, praesertim circa progressionem, quarum in physicis usus est non mediocris: nec algebra bene consummata est: atque arithmetica illa Pythagorica & mystica, quae ex Proclo & reliquiis quibusdam Euclidis coepit instaurari, expatiatio quaedam speculationis est. Hoc enim habet ingenium humanum, ut cum ad solida non sufficiat, in supervacaneis se atterat. Mixta habet pro subiecto axiomata & portiones physicas: Quantitatem autem considerat, quatenus est ad ea elucidanda, & demonstranda, & actuanda, auxiliaris. Multae siquidem naturae partes, nec satis subtiliter comprehendendi, nec satis perspicue demonstrari, nec satis dextere & certo ad usum accommodari possint, sine ope & interventu mathematicae. Cujus generis sunt perspectiva, musica, astronomia, cosmographia, architectura, machinaria,

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naria & nonnullae aliae. Caeterum in mathematicis mixtis integras aliquas portiones desideratas jam non reperio, sed multas in posterum praedico, si homines non ferientur. Prout enim physica, majora indies incrementa capiet & nova axiomata educet; eo mathematicae opera nova in multis indigebit, & plures demum fient mathematicae mixtae.

JAM autem doctrinam de natura pertransivimus, & desiderata in ipsa notavimus. Qua in re si a priscis & receptis opinionibus discefferimus, eo-que nomine contradicendi ansam cuiquam praebuerimus; quod ad nos at-
tinet, ut dissentendi studium longe a nobis abest, ita etiam & contendendi consilium. Si haec vera sunt;

Non canimus surdis, respondent omnia sylvae.

Vox naturae ingeminabit, etsi vox hominum reclamet. Quemadmodum autem Alexander Borgia dicere solebat, de expeditione Gallorum Neapolitana, *Eos venisse cum creta in manibus, quo diversoria sua notarent, non cum armis, ut perrumperent*: Sic nobis magis cordi est pacificus veritatis ingressus; ubi quasi creta consignentur animi, qui tantam hospitem excipere possint; quam qui pugnax est, viamque sibi per contentiones & lites sternat. Absolutis igitur duabus partibus philosophiae, de Numine & de natura; restat tertia de homine.



FRAN.

[116]
FRANCISCI

Baronis de VERULAMIO,

Vice-Comitis SANCTI ALBANI,

De Dignitate & Augmentis SCIENTIARUM,

LIBER QUARTUS:

AD REGEM SUUM.

C A P. I.

Partitio doctrinae de homine, in philosophiam humanitatis & civilem. Partitio philosophiae humanitatis, in doctrinam circa corpus hominis, & doctrinam circa animam hominis. Constitutio unius doctrinae generalis de natura, sive de statu hominis. Partitio doctrinae de statu hominis, in doctrinam de persona hominis, & de foedere animi & corporis. Partitio doctrinae de persona hominis, in doctrinam de miseriis hominis, & de praerogativis. Partitio doctrinae de foedere, in doctrinam de indicationibus, & de impressionibus. Assignatio physiognomiae & interpretationis somniorum naturalium, doctrinae de indicationibus.

SIQUIS me (rex optime) ob aliquid eorum, quae proposui aut deinceps proponam, impetat aut vulneret, (praeterquam quod intra praefidia majestatis tuae tutus esse debeam,) sciat is, se contra morem & disciplinam militiae facere. Ego enim buccinator tantum, pugnam non in eo; unus fortasse ex iis, de quibus Homerus:

Χαίρετε κήρυκες, Διὸς ἄγγελοι, ἠδὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν.

Hi enim inter hostes, etiam infensissimos & acerbissimos, ultro citroque in-violati ubique commeabant. Neque vero nostra buccina homines advocat & excitat, ut se mutuo contradictionibus proscindant, aut secum ipsi proelientur & digladiantur; sed potius ut pace inter ipsos facta conjunctis viribus, se adversus naturam rerum comparent, ejusque edita & munita capiant & expugnent, atque fines imperii humani (quantum Deus Opt. Max. pro bonitate sua indulserit) proferant.

VENIAMUS nunc ad eam scientiam, ad quam nos ducit oraculum antiquum: Nempe ad scientiam nostri. Cui, quo magis nostra interfit, eo incumbendum

cumbendum est diligentius. Haec scientia homini pro fine est scientiarum; at naturae ipsius portio tantum. Atque hoc pro regula ponatur generali; quod omnes scientiarum partitiones ita intelligantur & adhibeantur, ut scientias potius signent aut distinguant, quam fecent & divellant, ut perpetuo evitetur solutio continuitatis in scientiis. Hujus etenim contrarium particulares scientias steriles reddidit, inanes & erroneas, dum a fonte & fomite communi non aluntur, sustentantur & rectificantur. Sic videmus Cicronem oratorem, de Socrate & ejus schola conquerentem, quod hic primus philosophiam a rhetorica disjunxerit, unde facta sit rhetorica ars loquax & inanis. Constat similiter sententiam Copernici de rotatione terrae, (quae nunc quoque invaluit) quia phaenomenis non repugnat, ab astronomicis principiis non posse revinci; a naturalis tamen philosophiae principiis recte positis posse. Artem denique medicam videmus, si a naturali philosophia destituatur, empiricorum praxi haud multum praestare. Hoc igitur posito, accedamus ad doctrinam de homine. Ea duplex est: Aut enim contemplatur hominem segregatum, aut congregatum atque in societate. Alteram harum philosophiam humanitatis; alteram civilem vocamus. Philosophia humanitatis sive humana ex partibus similibus illis, ex quibus homo ipse, consistit: nempe ex scientiis, quae circa corpus; & ex scientiis, quae circa animam versantur.

VERUM priusquam distributiones particulares persequamur, constituamus scientiam unam generalem, de natura & statu hominis: digna enim certe res est, ut emancipetur haec scientia, & in scientiam seorsum redigatur. Conficitur autem illa ex iis rebus, quae sunt tam corpori quam animae communes. Rursus, haec scientia de natura & statu hominis, distribui potest in duas partes; attribuendo alteri naturam hominis indivisam; alteri vinculum ipsum animae & corporis: Quarum primam doctrinam de persona hominis, secundam doctrinam de foedere vocabimus. Liquet autem haec omnia, cum sint communia & mixta, primae illi divisioni scientiarum circa corpus, & scientiarum circa animam versantium, assignari non potuisse.

DOCTRINA de persona hominis duas res praecipue complectitur; contemplationes scilicet de miseriis humani generis; & de ejusdem praerogativis sive excellentiis. Atque deploratio humanarum aerumnarum eleganter & copiose a compluribus adornata est, tam in scriptis philosophicis quam theologicis: Estque res & dulcis simul & salubris.

At illa altera de praerogativis, digna visa res nobis, quae inter desiderata proponatur. Elegantissime certe Pindarus (ut plerunque solet) inter laudandum Hieronem ait, *Eum decerpere summitates ex omnibus virtutibus*. Equidem plurimum ad magnanimitatem & humanum decus conferre posse putarem, si ultimitates (ut loquuntur scholastici) sive *summitates* (ut Pindarus) humanae naturae colligerentur; praecipue ex historiae fide. Illud est quid ultimum & supremum fuerit, quo unquam humana natura per se ascenderit, in singulis & corporis & animi dotibus. Quanta res, quae de Caesare narratur, quod amanuensibus quinque simul dictare suffecerit? Quin & exercitationes illae antiquorum rhetorum, Protagorae, Gorgiae; etiam philosophorum, Callisthenis, Possidonii, Carneadis, ut de quovis themate in utramque partem ex-tempore differere eleganter & copiose potuerint; ingenii humani vires haud parum nobilitant. Res autem usu minor, at ostentatione & facultate fortasse major, quam de Archia magistro suo memorat Cicero: *Eum magnum numerum optimorum versuum de iis rebus, quae tum agerentur, potuisse dicere ex-tempore*.

pore. Tot millibus hominum nomina reddere potuisse Cyrum aut Scipionem, magnum memoriae decus. At virtutum moralium palmae non minus celebres, quam intellectualium. Quantam rem in exercitio patientiae exhibet historia illa vulgata de Anaxarcho, qui quaestioni & tormentis subiectus, linguam (iudicii spem) dentibus praescidit, & in os tyranni expuit? Neque tolerantia cedit, (licet dignitate plurimum,) quod saeculo nostro accidit in Burgundo quodam, principis Aurasionensis interfectore; is virgis ferreis flagellatus, & forcipibus ignitis laceratus, nullum prorsus gemitum edidit: Quinetiam cum forte fractum aliquid desuper in caput astantis cuiuspiam incideret, ustulatus jam nebulo & in mediis tormentis risit; qui tamen paulo ante, cum cincinni capillitii quos gestabat, tonderentur, fleverat. Animi quoque mira serenitas & securitas, sub ipsum tempus mortis, in pluribus enituit. Qualis fuit illa centurionis apud Tacitum: Is cum a milite, qui eum ex imperato occisurus esset, juberetur, ut cervices porrigeret fortiter, utinam (inquit ille,) tu tam fortiter ferias. At Joannes dux Saxoniae, cum inter ludum scacchorum diploma, quo nex ejus in posterum diem mandabatur, allatum esset, astantem quendam ad se vocavit, & subridens: *Specta*, inquit, *num non potiores partes ludi hujus teneam.* *Iste, enim* (ad collusorem innuens) *me mortuo, jactabit, suas potiores partes fuisse.* Noster vero Morus, Angliae cancellarius, cum pridie quo moriturus esset, tonsor ad eum veniret, (missus scilicet ad hoc, ne forte capillitio promisso esset apud populum in spectaculo miserabilior,) eumque interrogaret, num tonderi placeret; renuit, atque ad tonsorem versus: *Mihi*, inquit, *cum rege de capite meo controversia est; antequam vero illa terminata fuerit, sumptus in illud non faciam.* Quin & idem, sub ipsum mortis articulum, postquam jam caput in truncum fatalem reclinasset, rursus se paululum erexit, & barba, quae ei erat promissior, leniter amota, *At certe haec*, inquit, *non offendit regem.* Verum, ne hoc loco longiores simus, satis patet quid velimus; nempe ut miracula naturae humanae, viresque ejus & virtutes ultimae tam animi quam corporis, in volumen aliquod colligantur; quod fuerit instar fastorum de humanis triumphis. Qua in re institutum Valerii Maximi & C. Plinii probamus, diligentiam & judicium eorum requirimus.

QUANTUM ad doctrinam de foedere, sive de communi vinculo animae & corporis: ea in duas partes tribui possit. Quemadmodum enim inter foederatos intercedunt, & mutua rerum suarum communicatio, & mutua officia; sic foedus istud animae & corporis duabus similiter rebus continetur: nimirum ut describatur, quomodo haec duo (anima scilicet & corpus) se invicem detegant, & quomodo invicem in se agant; notitia sive indicatione & impressione. Harum prior, (descriptio scilicet, qualis possit haberi notitia de anima ex habitu corporis; aut de corpore ex accidentibus animi) duas nobis peperit artes, utramque praedictionis; inquisitionibus alteram Aristotelis, alteram Hippocratis decoratam. Quanquam autem tempora recentiora has artes superstitiosis & phantasticis mixturis polluerint; repurgatae tamen, ac in integrum restituae, & fundamentum habent in natura solidum, & fructum edunt ad vitam communem utilem. Prima est physiognomia, quae per corporis lineamenta animi indicat propensiones; altera somniorum naturalium interpretatio, quae corporis statum & dispositionem & animi agitationibus detegit. In harum priore partem nonnullam desiderari perspicio. Siquidem Aristoteles ingeniose & solerter corporis fabricam, dum quiescit, tractavit; eandem in motu (nimirum gestus corporis) omisit; qui tamen non minus artis observationibus subjiuntur, & majoris sunt usus.

Etenim

Etenim lineamenta corporis, animi inclinationes & propensiones generales ostendunt; oris autem & partium motus & gestus, insuper aditus & tempora, & praesentis dispositionis & voluntatis signa, declarant. Ut enim apertissimis atque elegantissimis majestatis tuae verbis utar, *Lingua aures ferit, gestus vero oculos alloquitur*. Hoc vero bene norunt veteratores complures, & astuti homines, quorum oculi in aliorum vultu & gestibus habitant; idque in commodum suum trahunt; utpote in quo facultatis & prudentiae suae pars maxima vertatur. Nec sane negari potest, hoc ipsum, simulationis in altero indicem esse mirificum, & monere homines optime de electionibus temporum & opportunitatum adeundi personas; quae civilis prudentiae pars est non parva. Nemo autem putet hujusmodi solertiam aliquid quidem valere circa homines individuos, sub regula autem non cadere: Nam ad unum fere modum omnes ridemus, & ploramus, & erubescimus, & frontem contrahimus; & sic (ut plurimum) de motibus subtilioribus. Si quis autem hic chiromantiae meminit, sciat rem esse prorsum vanam; & in hujusmodi sermonibus, quos tractamus, nec dignam quidem quae nominetur. Quod vero ad somniorum naturalium interpretationem attinet: Res est quorundam laboribus pertractata, sed plurimis ineptiis scatens. Illud tantum in praesenti innuo, basim illam huic rei, quae maxime est solida, non subterni. Ea hujusmodi est; ubi idem fit ab interna causa, quod fieri quoque solet ab externa, actus ille externus transfit in somnium. Similis est stomachi oppressio, ex crasso vapore, atque incubitu ponderis externi: Itaque qui incubo laborant, pondus sibi superimponi, magno cum apparatu circumstantiarum, somniant. Similis viscerum pensilitas ex fluctuum agitatione in mari, & ex flatu circa praecordia collecto: Itaque hypochondriaci saepius navigationes & agitationes super aquas somniant. Sunt & innumera id genus.

POSTERIOR pars doctrinae foederis, (quam impressionem nominavimus) in artem nondum redacta est; sed obiter tantum, & carptim, inter alios tractatus aliquando intervenit. Illa eandem antistrophen cum priori habet. Quippe duo considerat: *Aut quomodo, & quousque humores & temperamentum corporis immutent animam, in eamque agant? Aut rursus, quomodo, & quousque animae passiones, vel apprehensiones, immutent corpus & in illud agant?* Horum prius in re medica interdum tractari videmus; at id ipsum se miris modis religionibus inseruit. Pharmaca enim praescribunt medici, quae morbis animae persanandis inserviant, ut in curationibus maniae & melancholiae: quinetiam medicinas porrigunt ad animum exhilarandum, ad cor muniendum, atque inde fortitudinem augendam, ad ingenium acuendum, ad memoriam roborandam, & similia. At diaetae, & delectus ciborum & potuum, & ablutiones, & aliae circa corpus observantiae, in secta Pythagoreorum & in haeresi Manichaeorum, & in lege Mahometi, omnem modum superant. Ordinationes quoque legis ceremonialis, sanguinis & adipis esum prohibentes, ac animalia munda ab immundis distinguentes, (quatenus ad cibi usum) & plurimae sunt & praecisae. Imo Christiana fides ipsa (quamvis a ceremoniarum nube libera & serena) usum tamen retinet jejuniorum, abstinentiarum, & aliarum rerum, quae ad corporis macerationem & humiliationem spectant, tanquam rerum non mere ritualium, sed etiam fructuosarum. Atqui radix omnium hujusmodi praeceptionum, praeter ipsam ceremoniam & exercitium obedientiae, in hac re consistit, de qua loquimur: Nimirum quod anima compatiatur corpori. Si quis autem iudicio infirmior existimet, istas corporis in animam impressiones, aut immortalitatem animae in dubium revocare, aut imperio animae in corpus derogare; levi dubie-

dubitationi leve responsum suffecerit. Exempla petat, vel ab infante in utero matris: qui simul cum matris affectibus compatitur, & tamen e corpore matris suo tempore excluditur: vel a monarchis, qui licet potentes, a servorum impetu quandoque flectuntur, salva interim majestate sua regia.

JAM quod ad partem reciprocam, (de anima & affectibus ejus in corpus agentibus) illa quoque in medicina locum invenit. Nemo enim medicus est paulo prudentior, quin accidentia animi, ut rem maximi ad sanationes suas momenti, quaeque omnia alia remedia plurimum vel adjuvet, vel impediat, consideret & tractet. At aliud quippiam, quod huc pertinet, parce admodum, nec pro rei vel subtilitate vel utilitate inquisitum est; quatenus scilicet (missis affectibus) *ipsa imaginatio animae, vel cogitatio perquam fixa, & veluti in fidem quandam exaltata, valeat ad immutandum corpus imaginantis?* Quamvis enim vim habeat ad nocendum manifestam, haud tamen inde sequitur pari potentia praeditum esse ad subveniendum. Non magis hercle, quam si quis concluderet, quoniam reperitur aliquis aër ita pestilens, ut subito interimat; debere quoque esse aliquem aërem ita salubrem, ut decumbentem subito restituat. Atque haec inquisitio nobilis profecto esset usus, verum (ut ait Socrates) natatore Delio indiget, quia mergitur in profundo. Rursus inter has doctrinas de foedere, sive consensibus animae & corporis, non alia fuerit magis necessaria, quam illa disquisitio de sedibus propriis & domiciliis, quae singulae animae facultates habent in corpore, ejusque organis. Quod genus scientiae qui sectati fuerint, non defunt; sed quae habentur in plerisque, aut controversa sunt, aut leviter inquisita; ut majori diligentia & acumine opus sit. Nam sententia introducta a Platone; qua intellectus in cerebro, tanquam in arce collocatus est, animositas (quam ille satis imperite iracundiam vocavit, cum tumori & superbiae sit propior) in corde, concupiscentia autem & sensualitas in jecinore; neque prorsus contemnenda est, neque cupide recipienda. Rursus nec collocatio facultatum illarum intellectualium (phantasiae, rationis, memoriae) secundum ventriculos cerebri, erroris expers est. Atque doctrinam de natura hominis indivisa, ac etiam de foedere animi & corporis, explicavimus.

C A P. II.

Partitio doctrinae circa corpus hominis in medicinam, cosmeticam, athleticam, & voluptariam. Partitio medicinae in officia tria, viz. in Conservationem sanitatis, curationem morborum, & prolongationem vitae: Quodque pars postrema de Prolongatione vitae disjungi debeat a duabus reliquis.

DOCTRINA circa corpus hominis eandem recipit divisionem, quam bona corporis ipsius, quibus inservit. Bona corporis humani quatuor sunt; sanitas, forma sive pulchritudo, vires, voluptas. Totidem igitur scientiae; medicina, cosmetica, athletica, & voluptaria, quam Tacitus appellat *eruditum luxum*.

MEDICINA ars in primis nobilis, & ex generosissima prosapia secundum poëtas. Illi enim introduxerunt Apollinem primum medicinae deum; cui filium dederunt Aesculapium, deum itidem, & medicinae professorem: quippe cum sol in naturalibus sit vitae author & fons, medicus ejusdem conservator, & tanquam scaturigo altera. At decus longe illustrius accedit medicinae ex operibus Servatoris, qui & animae & corporis medicus fuit; & sicut

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Et sicut animam doctrinae suae caelestis, ita corpus miraculorum suorum, objectum veluti proprium constituit. Nusquam enim legimus miraculum aliquod ab eo patratum circa honores, aut pecunias, (praeter unicum, quo tributum redderetur Caesari;) sed tantum circa corpus humanum, aut conservandum, aut sustentandum, aut persanandum.

SUBJECTUM istud medicinae (corpus nimirum humanum) ex omnibus, quae natura procreavit, maxime est capax remedii; sed vicissim illud remedium maxime est obnoxium errori. Eadem namque subjecti subtilitas & varietas, ut magnam medendi facultatem praebet, sic magnam etiam aberrandi facilitatem. Quocirca quemadmodum ars ista (praesertim quo nunc habetur modo) inter praecipue conjecturales; ita inquisitio ejus repouenda est inter summe arduas & accuratas. Neque propterea cum Paracelso & alchymistis ita desipimus, ut putemus inveniri in corpore humano, quae singulis universitatis rerum speciebus (stellis, mineralibus, & aliis) respondeant, sicut illi fabulantur, leviter & crassa Minerva traducentes emblemata illud veterum (quod homo esset microcosmus, five epitome totius mundi) ad hoc commentum suum. Verum nihilominus huc res redit, ut (quod ocepimus dicere) non inveniatur inter corpora naturalia aliquod tam multipliciter compositum, quam corpus humanum. Videmus enim herbas & plantas ex terra & aqua nutriri; animalia ex herbis & fructibus: hominem vero ex carnibus ipsorum animalium, (quadrupedum, avium, piscium) etiam ex herbis, granis, fructibus, succis & liquoribus variis, non sine multiplici commixtione, conditura & praeparatione horum corporum, priusquam homini sint in cibum. Adde quod animalibus vivendi modus sit simplicior, affectusque, qui in corpus agant, pauciores, & ad unum fere modum operantes; ubi homo locis habitationum, exercitationibus, affectibus, somno & vigiliis, vices prope infinitas variarum mutationum subit. Usque adeo verum est unam, inter res caeteras, corporis humani massam maxime fermentatam, & ex plurimis coagmentatam esse. At anima contra substantiarum est simplicissima, ut non male cecinerit ille:

——— *Purumque reliquit
Aethereum sensum, atque aurai simplicis ignem.*

Unde minime est mirandum, animam sic collocatam, requiem non invenire, juxta axioma illud, *Motum rerum extra locum esse rapidum, placidum in loco*. Verum ut ad rem redeamus; varia ista & subtilis corporis humani compositio & fabrica effecit, ut sit instar organi musici, operosi & exquisiti, quod harmonia sua facile excidit. Quare apud poetas, summa ratione musica cum medicina in Apolline conjungitur; quia similis fere sit utriusque artis genius; atque in eo consistat plane medici officium, ut sciat humani corporis lyram ita tendere & pulsare, ut reddatur concentus minime discors & insuavis. Ergo demum ista subjecti inconstantia & varietas artem reddidit magis conjecturalem: ars autem tam conjecturalis cum sit, locum ampliorem dedit non solum errori, verum etiam imposturae. Siquidem omnes aliae propemodum artes & scientiae virtute sua & functione, non successu aut opere, judicantur. Advocatum ipsa agendi & dicendi facultas, non exitus causae, commendat; gubernator navis clavi tenendi peritia, non expeditionis fortuna, se probat. At medicus, & fortasse politicus, vix habent actiones aliquas proprias, quibus specimen artis & virtutis suae liquido exhibeant; sed ab eventu praecipue honorem aut dedecus reportant, iniquissimo prorsus judicio.

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Quotus enim quisque novit, aegrotto mortuo aut restituto, item republica stante, vel labante, utrum sit res casus an consilii? Fit itaque saepissime, ut impostor palmam, virtus censuram referat. Quin ea est hominum infirmitas & credulitas, ut saepenumero agyrtam aut sagam docto medico praeponant. Quare poetae oculati plane & perspicaces fuisse videntur; cum AEsculapio Circem sororem dederunt, utrumque e sole prognatum; sicut habetur in versibus, de AEsculapio Phoebigena:

*Ille repertorem medicinae talis, & artis,
Fulmine Phoebigenam Stygias detrusit ad undas.*

Et similiter de Circe, solis filia;

*Dives inaccessibleis ubi solis filia lucis
Urit odoratam nocturna in lumina cedrum.*

Omnibus enim temporibus, fama & opinione vulgi, sagae & aniculae & impostores, medicorum quodammodo rivales fuere; & de curationum celebritate cum iisdem fere certarunt. Ex hoc dic sodes quid sequitur? Nempe ut medici ita secum, quemadmodum Solomon in re graviori; *Si unus & stulti & meus eventus erit, quid mihi prodest, quod majorem sapientiae dedi operam?* Equidem medicis minus succenseo, si saepenumero vacent alicui alteri studio, quod adamant magis, quam arti suae propriae. Invenies etenim inter eos, poetas, antiquarios, criticos, rhetores, politicos, theologos, atque in iis artibus magis, quam in professione propria eruditos. Neque hoc fit, ut arbitror, quia (ut quidam declamator contra scientias medicis objicit) habeant quae sibi obversentur objecta tam foeda & tristia, ut animum ad alia abducere iis omnino sit opus; (nam qui homines sint, *Nihil humani a se alienum putent*;) sed ob hoc ipsum, de quo nunc agimus; nempe quod arbitrentur, parum ipsis interesse, vel ad existimationem, vel ad lucrum, utrum artis suae mediocritatem, an perfectionem in ea majorem assequantur. Morbi enim taedia, vitae dulcedo, spei fallacia, & amicorum commendatio, efficiunt, ut homines facile in medicis qualibuscunque fiduciam collocent. Verum si quis haec attentius perpendat, ea potius ad culpam medicorum, quam ad culpae excusationem spectant: Neque enim spem abjicere, sed vires potius intendere debuerant. Nam si cui placet observationem expergefacerere suam, & paulatim circumspicere, etiam ex exemplis obviis & familiaribus facile deprehendet, quantum obtineat imperii intellectus subtilitas & acumen, in varietatem sive materiae sive formae rerum. Nil magis varium, quam hominum facies & vultus; eorum tamen discrimina infinita retinet memoria: Imo pictor ex pauculis colorum testis, acie oculi usus, & vi phantasiae, & manus constantia, omnium facies, qui sunt, fuerunt, atque etiam (si coram repraesentarentur) qui futuri sunt, penicillo imitari ac describere posset. Humana voce nil magis varium; hujus tamen discrimina in singulis personis facile internoscimus: Quinetiam non desunt moriones & pantomimi quidam, qui, quotquot libuerit, reddere sciunt, & ad vivum exprimere. Nil magis varium, quam soni articulati, verba scilicet: via tamen inita est, ea reducendi ad paucas literas alphabeti. Atque illud verissimum est, non ex eo, quod mens humana sit minus subtilis aut capax, perplexitates & acatalepsias in scientiis plerumque provenire; sed ex eo potius, quod objectum nimis in remoto collocatum sit. Sicut enim sensus, procul ab objecto diffusus, plurimum fallitur; debite appropinquatus, non multum errat; ita fit in intellectu. Solent autem homines naturam, tanquam

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tanquam ex praealta turri, & a longe despicere, & circa generalia nimium occupari; quando si descendere placuerit, & ad particularia accedere, resque ipsas attentius & diligentius inspicere, magis vera & utilis fieret comprehensio. Itaque hujus incommodi remedium, non in eo solum est, ut organum ipsum vel acuant vel robovent, sed simul ut ad objectum propius accedant. Ideoque dubitandum non est, quin si medici, missis paulisper istis generalibus, naturae obviam ire vellent, compotes ejus fierent, de quo ait poeta:

*Et quoniam variant morbi, variabimus artes;
Mille mali species, mille salutis erunt.*

Quod eo magis facere debent, quia philosophiae ipsae, quibus innituntur medici, sive methodici, sive chymici, (medicina autem in philosophia non fundata, res infirma est,) parvi revera sunt. Quare si nimis generalia (licet vera forent) hoc vitium habeant, quod non bene homines ad actionem deducant; certe majus est periculum ab illis generalibus, quae in se falsa sunt; atque, loco deducendi, seducunt.

MEDICINA igitur (uti perspeximus) adhuc taliter comparata est, ut fuerit magis ostentata, quam elaborata: etiam magis elaborata, quam amplificata; cum labores in eam insumpti, potius in circulo quam in progressu se exercuerint. Plurima enim in ea video a scriptoribus iterata, addita pauca. Eam in tres partes dividemus, quae tria ejus officia nominabimus. Primum est conservatio sanitatis, secundum curatio morborum, tertium prolongatio vitae. At istud postremum, non videntur medici, tanquam partem principalem artis suae agnovisse, verum idem reliquis duobus satis imperite immiscuisse. Putant enim, si propulsentur morbi, antequam ingruant, & currentur postquam invaserint, prolongationem vitae ultro sequi. Quod licet minime dubium sit, tamen parum acute prospiciunt, horum utrumque ad morbos tantum pertinere, & ad eam solummodo vitae prolongationem, quae a morbis abbreviatur & intercipitur: Atqui filum ipsum vitae producere, ac mortem, per resolutionem simplicem & atrophiam senilem, sensim obrepentem, ad tempus summovere, argumentum est, quod nemo ex medicis pro dignitate tractavit. Neque vero subeat animos hominum ille scrupulus, ac si haec res fato & divinae providentiae commissa, in artis officium & munus jam primum a nobis revocaretur. Providentia enim proculdubio mortes quascunque, sive ex violentia, sive ex morbis, sive ex decursu aetatis, pariter regit: Neque tamen ideo praeventiones & remedia excludit. Ars autem, & industria humana, naturae & fato non imperant, sed subministrant. Verum de hac parte paulo post dicemus; haec tantum interea praefati, ne quis tertium istud officium medicinae, cum duobus prioribus, (quod fere adhuc factum est) imperite confundat.

QUOD ad officium tuendae sanitatis attinet, (ex officiis praedictis medicinae primum) multi de eo scripserunt, cum in aliis rebus satis imperite, tum nimium (ut arbitramur) delectui ciborum, minus quam par est, quantitati eorum tribuentes. Quin & in quantitate ipsa, tanquam philosophi morales, mediocritatem nimis laudarunt; cum & jejunia in consuetudinem versa, & victus liberalis, cui quis affueverit, melius sanitatem tueantur, quam istae mediocritates, quae naturam ignavam fere reddunt, neque excessus, neque indigentiae, cum opus fuerit, patientem. Exercitationum autem species, quae in sanitate tuenda plurimum pollent, nemo ex medicis bene distinxit, aut annotavit; cum vix inveniat aliquam inclinationem in morbum, quae

quae non exercitatione quadam propria corrigi possit. Morbis renum glomerum lusus convenit, pulmonum sagittatio, stomachi deambulatio & gestatio, atque aliis aliae. Verum cum haec pars, de valetudinis conservatione, secundum totum tractata sit, defectus minores persequi non est nostri instituti.

Quod vero ad curationem morborum attinet, illa demum pars est medicinae in qua plurimum laboris insumptum est, licet fructu satis tenui. Continet autem doctrinam de morbis, quibus corpus humanum subijcitur, una cum eorundem causis, symptomatibus & medelis. In hoc secundo officio medicinae, multa sunt quae desiderantur: Ex his pauca, sed maxime insignia, proponemus, quae enumerasse satis duxerimus, absque aliqua ordinis aut methodi lege.

PRIMUM est, intermissio diligentiae illius Hippocratis, utilis admodum & accuratae, cui moris erat, narrativam componere casuum circa aegrotos specialium; referendo qualis fuisset morbi natura, qualis medicatio, qualis eventus. Atque hujus rei nactis nobis jam exemplum, tam proprium atque insigne, in eo scilicet viro, qui tanquam parens artis habitus est, minime opus erit, exemplum aliquod forinsecum ab alienis artibus petere; veluti a prudentia jurisconsultorum, quibus nihil antiquius, quam illustriores casus, & novas decisiones, scriptis mandare; quo melius se ad futuros casus muniant & instruant. Istam proinde continuationem medicinalium narrationum desiderari video; praesertim in unum corpus cum diligentia & judicio digestam: Quam tamen non intelligo ita fieri debere amplam, ut plane vulgata, & quae quotidie obveniant, excipiat; (id enim infinitum quiddam esset, neque ad rem:) Nec rursus tam angustam, ut solummodo mirabilia & stupenda (id quod a nonnullis factum est) complectatur. Multa enim in modo rei, & circumstantiis ejus, nova sunt, quae in genere ipso nova non sunt; qui autem ad observandum adjiciet animum, ei etiam, in rebus, quae vulgares videntur, multa observatu digna occurrent.

ITEM in disquisitionibus anatomicis fieri solet, ut quae corpori humano in universum competant, ea diligentissime, usque ad curiositatem, & in minimis quibusque, notentur: At circa varietatem, quae in diversis corporibus reperitur, medicorum diligentia fatiscit. Ideoque anatomiam simplicem luculentissime tractari assero, anatomiam comparatam desiderari statuo. Partes enim singulas recte perscrutantur homines, earumque consistentias, figuras, situs: sed illarum partium diversam in diversis hominibus figuram & conditionem minus observant. Atque hujus omissionis causam non aliam esse arbitramur, quam quod ad primam inquisitionem inspectio unius aut alterius anatomiae sufficere possit; ad posteriorem vero (quae comparativa est, & casum recipit) necesse est, ut plurimarum dissectionum attenta & perspicax observatio adhibeatur. Prior etiam res est, in qua homines docti, in praelectionibus suis & in coetu astantium, se jactare possunt: at secunda ea est, quae tacita & diutina experientia tantum acquiri potest. Illud interea minime dubium est, quod internarum partium figura & structura parum admodum externorum membrorum varietati & lineamentis cedat; quodque corda, aut jecinora, aut ventriculi, tam dissimilia sint in hominibus, quam aut frontes, aut nasi, aut aures. Atque in his ipsis differentiis partium internarum, reperiuntur saepius causae continentes multorum morborum; quod non attendentes medici, humores interdum minime delinquentes criminantur: cum ipsa mechanica partis alicujus fabrica in culpa sit. In quorum morborum cura, opera luditur, si adhibeantur medicinae alterantes, (quia res alterationem non recipit;) sed emendanda res est, & accommodanda,

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commodanda seu pallianda, per victus regimen & medicinas familiares. Similiter, ad anatomiam comparatam pertinent accuratae observationes, tam humorum omnigenum, quam vestigiorum & impressionum morborum, in corporibus variis dissectis. Etenim humores in anatomiis, tanquam purgamenta & fastidia, fere praetermitti solent, cum tamen in primis necessarium sit notare, quales & quam multiplices sint humorum differentium species (non nimium in hac re tribuendo divisionibus eorum receptis) qui in corpore humano aliquando inveniuntur, & in quibus cavitatibus & receptaculis, quilibet ipsorum, sedes & nidulos suos figere potissimum soleat; quoque juvamento aut damno; atque his similia. Itidem vestigia & impressiones morborum & interiorum partium ab iis laesiones & devastationes in diversis anatomiis cum diligentia notanda; nempe apostemata, ulcera, solutiones continuitatis, putrefactiones, exsiones, consumptiones; rursus contractiones, extensiones, convulsiones, luxationes, dislocationes, obstructions, repletiones, tumores, una cum omnibus materiis praeter-naturalibus, quae in corpore humano inveniuntur, (veluti calculis, carnositatibus, tuberibus, vermibus, & huiusmodi:) Haec (inquam) omnia, & his similia, per eam, quam diximus, anatomiam comparatam, & multorum medicorum experimenta in unum collata, magna cum cura perquiri & componi debent. At varietas ista accidentium in anatomicis aut perfunctorie tractatur, aut silentio praeteritur.

DE illo vero altero defectu circa anatomiam, (nempe quod non fieri consueverit in corporibus vivis) quid attinet dicere? Res enim haec odiosa, & barbara, & a Celfo recte damnata. Neque tamen illud minus verum est, (quod annotatum fuit a priscis) poros complures, & meatus, & pertusiones, quae sunt ex subtilioribus, in anatomicis dissectionibus non comparere; quippe quae in cadaveribus occluduntur & latent; cum in viventibus dilatentur & possint esse conspicui. Itaque, ut & usui consulatur simul & humanitati, non est omnino rejicienda anatomia vivorum, neque ad fortuitas chirurgicorum inspectiones (quod Celsus fecit) remittenda: cum hoc ipsum bene expediri possit, per dissectionem brutorum vivorum, quae non obstante suarum partium dissimilitudine ab humanis, huic inquisitioni, adhibito iudicio, satisfacere possint.

ITEM in inquisitione illorum de morbis, inveniunt morbos complures, quos insanabiles decernunt, alios jam inde a principio morborum, alios post talem quampiam periodum: Ita ut L. Syllae & trium-virorum proscriptiones, res nihili fuerint, prae medicorum proscriptionibus, per quas tot homines iniquissimis edictis morti dedunt; quorum tamen plurimi minore cum difficultate evadunt, quam illi olim inter proscriptiones Romanas. Neque igitur dubitabo inter desiderata reponere opus aliquod de curationibus morborum, qui habentur pro insanabilibus; ut evocentur & excitentur medici aliqui egregii & magnanimi, qui huic operi, quantum largitur natura rerum, incumbant; quando hoc ipsum, *Istos morbos pronunciare insanabiles*, neglectum & incuriam veluti lege fanciat, & ignorantiam ab infamia eximat.

ITEM ut paulo ulterius insistam: Etiam plane cenfeo ad officium medici pertinere, non tantum ut sanitatem restituat: verum etiam ut dolores & cruciatus morborum mitiget: Neque id ipsum solummodo, cum illa mitigatio doloris, veluti symptomatis periculosi, ad convalescentiam faciat & conducat; imo vero cum abjecta prorsus omni sanitatis spe, excessum tantum praebeat e vita magis lenem & placidum. Siquidem non parva est felicitatis pars, (quam sibi tantopere precari solebat Augustus Caesar) illa eutanasia; quae etiam observata est in excessu Antonini Pii, quando non tam

mori videretur, quam dulci & alto sopore excipi. Scribitur etiam de Epicuro, quod hoc ipsum sibi procuraverit; cum enim morbus ejus haberetur pro desperato, ventriculum & sensus, meri largiore haustu & ingurgitatione obruit. Unde illud in epigrammate:

— *Hinc stygias ebrius hausit aquas.*

Vino scilicet stygii laticis amaritudinem sustulit. At nostris temporibus, medicis quasi religio est, aegrotis, postquam deplorati sint, assidere; ubi meo judicio, si officio suo, atque adeo humanitati ipsi deesse nolint, & artem ediscere & diligentiam praestare deberent, qua animam agentes facilius & mitius e vita demigrent. Hanc autem partem, inquisitionem de euthanasia exteriori (ad differentiam ejus euthanasiae, quae animae praeparationem respicit) appellamus; eamque inter desiderata reponimus.

ITEM in curationibus morborum illud generaliter desiderari reperio; quod medici hujusce aetatis, licet generales intentiones curationum non male persequantur, particulares tamen medicinas, quae ad curationes morborum singulorum proprietate quadam spectant, aut non bene norunt, aut non religiose observant. Nam medici traditionum & experientiae probatae fructum magistralitatibus suis destruxerunt & sustulerunt; addendo, & demendo, & mutando circa medicinas, prout iis libitum fuerit; & fere pharmacopoeorum more quid pro quo substituendo; ita superbe imperantes medicinae, ut medicina non amplius imperet morbo. Demptis enim theriacis; & mithridatio, & fortasse diascordio, & confectione alkermes, & paucis aliis medicinis, ad nulla fere certa pharmaca se religiose & severe astringunt. Nam medicamenta illa, quae in officinis prostant venalia, potius in promptu sunt ad intentiones generales, quam accommodata & propria ad curationes particulares; siquidem speciatim nullum morbum magnopere respiciunt, verum generatim ad obstructions aperiendas, concoctiones confortandas, intemperies alterandas pertinent. Atque hinc praecipue fit, ut empirici & vetulae saepenumero in curandis morbis felicius operentur, quam medici eruditi, quia medicinarum probatarum confectionem & compositionem fideliter & scrupulose retinent. Equidem memini, medicum quendam apud nos in Anglia practica celebrem, religione prope Judaeum, librorum lectione tanquam Arabem, solitum dicere: *Medici vestri Europaei sunt quidem viri docti, sed non norunt particulares curationes morborum.* Quinetiam idem ludere solebat, parum decore, dicendo; *Medicos nostros similes esse Episcopis, ligandi & solvendi claves habere, & nihil amplius.* Sed ut serio, quod res est dicamus; plurimum referre censemus, si medici aliqui, & eruditione & practica insigniores, opus aliquod conficiant, de medicinis probatis & experimentalibus, ad morbos particulares. Nam quod speciosa quis ratione nixus, existimet decere, medicum doctum (habita ratione complexionis aegrorum, aetatis, tempestatis anni, consuetudinum & hujusmodi) potius medicinas ex tempore aptare, quam certis aliquibus praescriptis insistere; id fallax res est & experientiae non satis attribuit, judicio plus nimis. Sane, quemadmodum in republica Romana, cives erant utilissimi & optime compositi, qui aut consules populo favebant, aut tribuni in partes fenatus inclinabant: ita in hac materia, de qua agimus, medicos eos probamus, qui aut in magna eruditione, traditiones experientiae plurimum faciunt; aut in practica insigni methodos & generalia artis non aspernantur. Modificationes vero medicinarum (si quando, sit opus eas adhibere) potius in vehiculis earum exercendae sunt, quam in ipso

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so corpore medicinarum; in quo nil novandum, absque evidenti necessitate. Hanc igitur partem, quae de medicinis authenticis & positivis tractet, desiderari statuimus: Res autem est quae tentari non debet, absque acri & severo iudicio, & tanquam in synodo medicorum selectorum.

ITEM, inter praeparationes medicinarum, mirari subit, (praesertim cum medicinae ex mineralibus a chymicis in tantum evectae & celebratae sint; cumque tales medicinae tutius adhibeantur ad exteriora, quam intro sumantur) neminem adhuc inventum, qui per artem thermas naturales & fontes medicinales imitari annixus fuerit: cum tamen in confesso sit, thermas illas & fontes, virtutes suas ex vehis mineralium, per quas permeant, nancisci: quin etiam, in manifestum huius rei documentum, bene norit humana industria discernere & distinguere per separationes quasdam, ex quo genere mineralium huiusmodi aquae inficiantur, veluti an ex sulphure, vitriolo, chalybe, aut aliquo simili: Quae naturalis aquarum tinctura, si ad artificiosas compositiones reduci posset, fuerit in potestate hominis, & plura genera earum (prout usus postulat) efficere, & temperamentum ipsarum pro arbitrio regere. Hanc igitur partem, de imitatione naturae in balneis artificialibus (re proculdubio & utili, & in promptu) desiderari censemus.

NE vero singula scrupulosis exequamur, quam vel instituto nostro, vel huiusce tractatus naturae convenit, claudemus hanc partem defectus alterius cuiusdam enumeratione, qui maximi nobis videtur momenti: Nimirum quod medendi ratio, quae obtinuit, sit nimio plus compendiosa, quam ut insigne aliquid aut arduum praestare possit. Etenim iudicio nostro, opinio fuerit magis blanda quam vera, si quis existimet, medicamentum aliquod tam potens aut felix fieri posse, ut usus ejus simplex curationi alicui grandiori sufficiat. Mirabilis profecto foret oratio, quae pronunciata, aut etiam saepius repetita, vitium aliquod animo penitus insitum aut inveteratum corrigere aut tollere possit. Longe certe abest. Verum quae in natura eximie possunt & pollent, sunt ordo, prosecutio, series, vicissitudo artificiosa. Quae licet majus quoddam in praecipiendo iudicium, majoremque in parendo constantiam, requirant; tamen effectuum magnitudine abunde rem compensant. Etsi autem ex opera medicorum quotidiana, quam, invisendo, assidendo, praescribendo, aegrotis praestant, putaret quispiam, haud segniter ipsos curationem persequi, atque in eadem, certa quadam via, insistere: Tamen si quis ea, quae praescribere & ministrare soleant medici, acutius introspeciat, inveniet pleraque vacillationis & inconstantiae plena, & quae ex tempore excogitentur, & in mentem illis veniant, absque certo aliquo aut praevisto curationis tramite. Debuerant autem etiam ab initio, post morbum bene perspectum & cognitum, seriem curandi ordinatam meditari, neque ab ea absque gravi causa discedere. Atque sciant pro certo medici, posse (exempli gratia) tria fortasse aut quatuor medicamenta ad morbum aliquem gravem curandum recte praescribi, quae debito ordine & debito intervallo sumpta, curationem praestent: quorum singula, si per se tantum sumerentur, aut si ordo inverteretur, aut intervallum non servaretur, fuerint prorsus nocitura. Neque tamen id volumus, ut omnis scrupulosa & superstitiosa curandi ratio in pretio sit tanquam optima, (non magis, quam omnis via arcta, via sit ad coelum:) verum ut aequae recta sit via, ac arcta & difficilis. Hanc autem partem, quam filum medicinale vocabimus, desiderari ponimus. Atque haec illa sunt, quae in doctrina medicinae de curatione morborum desideramus: nisi quod restet unicum, quod pluris est, quam illa omnia. Desideratur nimirum philosophia naturalis vera & activa,

cui

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cui medicinae scientia inaedificetur. Caeterum illa non est hujusce tractatus.

TERTIAM partem medicinae, posuimus illam de prolongatione vitae, quae nova est & desideratur: Estque omnium nobilissima. Si enim tale aliquid inveniri possit, non versabitur tantum medicina in curationum sordibus; nec medici ipsi propter necessitatem solummodo honorabuntur, sed utique propter donum mortalibus, ex terrenis, quasi maximum, cujus poterint esse, secundum Deum, dispensatores & administri. Licet enim mundus homini Christiano, ad terram promissionis contendenti, tanquam eremus sit; tamen in eremo ipsa proficiscentibus, calceos & vestes (corpus scilicet nostrum, quod animae loco tegminis est) minus atteri, gratiae divinae munus quoddam aestimandum. Hac de re, quia est ex optimis eamque inter desiderata posuimus, ex more nostro, & monita dabimus, & indicia, & praecepta.

PRIMO monemus, ex scriptoribus, circa hoc argumentum, neminem esse, qui aliquid magni, ne dicamus aliquid fani, repererit. Aristoteles certe commentarium de hoc edidit perpussillum, in quo nonnihil inest acuti: quod ipse omnia esse vult, ut solet. At recentiores tam oscitanter, & superstiosae de hoc scripserunt, ut argumentum ipsum ob eorum vanitatem, tanquam vanum & vecors haberi coeperit.

SECUNDO monemus, ipsas intentiones, quae huc spectant, medicorum, res nihili esse, & cogitationes hominum a re potius abducere, quam versus eam dirigere. Sermocinantur enim, mortem in destitutione calidi & humidi consistere: Deberi itaque calorem naturalem confortari, humorem autem radicalem foveri: Perinde ac si haec res jusculis, aut lactucis & malvis, aut amydo, aut jujubis, aut rursus aromatibus, aut vino generoso, aut etiam spiritu vini & oleis chymicis, confici possit. Quae omnia obsunt potius, quam profunt.

TERTIO monemus, ut homines nugari desinant, nec tam faciles sint, ut credant, grande illud opus, quale est naturae, cursum remorari & retrovertere, posse haustu aliquo matutino, aut usu alicujus pretiosae medicinae ad exitum perducere: non auro potabili, non margaritarum essentiis, & similibus nugis: sed ut pro certo habeant, prolongationem vitae esse rem operosam, & quae ex compluribus remediis, atque eorum inter se connexione idonea, constet. Neque enim quisquam ita stupidus esse debet, ut credat, quod nunquam factum est adhuc, id fieri jam posse, nisi per modos etiam nunquam tentatos.

QUARTO monemus, ut homines rite animadvertant & distinguant, circa ea, quae ad vitam sanam, & ea, quae ad vitam longam, conferre possunt. Sunt enim nonnulla, quae ad spirituum alacritatem, & functionum robur, & morbos arcendos, profunt: quae tamen de summa vitae detrahunt, & atrophiam senilem absque morbis accelerant: Sunt & alia, quae ad prolongationem vitae, & atrophiam senilem longius summovendam juvant: sed tamen non usurpantur absque periculo valetudinis; adeo ut qui iis utentur ad prolongationem vitae, debeant simul incommodis occurrere, quae alioquin ex eorum usu supervenire possint. Atque monita haecenus dedimus.

QUOD ad indicia attinet; tale hujus rei (quam animo metimur) plasma est. Conservantur res & durant duobus modis: aut in identitate sua; aut per reparationem. In identitate sua, ut musca aut formica in succino; flos, aut pomum, aut lignum, in conservatoriis nivalibus; cadaver inter balsama. Per reparationem, ut in flamma & in mechanicis. Operanti ad prolongationem

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nem vitae, utroque genere utendum est, (disjuncta minus possunt) corpusque humanum conservandum, quemadmodum inanimata conservantur: Ac rursus quemadmodum flamma conservatur; ac denique quadantenus ut mechanica conservantur. Tres igitur sunt ad prolongandam vitam intentiones: Retardatio consumptionis: Probitas reparationis, & renovatio ejus, quod coepit veterascere. Consumptio fit a duabus depraedationibus: Depraedatione spiritus innati; & depraedatione aeris ambientis. Prohibitio utriusque duplex: Aut si agentia illa fiant minus praedatoria, aut si patientia (succus scilicet corporis) reddantur minus depraedabilia. Spiritus fit minus praedatorius, si aut substantia densetur, ut in usu opiatorum & nitratorum, & in contristationibus: Aut quantitate minuatur, ut in diaetis Pythagoricis & monasticis: Aut motu leniatur, ut in otio & tranquillitate. Aer ambiens fit minus praedatorius, si aut minus incalcescat a radiis solis, ut in regionibus frigidioribus, in speluncis, in montibus & in columnis anachoretarum: Aut summoveatur a corpore; ut in cute densa, & in plumis avium, & in usu olei & unguentorum absque aromatibus. Succus corporis redduntur minus depraedabiles, si aut duri facti sint, aut roscidi sive oleosi. Duri, ut in victu aspero; vita in frigido; exercitationibus robustis; balneis quibusdam mineralibus. Roscidi, ut in usu dulcium, & abstinencia a salsis & acidis, & maxime omnium in tali missione potus, quae sit partium valde tenuium & subtilium, absque tamen omni acrimonia aut acedine. Reparatio fit per alimenta: Alimentatio autem promovetur quatuor modis: Per concoctionem viscerum, ad extrusionem alimenti, ut in confortantibus viscera principalia: Per excitationem partium exteriorum ad attractionem alimenti, ut in exercitationibus & fricationibus debitis, atque unctionibus quibusdam & balneis appropriatis: Per praeparationem alimenti ipsius, ut facilius se insinuet, & digestionem ipsas quadantenus anticipet, ut in variis & artificiosis modis cibi condiendi, potus miscendi, panis fermentandi, & horum trium virtutes in unum redigendi: Per confortationem ipsius ultimi actus assimilationis, ut in somno tempestivo, & applicationibus quibusdam exterioribus. Renovatio ejus, quod coepit veterascere, fit duobus modis: Vel per intenerationem habitus corporis ipsius, ut in usu malacificationum ex balneis, emplastris, & unctionibus: quae talia sint ut imprimant, non extrahant: Vel per expurgationem succi veteris, & substitutionem succi novi, ut in tempestivis & repetitis purgationibus, sanguinis missionibus, & diaetis attenuantibus, quae florem corporis restituunt. Atque de indiciis haecenus.

PRAECEPTA, quanquam ex ipsis indiciis plurima possint deduci; tria tamen veluti praecipua subungere visum est. Praecipimus primo, ut prolongatio vitae expectetur potius a diaetis statis, quam a regimine aliquo victus familiari; aut etiam a medicamentorum particularium excellentia. Etenim, quae tanta virtute pollent, ut naturam retrovertere valeant; fortiora plerunque sunt, & potentiora ad alterandum, quam ut simul in aliqua medicina componi, multo minus in victu familiari interspergi possint. Superest itaque ut feriatim & regulariter, & ad tempora certa, & vicibus certis recurrentia, adhibeantur.

SECUNDO praecipimus, ut prolongatio vitae, expectetur potius ab operatione in spiritus, & a malacificatione partium, quam a modis alimentandi. Etenim, cum corpus humanum, ejusque fabrica (missis externis) a tribus patiatur; spiritibus scilicet, partibus, & alimentis; via prolongationis vitae per alimentandi modos longa est; atque per multas ambages & circuitus: at viae per operationes super spiritus, & super partes, multo breviores sunt,

& quibus citius ad finem desideratum pervenitur; eo quod spiritus subito patiantur, & a vaporibus, & ab affectibus, quae miris modis in eos possunt: partes item, per balnea, aut unguenta, aut emplastra, quae subitas etiam impressiones faciunt.

TERTIO praecipimus, quod malacissatio partium per exterius, fieri debet, per consubstantialia, imprimentia & occludentia. Consubstantialia enim benevolo partium amplexu libenter excipiuntur, & proprie malacissant. Imprimentia autem & virtutem malacissantium, tanquam vehicula, facilius & altius deducunt, atque ipsa partes nonnihil expandunt. Occludentia autem, virtutem utrorumque retinent, & paulisper figunt, & perspirationem, quae est res malacissationi opposita, (quia humidum emittit,) cohibent. Itaque per haec tria (sed potius ordine disposita & succedentia, quam commixta) res absolvitur. Interim in hac parte monemus; non eam esse intentionem malacissationis, ut nutriat partes per exterius; sed tantum ut eas reddat magis idoneas ad nutriendum. Quicquid enim magis aridum est, minus est activum ad assimilandum. Atque de prolongatione vitae, quae est pars tertia medicinae, noviter ascripta, haec dicta sint.

VENIAMUS ad cosmeticam, quae certe partes habet civiles; partes rursus effoeminatas. Corporis enim munditia, & decor honestus, recte existimatur promanare a modestia quadam morum, & a reverentia; imprimis erga Deum, cujus creaturae sumus; tum erga societatem, in qua degimus; tum etiam erga nosmet ipsos, quos non minus, imo magis, quam alios revereri debemus. Verum adulterina illa decoratio, quae fucos & pigmenta adhibet, digna certe est illis defectibus, qui eam semper comitantur; cum non sit, aut ad fallendum satis ingeniosa, aut ad utendum satis commoda, aut ad salubritatem satis tuta & innocua. Miramur autem, pravam hanc consuetudinem fucandi, leges censorias, tam ecclesiasticas quam civiles, (quae alias in luxuriam circa vestes, aut cultus capillorum effoeminatos, admodum fuerint severae) ita diu fugisse. Legimus certe de Jezabele, quod pigmentis faciem obliverit; verum de Esthera & Juditha nil tale perhibetur.

PERGAMUS ad athleticam: Eam sensu intelligimus paulo largiori, quam accipi consuevit. Huc enim referimus, quicquid versatur circa conciliandam qualemcunque (quam corpus humanum suscipit) habilitatem; five sit agilitatis five tolerantiae. Quarum agilitas duas habet partes, robur & velocitatem: ac tolerantia itidem duas, vel indigentiarum naturalium patientiam, vel in cruciatibus fortitudinem. Quorum omnium videmus saepenumero exempla insignia, in practica funambulorum, in duro victu hominum quorundam barbarorum, in stupendis viribus maniacorum, & in constantia nonnullorum inter exquisita tormenta. Imo si aliqua alia reperiatur facultas, quae in priorem partitionem non cadit, (qualis in urinatoribus saepe conspicitur, qui mirifice anhelitum cohibere possunt) ad hanc ipsam artem aggregari volumus. Atque quod talia fieri quandoque possint, manifestissimum est: at philosophia & inquisitio causarum circa eadem fere neglecta jacet; hanc arbitramur ob causam, quod hominibus persuasum sit, huiusmodi magisteria naturae, solummodo vel ex peculiari certorum hominum indole, (quae sub disciplinam non cadit,) vel a diutina, ab annis usque puerilibus, consuetudine, (quae potius imperari, quam doceri solet) obtinere. Quod etsi verum prorsus non sit, tamen defectus huiusmodi rerum quid attinet notare? Certamina enim Olympica jam diu cessarunt: tum etiam in ejusmodi rebus mediocritas sufficit ad usum: excellentia autem mercenariae cuidam ostentationi fere inservit.

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POSTREMO accedimus ad artes voluptarias. Eae secundum sensus ipsos dispersitae sunt: oculos oblectat praecipue pictoria, cum aliis artibus innumeris, quae ad magnificentiam spectant, circa aedificia, hortos, vestes, vasa, calices, gemmas, & similia. Aures demulcet musica, quae tanta vocum, spiritus, chordarum, varietate & apparatu, instructa est. Olim etiam hydraulica, pro coryphaeis quibusdam artis ejus habita sunt, quae nunc prope obsoleverunt. Atque artes, quae ad visum aut auditum spectant, prae aliis praecipue liberales habitae sunt: sensus hi duo magis casti: scientiae magis eruditae, quippe qui etiam mathematicam, veluti ancillam, in familiis suis habeant: Etiam altera ad memoriam & demonstrationes, altera ad mores & affectus animi nonnihil respicit. Reliquorum sensuum oblectationes, atque artes circa ipsos, minus in honore sunt, veluti luxuriae quam magnificentiae propiores: unguenta, odoramaenta, deliciae & cupediae mensarum, maxime autem incitamenta libidinis, rectius censore quam doctore indigent. Optime sane a quibusdam annotatum est, nascentibus & crescentibus rebus publicis artes militares florere; in statu & culmine positae liberales; at ad declinationem & decasum vergentibus voluptarias. Haec vero aetas nostra, vereor ne tanquam in decasu felicitatis, in artes voluptarias inclinet. Quare ista missa faciamus. Cum artibus voluptariis jocularis copulo. Deceptiones siquidem sensuum inter delectationes sensuum reponendae sunt.

JAM vero transcursum doctrinis illis, circa corpus humanum, (medicina, cosmetica, athletica, voluptaria) illud obiter monemus; cum in corpore humano tot res in considerationem veniant, partes, humores, functiones, facultates, accidentia: cumque (si nobis integrum esset) constitui oportuisset corpus unicum doctrinae de corpore humano, quae ista omnia complecteretur, (simile illi doctrinae de anima, de qua mox dicemus:) tamen, ne artes nimis multiplicentur, neve veteres artium limites, plusquam necesse fuerit, transponantur, doctrinam de partibus corporis humani, de functionibus, de humoribus, de respiratione, de somno, de generatione, de foetu & gestatione in utero, de augmentis, de pubertate, de canitie, de impinguatione, & similibus, in corpus medicinae recipimus; licet ad officia illa tria non proprie pertineant; sed quia corpus ipsum hominis, sit per omnia medicinae subiectum. Motum autem voluntarium & sensum, ad doctrinam de anima rejicimus; siquidem animae partes in his duobus sunt potiores. Atque sic doctrinam, quae circa corpus hominis versatur, quod animae pro tabernaculo duntaxat est, claudimus.

C A P. III.

Partitio philosophiae humanae circa animam in doctrinam de spiraculo; & doctrinam de anima sensibili sive producta. Partitio secunda ejusdem philosophiae in doctrinam de substantia & facultatibus animae, & doctrinam de usu & objectis facultatum. Appendices duae doctrinae de facultatibus animae; doctrina de divinatione naturali, & doctrina de fascinatione. Distributio facultatum animae sensibilis in motum & sensum.

VENIAMUS ad doctrinam de anima humana; e cujus thesauris, omnes caeterae doctrinae depromptae sunt. Ejus duae sunt partes; altera tractat de anima rationali, quae divina est; altera de irrationali, quae communis

munis est cum brutis. Notavimus autem paulo superius (ubi de formis loquebamur) differentes illas duas animarum emanationes, quae in prima utriusque creatione se dant conspiciendas; nimirum, quod altera ortum habuerit a spiraculo Dei, altera e matricibus elementorum. Nam de animae rationalis generatione primitiva, ita ait scriptura: *Formavit hominem de limo terrae, & spiravit in faciem ejus spiraculum vitae.* At generatio animae irrationalis, sive brutorum, facta est per verba illa, producat aqua, producat terra. Haec autem anima (qualis est in homine) animae rationali organum tantum est, atque originem habet & ipsa quoque, quemadmodum in brutis, e limo terrae: Neque enim dictum est, *Formavit corpus hominis de limo terrae*, sed *Formavit hominem*; integrum scilicet hominem, excepto illo spiraculo. Quamobrem partem primam doctrinae generalis circa animam humanam, doctrinam de spiraculo appellabimus; secundam vero, doctrinam de anima sensibili sive producta. Neque tamen, cum hactenus philosophiam solam tractemus, (quippe sacram theologiam in fine operis collocavimus) partitionem istam a theologia mutuaremus, nisi etiam cum principiis philosophiae conveniret. Plurimae enim & maximae sunt animae humanae praecellentiae supra animas brutorum, etiam philosophantibus secundum sensum manifestae. Ubicunque autem tot & tantarum invenitur excellentiarum symbolum, ibi merito semper constitui debet differentia specifica. Itaque nobis non nimium placet confusa illa & promiscua philosophorum de animae functionibus tractatio; ac si anima humana, gradu potius quam specie, discriminata esset ab anima brutorum: Non aliter, quam sol inter astra, aut aurum inter metalla.

SUBJUNGENDA est etiam partitio alia doctrinae generalis circa animam humanam, antequam de speciebus fufius loquamur. Etenim, quae de speciebus postea dicemus, utramque partitionem, tum illam, quam jam modo posuimus, tum istam, quam nunc proponemus, simul tractabunt. Secunda igitur partitio sit, in doctrinam de substantia & facultatibus animae, & doctrinam de usu & objectis facultatum.

PRAEMISSIS itaque his partitionibus geminis, ad species accedamus. Doctrina de spiraculo, eademque de substantia animae rationalis, completitur inquisitiones illas de natura ejus; utrum nativa sit illa, an adventitia; separabilis, an inseparabilis; mortalis, an immortalis; quatenus legibus materiae alligata, quatenus minime; & similia. Quae vero hujus sunt generis, licet etiam in philosophia, & diligentiore & altiore inquisitionem subire possint, quam adhuc habetur, utcunque tamen in fine, religioni determinanda & definienda rectius transmitti censemus: aliter enim, erroribus haud paucis, & sensus illusionibus omnino exponentur. Etenim, cum substantia animae, in creatione sua, non fuerit extracta aut deducta ex massa coeli & terrae, sed immediate inspirata a Deo; cumque leges coeli & terrae, sint propria subjecta philosophiae; quomodo possit cognitio de substantia animae rationalis ex philosophia peti & haberi? Quinimo ab eadem inspiratione divina hauriatur, a qua substantia animae primo emanavit.

DOCTRINA vero de anima sensibili, sive producta, etiam quatenus ad substantiam ejus, vere inquiritur: At ea inquisitio nobis quasi desiderari videtur. Quid enim ad doctrinam de substantia animae faciunt, actus ultimus, & forma corporis, & hujusmodi nugae logicae? Anima siquidem sensibilis sive brutorum, plane substantia corporea censenda est, a calore attenuata, & facta invisibilis; aura (inquam) ex natura flammae & aerea conflata, aëris mollietie ad impressionem recipiendam, ignis vigore ad actionem vibrandam dotata;

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dotata; partim ex oleosis, partim ex aqueis nutrita; corpore obducta, atque in animalibus perfectis in capite praecipue locata; in nervis percurrentes, & sanguine spirituosio arteriarum resecta & reparata, quemadmodum Bernardinus Telesius & discipulus ejus Augustinus Donius, aliqua ex parte, non omnino inutiliter, asseruerunt. Itaque de hac doctrina, diligentior fiat inquisitio: eo magis, quod haec res non bene intellecta, opiniones superstitionis, & plane contaminatas, & dignitatem animae humanae pessime concutientes, de metempsychosi & lustrationibus animarum per periodos annorum, denique de nimis propinqua animae humanae erga animas brutorum per omnia cognatione, peperit. Est autem haec anima in brutis animalibus principalis, cujus corpus brutorum organum; in homine autem, organum tantum, & ipsa animae rationalis, & spiritus potius appellatione quam animae indigitari possit. Atque de substantia animae haecenus.

FACULTATES autem animae notissimae sunt; intellectus, ratio, phantasia, memoria, appetitus, voluntas; denique universae illae, circa quas versantur scientiae logicae & ethicae: Sed in doctrina de anima, origines ipsarum tractari debent, idque physice, prout animae innatae sint, & adhaereant: usus tantum ipsarum, & objecta, illis alteris artibus deputantur. Atque in hac parte nihil egregii (ut nobis videtur) adhuc repertum est; quanquam desiderari eam haud sane dixerimus. Habet etiam pars ista de facultatibus animae appendices duas; quae & ipsae, quemadmodum tractantur, potius fumos nobis exhibuerunt, quam flammam aliquam lucidam veritatis: Altera harum est doctrina de divinatione naturali; altera de fascinatione.

DIVINATIONEM ab antiquis, nec male, in duas partes divisam habemus; artificialem & naturalem. Artificialis ratiocinando ex indicatione signorum, praedictionem colligit. Naturalis, ex ipsa animi praesensione interna, absque signorum adminiculis, praefagit. Artificialis duplex: Altera argumentatur ex causis: Altera ex experimentis tantum, caeca quadam autoritate. Quae posterior, ut plurimum, superstitiosa est: Quales erant ethnicorum disciplinae, circa inspectionem extorum, volatum avium, & similia. Etiam Chaldaeorum astrologia solennior, non multo melior. At artificialis divinatio utraque, inter diversas scientias spargitur. Habet astrologus praedictiones suas ex situ astrorum: Habet etiam medicus suas; de morte ingruente; de convalescentia; de symptomatibus morborum superventuris; ex urinis, pulsibus, aspectu aegrorum, & similibus: Habet & politicus suas: *O urbem venalem, & cito perituram, si emptorem invenerit!* Cujus vaticinii fides non diu morata est; impleta primum in Sylla, postea in Caesare. Hujusmodi igitur praedictiones, praesentis non sunt instituti, verum ad artes proprias remitti debent. Naturalis autem divinatio, ex vi scilicet interna animi ortum habens, ea demum est, de qua nunc agitur. Haec duplex est; altera nativa: altera per influxum. Nativa hoc nititur suppositionis fundamento: quod anima in se reducta, atque collecta, nec in corporis organa diffusa, habeat ex vi propria essentiae suae, aliquam praenotionem rerum futurarum: Illa vero optime cernitur; in somnis, ecstasibus, confiniis mortis; rarius inter vigilandum, aut cum corpus sanum sit ac validum. Hujusmodi vero status animi, procuratur fere aut adjuvatur ex abstinentiis, atque illis rebus, quae animam a muneribus corporis exercendis maxime sevocant, ut sua natura absque impeditionibus exteriorum gaudere possit. Divinatio vero per influxum, hoc altero suppositionis fundamento nititur; quod anima, veluti speculum, illuminationem quandam secundariam, a praescientia Dei & spirituum excipiat; cui etiam idem, qui

priori, status & regimen corporis confert. Eadem enim animae sevocatio efficit, ut & sua natura impensius utatur, & divinorum influxuum sit magis susceptiva: nisi quod in divinationibus per influxum anima fervore quodam, atque tanquam numinis praesentis impatientia, (quae apud priscos sacri furoris nomine vocabatur) corripiatur: in divinatione autem nativa, qui etiam potius & vacationi propior sit.

FASCINATIO autem, est vis & actus imaginationis intensivus in corpus alterius: (vim enim imaginationis super corpus proprium ipsius imaginantis superius perstrinximus.) In hoc genere schola Paracelsi, & ementitae naturalis magiae cultores, tam fuerunt immedici, ut imaginationis impetum & apprehensionem miracula patranti fidei tantum non exaequarent. Alii ad similitudinem veri propius accedentes; cum occultas rerum energias & impressiones, sensuum irradiationes, contagionum de corpore in corpus transmissiones, virtutum magneticarum delationes acutius intuerentur; in eam opinionem devenerunt, quod multo magis a spiritu in spiritum (cum spiritus prae rebus omnibus sit, & ad agendum strenuus, & ad patiendum tener & mollis) impressiones & delationes, & communicationes fieri poterint. Unde increbuerunt opiniones, factae quasi populares, de genio superiori, de hominibus quibusdam infaustis & ominosis, de ictibus amoris & invidiae, & aliae his similes. Atque huic conjuncta est disquisitio, quomodo imaginatio intendi & fortificari possit? Quippe si imaginatio fortis tantarum sit virium, operae pretium fuerit nosse, quibus modis eam exaltari, & se ipsa majorem fieri detur? Atque hic oblique, nec minus periculose, se insinuat palliatio quaedam & defensio maximae partis magiae ceremonialis. Speciosus enim fuerit praetextus, ceremonias, characteres, incantationes, gestulationes, amuleta, & similia, non ex aliquo tacito aut sacramentali cum malis spiritibus contractu vires nancisci; sed eo pertinere tantum, ut imaginatio illius, qui his utitur, roboretur & exaltetur: Quemadmodum etiam in religione, usus imaginum, ad mentes hominum in rerum contemplatione defigendas, & devotionem precantium excitandam, invaluit. Attamen mea talis est sententia; etiam si detur, vim imaginationis esse utique potentem, atque insuper ceremonias vim illam intendere & roborare; posito denique, quod adhibeantur ceremoniae ad hanc intentionem sincere, atque tanquam remedium physicum, absque aliqua vel minima cogitatione de invitandis per ipsas auxiliis spirituum: haberi nihilominus debent pro illicitis, propterea quod sententiae illi divinae, adversus hominem propter peccatum latae, repugnent & recalci-trent: *In sudore vultus comedes panem tuum.* Siquidem magia ejus generis, egregios illos fructus, quibus Deus pretium laborem constituit, adipiscendos proponit, per paucas, easque faciles & minime operosas observantias.

SUPER SUNT doctrinae duae, quae ad facultates animae inferioris, sive sensibilis, praecipue spectant, utpote quae cum organis corporeis maxime communicant. Altera de motu voluntario: altera de sensu & sensibili. In priori harum etiam alias satis jeje inquisita, unica pars fere integra deest. Etenim de officio & fabrica commoda nervorum & musculorum, & aliorum quae ad hunc motum requiruntur; quaeque pars corporis quiescat, dum alia moveatur; tum quod hujusce motus rector & quasi auriga sit imaginatio; adeo ut dimissa imagine, ad quam motus fertur, statim intercipiatur & sistatur motus ipse, (ut cum deambulamus, si alia subeat cogitatio acris & defixa, continuo consistimus;) & aliae nonnullae subtilitates non male in observationem & inquisitionem jam pridem venerunt. Quomodo vero com-

pressiones,

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pressiones, & dilatationes, & agitationes spiritus, (qui proculdubio motus fons est) corpoream & crassam partium molem flectat, excitet, aut pellat, adhuc diligenter inquisitum & tractatum non est. Neque mirum, cum anima ipsa sensibilis hactenus potius pro entelechia & functione quadam habitata sit, quam pro substantia. At quando jam innotuerit, ipsam esse substantiam corpoream & materiata, necesse est etiam, ut, quibus nixibus aura tam pusilla & tenera, corpora tam crassa & dura in motu ponere possit, inquiratur. De hac parte igitur, cum desideretur, fiat inquisitio.

At de sensu & sensibili longe uberius & diligentius adhibita est inquisitio, tam in tractatibus circa ea generalibus, quam in artibus specialibus, utpote perspectiva, musica; quam vere nihil ad institutum: quandoquidem illa tanquam desiderata ponere non liceat. Sunt tamen duae partes nobiles & insignes, quas in hac doctrina desiderari statuimus; altera de differentia perceptionis & sensus: altera de forma lucis.

Atque differentiam inter perceptionem & sensum, bene enucleatam, debuerant philosophi tractatibus suis de sensu & sensibili praemittere, ut rem maxime fundamentalem. Videmus enim, quasi omnibus corporibus naturalibus inesse vim manifestam percipiendi: etiam electionem quandam amica amplectendi, inimica & aliena fugiendi. Neque nos de subtilioribus perceptionibus tantum loquimur, veluti cum magnes ferrum allicit; flamma ad naphtham affilit; bulla bullae approximata coit; radiatio ab objecto albo diffilit; corpus animalis utilia assimilat, inutilia excernit; spongiae pars (etiam super aquam elevata) aquam attrahit, aërem expellit; & huiusmodi. Etenim quid attinet talia enumerare? Nullum siquidem corpus ad aliud admotum illud immutat, aut ab illo immutatur, nisi operationem praecedat perceptio reciproca. Percipit corpus meatus, quibus se insinuat: percipit impetum alterius corporis, cui cedit: percipit amotionem alterius corporis, a quo detinebatur, cum se recipit: percipit divulsionem sui continui, cui ad tempus resistit: Ubique denique est perceptio. Aër vero calidum & frigidum tam acute percipit, ut ejus perceptio sit longe subtilior, quam tactus humani; qui tamen pro calidi & frigidi norma habetur. Duplex igitur deprehenditur circa hanc doctrinam hominum culpa: alia, quod eam intactam & intractatam (cum tamen sit res nobilissima) plerumque reliquerunt: alia, quod qui huic contemplationi forte animum adjecerunt, longius, quam par est, proveci sunt, & sensum corporibus omnibus tribuerunt: ut piaculum fere sit, ramum arboris avellere, ne forte instar Polydori ingemiscat. At debuerant illi differentiam perceptionis & sensus, non tantum in comparatione sensibilium ad insensibilia, secundum corpus integrum, explorare, (veluti plantarum & animalium,) verum etiam in corpore ipso sensibili animadvertere, quid in causa sit, cur tot actiones expediantur, absque omni tamen sensu? Cur alimenta digerantur, egerantur; humores & succi, sursum, deorsum, ferantur; cor & pulsus vibrent; viscera, sua quaeque officina, sicut officinae, producant; & tamen haec omnia, & complura alia, absque sensu fiant? Verum homines non satis acute, qualis sit actio sensus, viderunt, atque quod genus corporis, quae mora, quae conduplicatio impressionis ad hoc requirantur, ut dolor vel voluptas sequatur? Denique differentiam inter perceptionem simplicem & sensum, nullo modo nosse videntur; nec quatenus fieri possit perceptio absque sensu: Neque enim haec verborum tantum controversia est, sed de re magni prorsus momenti. De hac igitur doctrina (ut imprimis utili, & ad plurima spectante) melius inquiratur: quandoquidem etiam circa hanc rem inscitia tantum apud nonnullos

ex antiquis philosophis potuerit, ut omnibus sine discrimine corporibus animam infundi putaverint: neque enim videbant, quomodo motus cum discretione fieri potuerit absque sensu; aut sensus adesse absque anima.

DE forma lucis quod debita non facta fuerit inquisitio, (praesertim cum in perspectiva strenue elaborarunt homines) stupenda quaedam negligentia censeretur. Etenim, nec in perspectiva, nec alias, aliquid de luce, quod valeat, inquisitum est. Radiationes ejus tractantur, origines minime. Sed collocatio demum perspectivae inter mathematica, hunc ipsum defectum & alios similes peperit; quia a physicis praemature discessum est. Tractatio autem de luce, & causis ejus, in physicis rursus supersticiosa fere est, tanquam de re inter divina & naturalia media; adeo ut quidam ex Platoniciis, eam materia ipsa antiquiorem introduxerint. Cum enim spatium esset distillatum, id primum lumine, postea vero corpore impletum fuisse, vanissimo commento asseruerunt: quando tamen scripturae sacrae, massam coeli & terrae, tenebrosam, ante lucem creatam, discrete posuerint. Quae vero physice & secundum sensum de ea tractantur, ea statim ad radiationes descendunt, ut parum physicae inquisitionis circa hanc rem extet. Debuerant autem homines contemplationes suas submittere paulisper, & quid sit corporibus omnibus lucidis commune inquirere, tanquam de forma lucis. Etenim quam immensa est corporis differentia (si ex dignitate considerentur) inter solem & lignum putridum, aut squamas etiam pisium putridas? Inquirere etiam debuerant, quid tandem in causa sit, cur aliqua ignescant, & lucem ex se jacent calefacta, alia minime? Ferrum, metalla, lapides, vitrum, ligna, oleum, sebum, ab igne vel flammam vibrant, vel saltem rubescunt: at aqua, aer, acerrimo & tanquam furenti calore fervere facta, nihil tamen lucis adipiscuntur, nec splendent. Quod si quis hoc eo fieri putet, quod proprium sit ignis lucere, aqua autem & aer igni omnino inimica sint; is sane nunquam per obscura noctis in aqua salsa, tempestate calida, remigavit; cum guttulas aquae ex remorum concussione subsilientes micare & lucescere videre potuisset. Quod etiam fit in spuma maris ferventiore, quam pulmonem marinum vocant. Quid denique habent commune cum flamma & ignitis cicendulae & luciulae; & musca Indica, quae cameram totam illustrat; & oculi quorundam animalium in tenebris; & saccharum inter radendum, aut frangendum; & sudor equi nocte aestuosa festinantis; & alia nonnulla? Quin & homines tam parum in hac re viderunt, ut plerique scintillas e filice aerem attritum putent. Attamen quando aer calore non ignescat, & lucem manifesto concipiat, quomodo tandem fit, ut noctuae, & feles, & alia nonnulla animalia, noctu cernant; adeo ut ipsi aeri (quando visio absque luce non transigatur) necesse est inesse lucem aliquam nativam & genuinam, quamvis tenuem admodum & infirmam, quae tamen sit radiis visivis hujusmodi animalium proportionata, iisque ad videndum sufficiat. Verum hujusce mali (ut plurimorum) causa est, quod homines, ex instantiis particularibus, formas naturarum communes non elicuerunt; id quod nos tanquam subjectum proprium metaphysicae posuimus; quae & ipsa physicae, sive doctrinae de natura, pars est. Itaque de forma & originibus lucis fiat inquisitio, eaque interim inter desiderata ponatur. Atque de doctrina circa substantiam animae, tam rationalis quam sensibilis, cum facultatibus suis, atque de ejusdem doctrinae appendicibus, haec dicta sint.

FRANCISCI

Baronis de VERULAMIO,

Vice-Comitis SANCTI ALBANI,

De Dignitate & Augmentis SCIENTIARUM,

LIBER QUINTUS:

AD REGEM SUUM.

CAP. I.

Partitio doctrinae circa usum & objecta facultatum animae humanae, in logicam, & ethicam. Partitio logicae, in artes inveniendi, judicandi, retinendi & tradendi.

DOCTRINA circa intellectum; (rex optime) atque illa altera circa voluntatem hominis, in natalibus suis tanquam gemellae sunt. Et enim illuminationis puritas, & arbitrii libertas, simul inceperunt, simul corruerunt. Neque datur in universitate rerum, tam intima sympathia, quam illa veri & boni. Quo magis rubori fuerit viris doctis, si scientia sint tanquam angeli alati, cupiditatibus vero tanquam serpentes, qui humi reptant; circumgerentes animas, instar speculi sane, sed menstruati.

VENIMUS jam ad doctrinam circa usum & objecta facultatum animae humanae. Illa duas habet partes, easque notissimas, & consensu receptas; logicam & ethicam: nisi quod doctrinam civilem, quae vulgo ut pars ethicae collocatur, jam ante emancipaverimus; & in integram doctrinam de homine congregato, sive in societate, constituerimus; hic tantum de homine segregato tractantes. Logica de intellectu & ratione; ethica de voluntate, appetitu, & affectibus differit: altera decreta, altera actiones progignit. Verum quidem est, quod phantasia in utraque provincia, tam judiciali quam ministeriali, legati cujusdam aut internuncii, aut proeuratoris reciproci vices gerit. Nam sensus idola omnigena phantasiae tradit, de quibus postea ratio judicat: At ratio vieissim idola electa & probata phantasiae transmittit, priusquam fiat executio decreti. Siquidem motum voluntarium perpetuo praecedat, eumque incitat phantasia: adeo ut phantasia sit utrique, tam rationi quam voluntati, instrumentum commune: nisi quod Janus iste bifrons sit, & duas obvertat facies: facies enim rationem aspiciens, veritatis habet effigiem;

effigiem ; facies autem actionem aspiciens, effigiem bonitatis : quae tamen sint facies,

— *Quales decet esse sororum.*

Neque vero merus & nudus internuncius est phantasia ; sed auctoritatem non exiguam vel accipit, vel usurpat, praeter delationem simplicem mandati. Recte enim Aristoteles : *Id imperii habet anima in corpus, quod dominus in mancipium : Ratio vero in phantasiam, quod in libera civitate magistratus in civem* ; ad quem possit sua vice redire dominatio. Videmus enim quod in iis, quae sunt fidei & religionis, phantasia supra ipsam rationem scandat & evehatur : Non quod illuminatio divina locum habeat in phantasia, (quin potius in ipsa arce mentis & intellectus :) verum quemadmodum gratia divina in virtutibus utitur motibus voluntatis ; ita similiter gratia divina in illuminationibus utitur motibus phantasiae ; unde fit ut religio semper aditum sibi ac viam ad animum quaesierit per similitudines, typos, parabolas, visiones, insomnia. Rursus haud humile est regnum phantasiae in persuasionibus, a vi eloquentiae insinuat. Nam ubi per orationis artificia hominum animi demulcentur, inflaminantur, & in quamcunque partem pertrahuntur ; totum illud fit per exuscitationem phantasiae, quae impotens jam facta, non solum rationi insultat, verum eidem vim quodammodo facit, partim occaecando, partim extimulando. Neque tamen causa videtur, cur a partitione priore discedamus. Nam phantasia scientias fere non parit ; siquidem poësis (quae a principio phantasiae attributa est) pro lusu potius ingenii, quam pro scientia, habenda. Potestatem autem phantasiae in naturalibus, doctrinae de anima paulo ante assignavimus : Eam vero, quam habet cum rhetorica cognationem, illi ipsi arti (de qua infra tractabimus) remitti par est.

PARS ista humanae philosophiae, quae ad logicam spectat, ingeniorum plurimorum gustui ac palato minus grata est ; & nihil aliud videtur quam spinosae subtilitatis laqueus ac tendicula. Nam sicut vere dicitur scientiam esse animi pabulum : ita in hoc pabulo appetendo & deligendo plerique palatum nacti sunt Israëlitarum simile in deserto : quos cupido incescit redeundi ad ollas carniū ; mannae autem fastidium cepit : Quae licet cibibus fuerit coelestis, minus tamen sentiebatur almus & sapidus. Eodem modo (ut plurimum) illae scientiae placent, quae habent infusionem nonnullam carniū magis esculentam : Quales sunt historia civilis, mores, prudentia politica, circa quas hominum cupiditates, laudes, fortunae vertuntur & occupatae sunt. At istud lumen ficcum plurimorum mollia & madida ingenia offendit & torret. Caeterum unamquamque rem propria si placet dignitate metiri, rationales scientiae reliquarum omnino claves sunt : Atque quemadmodum manus instrumentum instrumentorum, anima forma formarum : ita & illae, artes artium ponendae sunt : Neque solum dirigunt, sed & roborant ; sicut sagittandi usus & habitus, non tantum facit, ut melius quis collimet, sed ut arcum tendat fortiolem.

ARTES logicae quatuor numero sunt ; divisae ex finibus suis, in quos tendunt. Id enim agit homo in rationalibus : Aut ut inveniat, quod quaesiverit : Aut judicet, quod invenerit : Aut retineat, quod judicaverit : Aut tradat, quod retinuerit. Neceffe igitur est, ut totidem sint artes rationales : Ars inquisitionis seu inventionis : Ars examinis seu iudicii : Ars custodiae seu memoriae : Et ars elocutionis seu traditionis. De quibus jam figillatim dicemus.

C A P. II.

Partitio inventivae in inventivam artium & argumentorum: Quodque prior harum (quae eminet) desideretur. Partitio inventivae artium in experientiam literatam, & organum novum. Delineatio experientiae literatae.

INVENTIONIS duae sunt species, valde profecto inter se discrepantes; una artium & scientiarum; altera argumentorum & sermonum. Priorem harum desiderari prorsus pronuncio: Qui quidem talis mihi videtur esse defectus; ac si quis in inventario conficiendo bonorum alicujus defuncti ita referat; numeratae pecuniae nihil. Ut enim caetera omnia pecunia parantur; ita & per hanc artem reliquae acquiruntur. Atque sicut India occidentalis nunquam nobis inventa fuisset, nisi praeceffisset acus nauticae inventio; licet regiones illae immensae versoriae motus pusillus sit: Ita non est cur miretur quispiam in artibus perlustrandis & promovendis ampliores progressus factos non esse; quandoquidem ars ipsa inveniendi & perlustrandi scientias haecenus ignoretur.

HANC scientiae desiderari partem plane in confesso est. Primo enim dialectica nihil profitetur, imo ne cogitat quidem, de inveniendis artibus, si-ve mechanicis, si-ve (quas vocant) liberalibus; aut etiam de illarum operibus, harum vero axiomatibus eliciendis; sed quasi praeteriens homines alloquitur & dimittit, edicens, ut cuique in sua arte credant. Celsus, vir prudens, non solum medicus, (licet moris sit omnibus in laudes artis propriae effundi) graviter & ingenue, de empiricis & dogmaticis medicorum sectis loquens, fatetur; *Medicamenta & remedia prius fuisse inventa, de causis vero & rationibus posterius disceptatum; non ordine converso causas ex natura rerum primo erutas fuisse, easque inventioni remedium praetulisse.* At Plato non semel innuit *Particularia infinita esse; maxime rursus generalia minus certa documenta exhibere: Medullam igitur scientiarum, qua artifex ab imperito distinguitur, in mediis propositionibus consistere, quas per singulas scientias tradidit & docuit experientia.* Quin & illi, qui de primis rerum inventoribus, aut scientiarum originibus, verba fecerunt, casum potius quam artem celebrarunt; atque animalia bruta, quadrupedes, aves, pisces, serpentes, magis quam homines, tanquam scientiarum doctores, introduxerunt:

Dictamnium genitrix Cretaea carpit ab Ida,

Puberibus caulem foliis, & flore comantem

Purpureo: non illa feris incognita capris

Gramina, cum tergo volucres haesere sagittae. AENEID. XII. 412.

Adeo ut minime mirum sit, (cum in more apud antiquos fuerit rerum utilium inventores consecrare) apud Aegyptios, gentem priscam, (cui plurimae artes initia sua debent,) templa plena fuisse simulachris brutorum; hominum vero simulachris prope vacua; *AENEID. VIII. 698.*

Omnigenumque deum monstra, & latrator Anubis,

Contra Neptunum, & Venerem, contraque Minervam, &c.

Quod si malis ex traditione Graecorum artes potius hominibus ut inventoribus tribuere; haudquaquam tamen dixeris Prometheum ad ignis inventionem contemplationes adhibuisse: Aut cum filicem primo percuteret scintillas

scintillas expectasse: sed casu in illud incidisse, atque (ut aiunt) furtum Jovi fecisse. Ita ut ad artium inventionem quod attinet, caprae sylvestri pro emplastris, philomelae pro modulationibus musicis, ibidi pro lavationibus intestinorum, operculo ollae quod diffiliit pro re tormentaria, denique (ut verbo dicamus) casui aut cuivis alteri res plus debeamus, quam dialecticae. Nec vero multo aliter se habet modus ille inveniendi, quem recte describit Virgilius: *Georg. i. 133.*

Ut varias usus meditando extunderet artes

Paulatim. —

Non enim alia hic proponitur inveniendi methodus, quam cuius bruta ipsa sunt capacia, & quam crebro usurpant: nimirum attentissima circa unam rem sollicitudo, ejusque perpetua exercitatio, quas sui conservandi necessitas hujusmodi animantibus imponit. Cicero enim vere admodum; *Usus uni rei deditus, & naturam & artem saepe vincit.* Quare si praedice-
tur de hominibus,

— Labor omnia vincit

Improbis, & duris urgens in rebus egestas:

Etiam de brutis similiter quaeritur,

Quis expedit psittaco suum Xalpe?

Corvo quis auctor fuit, ut magna siccitate lapillos immitteret arbori cavae, ubi aquam forte conspexerit, ut surgentem laticem rostro posset attingere? Quis viam monstravit apibus, qui per aërem, tanquam vastum mare, agros floridos, licet multum ab alvearibus diffitos, solent petere, & favos suos denuo repetere? Quis formicam docuit, ut grana in colliculo suo reponenda circumroderet prius, ne reposita germinarent, & spem suam illuderent? Quod si in versu illo Virgiliano quis notet verbum illud *extundere*, quod difficultatem rei; & verbum illud *paulatim*, quod tarditatem innuit; redibimus unde profecti sumus, ad Aegyptiorum illos deos; cum hactenus homines modice rationis facultate, neutiquam vero officio artis, usi sint ad inventa detegenda.

SECUNDO hoc ipsum quod asserimus, (si advertatur paulo diligentius) demonstrat inductionis forma, quam proponit dialectica; qua scilicet scientiarum principia inveniantur & probentur; quae vitiosa plane est & incompetens, & naturam tantum abest ut perficiat, ut etiam eam pervertat & detorqueat. Qui enim modum acute introspexerit, quo ros iste aethereus scientiarum, similis illi de quo loquitur poeta,

— Aerei mellis coelestia dona,

colligatur; (cum & scientiae ipsae ex exemplis singulis, partim naturalibus, partim artificialibus, tanquam prati floribus & horti, extrahantur) reperiet profecto animum suapte sponte, & nativa indole, inductionem solertius conficere, quam quae describitur a dialecticis; siquidem ex nuda enumeratione particularium (ut dialectici solent) ubi non invenitur instantia contradictoria, vitiose concluditur; neque aliquid aliud hujusmodi inductio producit, quam conjecturam probabilem. Quis enim in se recipiet, cum particularia quae quis novit, aut quorum meminit, ex una tantum parte compareant; non delitescere aliquod, quod omnino repugnet? Perinde ac si Samuel acquievisset in illis Isai filiis, quos coram adductos videbat in domo; & minime

& minime quaesivisset Davidem, qui in agro aberat. Atque haec inductionis forma (si verum omnino dicendum sit) tam pinguis est & crassa, ut incredibile videatur, tam acuta & subtilia ingenia (qualia in his rebus meditationes suas exercuerunt) potuisse eam mundo obtrudere; nisi illud in causa fuisset, quod opera festinata ad theorias & dogmata contendissent: particularia autem, (praesertim moram in iis longiorem) ex fastu quodam & elatione animi, despexissent. Illi enim exempla sive instantias particulares, vice lictorum aut viatorum adhibuerunt ad summovendam turbam, ut dogmatibus suis viam aperirent; neutiquam autem ea inde ab initio in consilium advocarunt, ut legitima fieret & matura de rerum veritate deliberatio. Certe perculserit animos pia & religiosa quaedam admiratio, cum videamus, eadem calcata vestigia, ad errorem ducentia, in divinis & humanis. Quemadmodum enim in divina veritate percipienda aegre quis in animum inducat, ut fiat tanquam parvulus; ita in humana perdiscenda provectos, utique puerorum more, prima inductionum elementa adhuc legere & retractare, res humilis existimatur & quasi contemnenda.

TERTIO, si concedatur, principia scientiarum ex inductione, qua utuntur, vel sensu & experientia, recte posse constitui; certissimum est tamen, axiomata inferiora ab iis per syllogismum non posse (in rebus naturalibus, quae participant ex materia) recte & tuto deduci. In syllogismo enim fit reductio propositionum ad principia per propositiones medias. Haec autem sive inveniendi sive probandi forma in scientiis popularibus (veluti ethicis, politicis, legibus, & huiusmodi) locum habet: imo & in theologicis; quandoquidem Deo pro bonitate sua placuerit captui humano se accommodare: at in physicis, ubi natura opere, non adversarius argumento constringendus est, elabitur plane veritas ex manibus; propter longe maiorem naturalium operationum, quam verborum subtilitatem: adeo ut succumbente syllogismo, inductionis (verae scilicet & emendatae) officio ubique opus sit, tam ad principia magis generalia, quam ad propositiones inferiores. Nam syllogismi ex propositionibus consistunt; propositiones ex verbis; verba notionum tesserae sunt. Quare si notiones ipsae (quae verborum animae sunt) male & varie a rebus abstrahantur; tota fabrica corrui. Neque laboriosa vel consequentiarum argumentorum, vel veritatis propositionum examinatio, rem in integrum unquam restituet; cum error sit (ut loquuntur medici) in digestionem prima; quae a functionibus sequentibus non rectificatur. Non igitur absque magna & evidenti causa evenit, ut complures ex philosophis (aliqui autem eorum maxime insignes) academici fuerint & sceptici, qui scientiae humanae & syllepsium certitudinem sustulerunt; ultra verisimilitudinem aut probabilitatem negantes eam pertingere. Inficias non iverim, visum esse nonnullis, Socratem, cum scientiae certitudinem a se amoveret, per ironiam tantum hoc fecisse; & scientiam dissimulando simulasse: renunciando scilicet iis, quae manifesto sciebat, ut eo modo, etiam quae nesciebat, scire putaretur. Neque etiam in recentiore academia (quam amplexus est Cicero) illa opinio acatalepsiae admodum sincere culta fuit. Etenim qui eloquentia floruerunt, hanc fere sectam sibi desumpserunt, ut in utramque partem copiose disserendi gloriam assequerentur: unde a via illa recta, per quam ad veritatem pergere debuissent, tanquam ad deambulationes quasdam amoenas, animi causa institutas, deflexum est. Constat tamen, nonnullos sparsim in utraque academia (veteri & nova) multo magis inter scepticos, acatalepsiam istam simpliciter & integre tenuisse. Verum in hoc maxime ab illis peccatum est; quod sensuum perceptiones calumniabantur;

unde scientias radicitus evellebant. Sensus vero, licet saepe numero homines aut fallant aut destituant, possint tamen multa adjuti industria ad scientias sufficere; idque non tam ope instrumentorum, (licet & haec quoque aliqua ex parte prosint) quam experimentorum ejus generis, quae objecta subtiliora, quam pro sensus facultate ad objecta sensu comprehensibilia, producere queant. Debuerant autem potius defectum hac in parte imputasse mentis tum erroribus, tum contumaciae, (quae rebus ipsis morigera esse recusat,) & pravis demonstrationibus, & modis ratiocinandi, & concludendi, ex perceptione sensuum, perperam institutis. Haec autem loquimur, non quo intellectui detrahatur, aut negotium totum deferatur, sed quo intellectui auxilia commoda comparentur & subministrentur, quibus rerum ardua & naturae obscuritatem vincere possunt. Nemo enim tanta pollet manus constantia, aut etiam habitu, ut rectam lineam ducere, aut perfectum circum circumscribere, manu libera possit; quod tamen ope regulae, aut circini, facere in promptu est. Haec igitur res ipsa est, quam paramus, & ingenti conatu molimur; ut scilicet mens per artem fiat rebus par; utque inveniatur ars quaedam indicii & directionis, quae caeteras artes, earumque axiomata atque opera detegat, & in conspectum det. Hanc enim merito desiderari posuimus.

ARS ista indicii (ita enim eam appellabimus) duas habet partes: Aut enim defertur indicium ab experimentis ad experimenta: Aut ab experimentis ad axiomata, quae & ipsa nova experimenta designent. Priorem harum experientiam literatam nominabimus, posteriorem vero interpretationem naturae, sive novum organum. Prior quidem (ut alibi attigimus) vix pro arte habenda est aut parte philosophiae, sed pro sagacitate quadam; unde etiam eam venationem Panis (hoc nomen ex fabula mutuati) quandoque appellamus: attamen quemadmodum possit quis, in via sua, triplici modo progredi; aut cum palpat ipse in tenebris; aut cum alterius manu ducatur, ipse parum videns; aut denique cum vestigia lumine adhibito regat: similiter cum quis experimenta omnigena absque ulla serie aut methodo tentet; ea demum mera est palpatio: cum vero nonnulla utatur in experimentando directione & ordine, perinde est ac si manu ducatur. Atque hoc illud est, quod per experientiam literatam intelligimus: Nam lumen ipsum, quod tertium fuit, ab interpretatione naturae, sive novo organo, petendum est.

LITERATA experientia, sive venatio Panis, modos experimentandi tradat; eam (cum desiderari posuerimus, neque res sit plane perspicua) pro more & instituto nostro aliquatenus adumbrabimus. Modus experimentandi praecipue procedit, aut per variationem experimenti; aut per productionem experimenti; aut per translationem experimenti; aut per inversionem experimenti; aut per compulsionem experimenti; aut per applicationem experimenti; aut per copulationem experimenti; aut denique per sortes experimenti. Universa vero ista cohibita sunt, citra terminos axiomatis alicujus inveniendi. Illa enim altera pars de novo organo, omnem transitionem experimentorum in axiomata, aut axiomatum in experimenta, sibi vindicat.

VARIATIO experimenti fit primo in materia; scilicet, quando experimentum in jam cognitis, certae materiae fere adhaesit; nunc vero in illis, quae similis sunt speciei, tentetur: veluti confectio papyri, in pannis linteis tantum probata est, in sericis minime, (nisi forte apud Chineses;) neque rursus in filaceis, compositis ex fetis & pilis, ex quibus conficitur (quod vocamus) camelotum; neque denique in laneis, gossypio, & pellibus; quanquam haec tria postrema magis esse videntur heterogenea. Itaque ad-

misceri possint potius, quam per se utilia esse. Item insitio in arboribus fructiferis in usu est, in arboribus sylvestribus raro tentata; licet perhibetur, ulmum in ulmum insitam miras producere foliorum umbras. Insitio etiam in floribus rara admodum est, licet hoc jam coeperit fieri in rosis muscatellis, quae rosis communibus feliciter inoculantur. Etiam variationem in parte rei, inter variationes in materia ponimus. Videmus enim, surculum in trunco arboris insitum feliciter pullulare, quam si terrae indatur. Cur non & semen cepae, capiti alterius cepae viridis inditum, feliciter germinet, quam si nudae terrae commissum fuerit? Atque hic radix pro trunco variatur, ut haec res insitio quaedam in radice videri possit. Variatio experimenti fit secundo in efficiente: radii solis per specula comburentia, calore ita intenduntur, ut materiam, quae ignem facile concipiat, accendere possint: num & radii lunae, per eadem, ad lenissimum aliquem gradum teporis actuari possunt, ut videamus, utrum corpora omnia coelestia sint potestate calida? Item calores radiosi, per specula scilicet, intenduntur: num etiam calores opaci (quales sunt lapidum & metallorum antequam candeant) idem patiuntur; an potius sunt luminis in hac re partes nonnullae? Item succinum & gagates fricata paleas trahunt: num etiam & ad ignem tepefacta? Variatio experimenti fit tertio in quanto: circa quod diligens admodum est adhibenda cura, cum hoc multi circumstant errores. Credunt enim homines, aucta aut multiplicata quantitate, pro rata augeri aut multiplicari virtutem. Et hoc fere postulant & supponunt, tanquam res sit mathematicae cujusdam certitudinis; quod omnino falsissimum est. Globus plumbeus unius librae a turri demissus (puta) decem pulsuum spatio, ad terram descendit: Num globus duarum librarum (in quo impetus iste, motus (quem vocant) naturalis, duplicari debet) spatio quinque pulsuum terram feriet? At ille aequali fere tempore descendet, neque accelerabitur juxta rationem quanti. Item sulphuris (puta) drachma una semilibrae chalybis admista, eam fluere faciet & colliquari: num igitur uncia sulphuris, quatuor libris chalybis, ad colliquationem sufficiet? At illud non sequitur. Certum enim est, obstinationem materiae in patiente, per quantitatem, augeri amplius quam activitatem virtutis in agente. Porro nimium aequae fallit ac parum. Etenim in excoctionibus & depurationibus metallorum, error est familiaris, ut ad excoctionem promovendam, aut calorem fornacis, aut additamenti quod injiciunt, molem augeant. At illa supra modum aucta operationem impediunt; propterea quod vi & acrimonia sua multum ex metallo puro in fumos vertant & asportent; ut & jactura fiat; & massa, quae remanet, magis sit obstinata & dura. Debent igitur homines ludibrium illud mulieris AEsopi cogitare: quae sperarat, ex duplicata mensura hordei gallinam suam duo ova quotidie parituram: At illa impinguata nullum peperit. Prorsus non tutum fuerit alicui experimento naturali confidere, nisi facta fuerit probatio, & in minore & in majore quanto. Atque de variatione experimenti haecenus.

PRODUCTIO experimenti duplex; repetitio & extensio: nimirum, cum aut experimentum iteratur, aut ad subtilius quiddam urgetur. Repetitionis exemplum tale fit. Spiritus vini fit ex vino per destillationem unicam; estque vino ipso multo acrior & fortior: num etiam spiritus vini ipse destillatus sive sublimatus, se ipsum fortitudine aequae superabit? At repetitio quoque non absque fallacia est: etenim, tum secunda exaltatio, prioris excessum non aequat; tum etiam saepenumero per iterationem experimenti, post statum sive acmen quandam operationis, tantum abest ut progrediatur natura, ut potius relabatur. Judicium igitur in hac re adhibendum. Item argentum vivum,

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in linteo, aut alias in medio plumbi liquefacti, cum refrigerare coeperit, insertum, stupefit; nec amplius fluit: Num & idem argentum vivum, si saepius immisum fuerit, ita figetur, ut fiat malleabile? Extensionis exemplum tale fit: aqua in summo posita, & pensilis facta, & per rostrum vitri oblongum in vinum dilutum immersa, separabit aquam a vino: vino in summum se paulatim recipiente, aqua in imo subsidente: num etiam, quemadmodum vinum & aqua (corpora scilicet diversa) hoc ingenio separantur, possint quoque partes vini (corporis nimirum integri) subtiliores a crassioribus separari; ut fiat tanquam destillatio per pondus, & in summo reperitur aliquid spiritui vini proximum, sed forte delicatius? Item magnes ferum integrum trahit: Num etiam frustum magnetis in dissolutione ferri immersum, ferrum ad se alliciet, & se ferro obducat? Item, versorium acus nauticae se ad polos mundi applicat: num etiam eadem via & consecutione, qua coelestia? Videlicet, ut si quis acum in contrario situ, hoc est, in puncto australi ponat, & paulisper teneat, ac deinde vim omittat: num forte acus ad septentriones se conferet, eligendo potius rotare per occidentem in situm desideratum, quam per orientem? Item, Aurum argentum vivum, juxta positum, imbibit: Num vero aurum recipit illud argentum vivum intra se, sine extensione molis suae, ut fiat massa quaedam ipso auro ponderosior? Item, homines memoriae serviunt, collocando imagines personarum in locis. Num etiam idem assequuntur, missis locis, & affingendo actiones aut habitus personis? Atque de productione experimenti haec tenus.

TRANSLATIO experimenti triplex: aut a natura vel casu in artem: aut ab arte vel practica alia in aliam: aut a parte alicujus artis in partem diversam ejusdem. Translationis a natura aut casu in artem innumera sunt exempla: adeo ut omnes fere artes mechanicae, a tenuibus initiis, natura aut casu praebitis, ortum habuerint. Adagio receptum erat, *botrum contra botrum citius maturescere*: Id quod de mutuis amicitiae operis & officiis increbuit. At nostri cydrae (vini scilicet ex pomis) confectores, hoc optime imitantur. Cavent enim, ne poma tundantur aut exprimantur, antequam nonnullo tempore in acervos coniecta mutuo contactu maturuerint; unde nimia potus aciditas emendetur. Item, Iridum artificiosarum imitatio ex aspersione spissa guttularum, ab iridibus naturalibus ex nube rosida, facili ductu translata est. Item, modus destillandi, vel ex alto peti, ex imbribus scilicet, aut rore; vel ex humili illo experimento guttarum, in patinis, ollis aquae bullientis, superimpositis, adhaerentium, desumi potuit. Tonitrua autem & fulgura imitari veritus quis esset, nisi operculum monachi illius chymici, magno impetu & fragore, subito in sublime jactum, submovisset. Verum quo haec res magis exemplis abundet, eo pauciora adducere opus fuerit. Debuerant autem homines, si illis utilia inquirere vacaret, naturalia opificia & operationes singulas, attente & minutim & ex composito intueri; & secum perpetuo & acriter cogitare, quaenam ex ipsis ad artes transferri possint. Speculum enim artis natura: Nec pauciora sunt experimenta, quae ab arte in artem, seu a practica in practica transferri possunt; licet hoc rarius in usu sit. Natura enim ubique omnibus occurrit; at artes singulae artificibus tantum propriis cognitae sunt. Specilla ocularia ad visum debilem juvandum inventa sunt: Num & comminisci quis queat aliquod instrumentum quod auribus appensum, surdastris ad audiendum juvet? Item, imbalsamationes & mel cadavera conservant; annon possit aliquid ex his, in medicinam transferri, quod etiam vivis corporibus profuit? Item, sigillorum practica in cera, caementis, & plumbo, antiqua fuit: At haec

haec etiam impressioni in chartis, five arti typographicae, viam monstravit. Item, sal in conquinaria carnes condit, idque melius hyeme, quam aestate. Annon hoc ad balnea utiliter transferri possit, eorumque temperamentum, quando opus fuerit, vel imprimendum vel extrahendum. Item, sal in nupero experimento, de congelationibus artificialibus, magnas vires ad condensandum obtinere reperitur: annon possit hoc transferri ad condensationes metallorum: cum jampridem notum sit, aquas fortes, ex nonnullis salibus compositas, deicere & praecipitare arenulas auri, ex metallis aliquibus, auro ipso minus densis? Item pictoria, imagine memoriam rei renovat: annon hoc traductum est in artem eam, quam vocant, memoriae? De his in genere monitum sit; Quod nihil ad imbrem quendam inventorum utilium, eorundemque novorum, veluti coelitus deducendum, tantum valere possit, quantum, si experimenta complurium artium mechanicarum, uni homini, aut paucis, qui se invicem colloquiis acuere possint, in notitiam venerint: ut per hanc, quam dicimus, experimentorum translationem, artes se mutuo fovere, & veluti commixtione radiorum, accendere possint. Quamvis enim via rationalis per organum longe majora spondeat: attamen haec sagacitas, per experientiam literatam, plurima interim ex iis, quae in proximo sunt, in genus humanum, tanquam missilia apud antiquos donativa, projiciet & sparget. Superest illa translatio de parte artis in partem diversam; quae parum differt a translatione de arte in artem: Verum quia artes nonnullae spatia magna occupant, ut etiam translationem experimentorum ferre intra se ipsas possint, hanc etiam speciem translationis subungere visum est: Praecipue, quia magni prorsus est in nonnulla arte momenti. Plurimum enim ad artem medicinae amplificandam profuerit, si experimenta partis illius medicinae de curationibus morborum ad partes illas de tuenda sanitate, & prolongatione vitae, transferantur. Si enim opiatum aliquod insigne, ad spirituum, in morbo pestilenti, furibundam incensionem reprimendam, suffecerit; non dubitet quispiam, quin simile aliquod, debita dosi familiare redditum, etiam incensionem eam gliscentem, & obrepentem, quae per aetatem fit, aliqua ex parte fraenare & retardare possit. Atque de translatione experimenti haecenus.

INVERSIO experimenti fit, cum contrarium ejus quod experimento constat, probatur. Exempli gratia: calidum per specula intenditur: num etiam frigidum? Item, calidum se diffundendo, fertur tamen potius in sursum: num etiam frigidum se diffundendo, fertur magis in deorsum? Exempli gratiam accipias bacillum ferreum, illudque in uno fine calefacias; & deinde erigas ferrum, parte calefacta subtus locata; in superiore parte manu apposita, actutum manum aduret; parte autem calefacta supra locata, & manu subtus, multo tardius aduret. Num etiam, si totum bacillum calefiat, & finis alter nive, vel spongia, in aqua frigida tincta, madefiat: Si nix aut spongia superius locetur, num (inquam) frigus deorsum mittet citius, quam inferius locata, sursum? Item, radii solis supra album diffiliunt, supra nigrum congregantur: num etiam umbrae super nigrum disperduntur, super album congregantur? Id quod in loco tenebroso, luce per foramen exiguum tantum immissa, fieri videmus, ubi imagines rerum, quae foras sunt, super papyrum, quae alba est, excipiuntur, super nigram minime. Item, vena frontis ad dolorem hemicranicum inciditur: num etiam hemicranium scarificatur ad sodam? Atque de inversione experimenti haecenus.

COMPULSIO experimenti fit, ubi urgetur & producit experimentum, ad annihilationem vel privationem virtutis: in reliquis enim venatio-

nibus, fera capitur tantum : at in ista, occiditur. Exemplum compulsionis tale est. Magnes ferrum trahit : Urge ergo ferrum, aut urge magnetem, ut amplius non fiat attractio : Veluti, num forte si magnes ustus fuerit, aut in aquis fortibus maceratus, virtutem suam deponet, aut saltem remittet ? Contra, si chalybs aut ferrum in crocum martis redigantur, vel in chalybem, quem vocant praeparatum, vel etiam in aqua forti solvantur : num adhuc ea alliciat magnes ? Rursus, Magnes ferrum trahit per universa, quae novimus, media ; nempe si interponatur aurum, argentum, vitrum. Urge igitur aliquod medium, si fieri possit, quod virtutem intercipiat : Probetur argentum vivum : Probetur oleum, gummi, carbo ignitus, & alia, quae adhuc probata non sunt. Item, introducta sunt nuper perspicilla, quae visibilia minuta miris modis multiplicent. Urge usum eorum, vel ad species tam pusillas, ut amplius non valeant ; vel ita grandiusculas, ut confundantur. Scilicet, num poterint illa in urina clare detegere ea, quae alias non perspicerentur ? Num poterint in gemmis, ex omni parte puris & nitidis, grana aut nubeculas conspicienda dare ? Num & pulviscula in sole (quae Democrito pro atomis suis & principiis rerum, falsissime objiciebantur) tanquam corpora grandiuscula monstrare ? Num pulverem crassiusculum, ex cinnabari, & cerussa, ita ostendere distributum, ut appareant hic granula rubra, illic alba ? Num rursus, imagines majores (puta faciem, oculum, &c.) in tantum multiplicatas ostendere, in quantum pulicem, aut vermiculum ? Num byssum, aut hujusmodi textile linteum delicatius, & paulo apertius, ita foraminatum ostendere, ac si esset rete ? Verum in compulsionibus experimentorum minus moramur, quia fere extra limites experientiae literatae cadunt, & ad causas & axiomata & novum organum potius spectant. Ubicunque enim fit negativa, aut privativa, aut exclusiva ; coepit jam praebere lux nonnulla ad inventionem formarum. Atque de compulsionibus experimenti haecenus.

APPLICATIO experimenti nihil aliud est, quam ingeniosa traductio ejus, ad experimentum aliud aliquod utile. Exemplum tale fit. Corpora quaeque suas habent dimensiones, sua pondera : Aurum plus ponderis, minus dimensionis, quam argentum : Aqua, quam vinum. Ab hoc traducitur experimentum utile, ut ex mensura impleta, & pondere excepto, possis dignoscere quantum argenti fuerit admixtum auro, vel aquae vino. Quod fuit *Eupna* illud Archimedis. Item, carnes in nonnullis cellis citius putrefiunt, quam in aliis : Utile fuerit, experimentum hoc traducere ad dignoscendos aëres, magis aut minus salubres ad habitationem ; ubi scilicet carnes diutius vindicentur a putredine : possit idem applicari ad revelandas salubriores aut pestilentiores tempestates anni. Verum innumera sunt ejusmodi. Evigilent modo homines & oculos perpetuo, alias ad naturam rerum, alias ad usus humanos vertant. Atque de applicatione experimenti haecenus.

COPULATIO experimenti est applicationum nexus & catena ; cum, quae singula profutura non fuissent ad usum aliquem, connexa valeant. Exempli gratia ; rosas aut fructus serotinos habere cupis : hoc fiet, si gemmas praecociiores avellas ; idem fiet, si radices, usque ad ver adultum, denudes & aëri exponas ; at multo magis si copuletur utrumque. Item, ad refrigerandum maxime faciunt glacies & nitrum : utrumque commixtum multo magis. Verum & haec res per se perspicua est. Attamen fallacia ei saepe subesse possit, (ut & omnibus, ubi desunt axiomata) si copula fiat ex rebus, quae diversis & quasi pugnantis modis operantur. Atque de copulatione experimenti haecenus.

REstant

REMANENT sortes experimenti. Hic vero experimentandi modus plane irrationalis est, & quasi furiosus; cum aliquid experiri velle animum subeat, non quia aut ratio, aut aliquod aliud experimentum te ad illud deducat, sed prorsus, quia similis res adhuc nunquam tentata fuit. Haud tamen scio an in hac ipsa re (de qua nunc agimus) non aliquid magni lateat: si inquam omnem lapidem in natura moveas. Magnalia enim naturae fere extra vias tritas & orbitas notas jacent, ut etiam absurditas rei aliquando juvet. At si ratio simul comitetur, id est, ut & manifestum sit, simile experimentum nunquam tentatum fuisse, & tamen causa subsit magna, cur tentetur, tum vero haec res ex optimis est, & plane finis naturae excutit. Exempli gratia: In operatione ignis super aliquod corpus naturale alterum horum hactenus semper evenit, ut aut aliquid evolet, (veluti flamma & fumus, in combustionem vulgari) aut saltem fiat separatio partium localis, & ad nonnullam distantiam, ut in destillatione, ubi faeces subsident, vapores in receptacula, postquam luserint, congregantur. At destillationem clausam (ita enim eam vocare possumus) nemo mortalium adhuc tentavit: Verisimile autem videtur vim caloris, si intra claustra corporis, sua in alterando edat facinora; cum nec jactura fiat corporis, nec etiam liberatio; tum demum hunc materiae Proteum, veluti manicis detentum, ad complures transformationes adaucturam, si modo calor ita temperetur & alternetur, ut non fiat vasorum contractio. Est enim haec res matrici similis naturali, ubi calor operatur, nihil corporis aut emittitur aut separatur: Nisi quod in matrice conjungatur alimentatio; verum quatenus ad versionem eadem res videtur. Tales igitur sunt sortes experimenti.

ILLUD interim, circa hujusmodi experimenta, monemus; ut nemo animo concidat, aut quasi confundatur, si experimenta, quibus incumbit, expectationi suae non respondeant. Etenim quod succedit, magis complacet; at quod non succedit, saepenumero non minus informat. Atque illud semper in animo tenendum, (quod perpetuo inculcamus) experimenta lucifera etiam adhuc magis quam fructifera ambienda esse. Atque de literata experientia haec dicta sint, quae (ut jam ante diximus) sagacitas potius est, & odoratio quaedam venatica, quam scientia. De novo organo autem filemus, neque de eo quicquam praelibamus; quoniam de eo (cum sit res omnium maxima) opus integrum (annuente favore divino) conficere nobis in animo est.

C A P. III.

Partitio inventivae argumentorum, in promptuariam & topicam. Partitio topicae, in generalem & particularem. Exemplum topicae particularis, in inquisitione de gravi & levi.

INVENTIO argumentorum, inventio proprie non est: Invenire enim est ignota detegere, non ante cognita recipere aut revocare. Hujusce autem inventionis usus atque officium non aliud videtur, quam ex massa scientiae, quae in animo congesta & recondita est, ea quae ad rem aut quaestionem institutam faciunt, dextere depromere. Nam cui parum aut nihil, de subjecto quod proponitur, innotuit, ei loci inventionis non profunt; contra, cui domi paratum est, quod ad rem adduci possit; is etiam absque arte, & locis inventionis, argumenta tandem (licet non ita expedite & commode) repe-

reperiet & producet. Adeo ut hoc genus inventionis (sicut diximus) inventio proprie non sit; sed reductio tantum in memoriam, five suggestio cum applicatione. Attamen, quoniam vocabulum invaluit & receptum est, vocetur sane inventio; siquidem etiam ferae alicujus venatio & inventio, non minus, cum illa intra vivariorum septa indagetur, quam cum in saltibus apertis, dici possit. Missis vero verborum scrupulis, illud constet, scopum & finem hujusce rei, esse promptitudinem quandam & expeditum usum cognitionis nostrae, potius quam ejusdem amplificationem aut incrementum.

ATQUE ut parata sit ad differendum copia, duplex ratio iniri potest. Aut ut designetur & quasi indice monstretur, ad quas partes rem indagare oporteat; atque haec est ea, quam vocamus topicam. Aut ut jam antea composita sint, & in usum reposita argumenta, circa eas res, quae frequentius incidunt & in disceptationem veniunt; atque hanc promptuariam nominabimus. Haec autem posterior tanquam scientiae pars vix dici meretur, cum in diligentia potius consistat quam in eruditione aliqua artificiosa. Veruntamen hac in parte Aristoteles, ingeniose quidem, sed tamen damnose, sophistas sui temporis deridet, inquit: *Perinde illos facere, ac si quis calcearium professus, rationem calcei conficiendi non doceret, sed exhiberet tantum calceos complurimos, diversae tam formae quam magnitudinis.* Attamen hic regerere liceat; calcearium, si in officina nil calceorum haberet, neque eos consueret nisi rogatus; egenum prorsus mansurum, & perpaucos inventurum emptores. Sed longe aliter Salvator noster, de divina scientia verba faciens, inquit, *Omnis scriba doctus in regno coelorum, similis est homini patrifamilias, qui profert de thesauro suo nova & vetera.* Videmus etiam, priscos rhetores oratoribus praecepisse, ut praesto haberent locos communes varios, jam pridem adornatos, & in utramque partem tractatos & illustratos: Exempli gratia, Pro sententia legis adversus verba legis; & e contra: Pro fide argumentorum adversus testimonia, & e contra. Cicero autem ipse, longa doctus experientia, plane asserit, posse oratorem diligentem & sedulum jam praemeditata & elaborata habere, quaecunque in disceptationem venient: Adeo ut in causae ipsius actione, nihil novum, aut subitum inferi necesse fuerit, praeter nomina nova, & circumstantias aliquas speciales. At Demosthenis diligentia & sollicitudo eo usque processit, ut quoniam primus ad causam aditus & ingressus, ad animos auditorum praeparandos, plurimum virium haberet, operaepretium putaret, complura concionum & orationum exordia componere & in promptu habere. Atque haec exempla & auctoritates merito Aristotelis opinioni praeponderare possint, qui nobis author foret, ut vestiarium cum forfice commutarem. Itaque non fuit omittenda haec pars doctrinae circa promptuariam, de qua hoc loco satis. Cum enim sit utrique, tam logicae, quam rhetoricae, communis; visum est eam hic inter logica cursim tantum perstringere; pleniorum ejus tractationem ad rhetoricam rejicientes.

PARTEM alteram inventivae (nimirum topicam) partiemur in generalem & particularem. Generalis illa est, quae in dialectica diligenter & abunde tractata est; ut in ejus explicatione morari non sit opus. Illud tamen obiter monendum videtur, topicam istam non tantum in argumentationibus, ubi cum aliis manum conferimus; verum & in meditationibus, cum quid nobiscum ipsi commentamur aut revolvimus, valere. Imo, neque solummodo in hoc sitam esse, ut inde fiat suggestio aut admonitio, quid affirmare, aut asserere; verum etiam quid inquirere aut interrogare debeamus. At prudens

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dens interrogatio, quasi dimidium scientiae. Recte siquidem Plato, *Qui aliquid quaerit, id ipsum, quod quaerit, generali quadam notione comprehendit: aliter, qui fieri potest, ut illud, cum fuerit inventum, agnoscat?* Idcirco quo amplior & certior fuerit anticipatio nostra; eo magis directa & compendiosa erit investigatio. Iidem igitur illi loci, qui ad intellectus nostri sinus intra nos excutiendos, & congestam illic scientiam depromendam, conducent, etiam ad scientiam extrinsecus hauriendam juvabunt: ita ut si praesto fuerit quis rei gnarus & peritus, commode & prudenter de ea interrogari a nobis possit, & similiter authores, & libri, & partes librorum, qui nos de iis, quae quaerimus, edoceant & informet, utiliter deligi & evolvi.

At topica particularis, ad ea, quae dicimus, longe confert magis, & pro re fructuosissima habenda est. Illius certe mentio levis a nonnullis scriptoribus facta est, sed integre & pro rei dignitate minime tractata. Verum missum facientes vitium illud & factum, quae nimium diu regnarunt in scholis: videlicet, ut quae praesto sint, infinita subtilitate persequantur; quae paulo remotiora ne attingant quidem: nos sane topicam particularem, tanquam rem apprime utilem, amplectimur; hoc est, locos inquisitionis & inventionis particularibus subjectis & scientiis appropriatos. Illi autem, mixturae quaedam sunt ex logica & materia ipsa propria singularum scientiarum. Futilem enim esse constat, & angusti cujusdam animi, qui existimet, artem de scientiis inveniendis perfectam jam a principio excogitari & proponi posse, eandemque postea in opere poni & exerceri debere. At certo sciant homines, artes inveniendi solidas & veras adolescere & incrementa sumere cum ipsis inventis: Adeo ut cum quis primum ad perscrutationem scientiae alicujus accesserit, possit habere praecepta inventivae nonnulla utilia: postquam autem ampliores in ipsa scientia progressus fecerit, possit etiam & debeat nova inventionis praecepta excogitare, quae ad ulteriora eum feliciter deducant. Similis est sane haec res viae initiae in planitie: postquam enim viae partem aliquam fuerimus emensi, non tantum hoc lucrati sumus, ut ad exitum itineris propius accesserimus; verum etiam ut, quod restat viae, clarius prospiciamus: Eodem modo, in scientiis, gradus itineris quisque, ea, quae a tergo reliquit, praetervectus, etiam illa, quae supersunt, propius dat in conspectum. Hujus autem topicae exemplum, quoniam eam inter desiderata reponimus, subjungere visum est.

Topica particularis, sive articuli inquisitionis de gravi & levi.

1. INQUIRATUR, qualia sint corpora, quae motus gravitatis sunt susceptibilia; qualia, quae levitatis, & si quae sint mediae, sive adiaphorae naturae?

2. Post inquisitionem de gravitate & levitate simplicem, procedatur ad inquisitionem comparatam; quae nimirum ex gravibus plus, quae minus ponderent in eodem dimenso? Etiam, quae ex levibus celerius ferantur in altum, quae tardius?

3. INQUIRATUR de eo, quid possit & operetur quantum corporis ad motum gravitatis? Atqui videatur hoc primo aspectu quasi supervacuum; quia rationes motus debeant sequi rationes quanti. Sed res aliter se habet: Nam licet in lancibus quantitas gravitatem corporis ipsius compenset; (viribus corporis undique coeuntibus per repercussionem, sive resistantiam lancium vel trabis) tamen ubi parva datur resistantia, (veluti in decasu corporum per aerem,) quantum corporis parum valet ad incitationem descensus; cum viginti pondus plumbi & libra una, eodem fere spatio cadant.

4. INQUIRATUR utrum quantum corporis ita augeri possit, ut motus gravitatis prorsus deponatur; ut sit in globo terrae, qui pensilis est, non cadit? Utrum igitur possint esse aliae massae tam grandes, ut se ipsae sustentent? Nam latitudo ad centrum terrae res fictitia est; atque omnis massa grandis motum latitudinis quemcunque exhorret, nisi ab alio appetitu fortiori vincatur.

5. INQUIRATUR de eo, quid possit & operetur resistentia corporis medii, vel occurrentis ad regimen motus gravitatis. Corpus vero descendens aut penetrat & secatur corpus occurrens, aut ab eo sistitur. Si penetret, fit penetratio; aut cum levi resistentia, ut in aere; aut cum fortiori, ut in aqua. Si sistatur, sistitur aut resistentia dispari, ubi fit praegravatio, ut si lignum superponatur cerae; aut aequa, veluti si aqua superponatur aquae, aut lignum ejusdem generis ligno; id quod appellat schola (apprehensione quadam inani) non ponderare corpus nisi extra locum suum. Atque haec omnia motum gravitatis variant: Aliter enim moventur gravia in lancibus, aliter in decasu: Etiam aliter (quod mirum videri possit) in lancibus pendentibus in aere, aliter in lancibus immerfis in aqua: aliter in decasu per aquam; aliter in natantibus sive vectis super aquam.

6. INQUIRATUR de eo, quid possit & operetur figura corporis descendens ad regendum motum gravitatis; veluti figura lata cum tenuitate, cubica, oblonga, rotunda, pyramidalis, & quando se vertant corpora, quando eadem, qua dimittuntur, positura permaneant?

7. INQUIRATUR de eo, quid possit & operetur continuatio & progressio ipsius casus sive descensus, ad hoc, ut majori incitatione & impetu feratur; & qua proportionem & quousque invalescat illa incitatio? siquidem veteres levi contemplatione opinati sunt (cum motus naturalis sit iste) eum perpetuo augeri & intendi.

8. INQUIRATUR de eo, quid possit & operetur distantia aut proximitas corporis descendens a terra, ad hoc, ut celerius cadat, aut tardius, aut etiam non omnino, (si modo fuerit extra orbem activitatis globi terrae, quae Gilberti opinio fuit:) atque simul de eo, quid operetur immersio corporis descendens magis in profundum terrae, aut collocatio ejusdem propius ad superficiem terrae? Etenim haec res etiam motum variat, ut operantibus in mineris perspectum est.

9. INQUIRATUR de eo, quid possit & operetur differentia corporum, per quae motus gravitatis diffunditur & communicatur: atque utrum aequae communicetur per corpora mollia & porosa, ac per dura & solida: veluti si trabs lancis sit ex altera parte lingulae lignea, ex altera argentea, (licet fuerint reductae ad idem pondus,) utrum non progignat variationem in lancibus? Similiter, utrum metallum lanae, aut vesicae inflatae, super-impositum, idem ponderet, quod in fundo lancis?

10. INQUIRATUR de eo, quid possit & operetur in communicatione motus gravitatis distantia corporis a libramine: Hoc est, cita & sera perceptio incubitus sive depressionis: veluti in lancibus; ubi altera pars trabis est longior, (licet reducta ad idem pondus) an inclinet hoc ipsum lancem? Aut in tubis arcuatis, ubi longior pars certe trahet aquam, licet brevior pars, (facta scilicet capacior,) majus contineat pondus aquae.

11. INQUIRATUR de eo, quid possit intermixtio sive copulatio corporis levis cum corpore gravi, ad elevandam corporis gravitatem, ut in pondere animalium vivorum & mortuorum?

12. INQUIRATUR de secretis ascensibus & descensibus partium leviorum & graviorum in uno corpore integro: unde fiant saepe accuratae separationes;

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rationes; ut in separatione vini & aquae; in ascensione floris lactis, & similibus.

13. INQUIRATUR, quae sit linea & directio motus gravitatis, & quatenus sequatur vel centrum terrae, id est, massam terrae; vel centrum corporis ipsius, id est, nixum partium ejus. Centra enim illa ad demonstrationes apta sunt, in natura nihil valent.

14. INQUIRATUR de comparatione motus gravitatis cum motibus aliis; quos scilicet vincat, quibus cedat? Veluti in motu (quem appellant) violento, motus gravitatis compescitur ad tempus: etiam, cum pondus longe majus ferri ab exiguo magnete attollitur, cedit motus gravitatis motui sympathiae.

15. INQUIRATUR de motu aëris, utrum feratur sursum, an sit tanquam adiaphorus? Quod difficile est inventu, nisi per experimenta aliqua exquisita: Nam emicatio aeris in fundo aquae fit potius per plagam aquae, quam per motum aeris, cum idem etiam fiat in ligno. Aer autem aeri commixtus nihil prodit, cum non minus levitatem exhibeat aer in aere, quam gravitatem aqua in aqua: in bulla autem, exili obducta pellicula, ad tempus stat.

16. INQUIRATUR, quis sit terminus levitatis? Neque enim quemadmodum centrum terrae posuerunt centrum gravitatis, volunt (credo) ut ultima convexitas coeli sit terminus levitatis. An potius, veluti gravia videntur eousque ferri, ut decumbant, & tanquam ad immobile; ita levia eousque ferantur, ut rotari incipiant, & tanquam ad motum sine termino?

17. INQUIRATUR quid in causa sit, cur vapores & halitus eousque in altum, ac sita est regio (quam vocant) media aëris, ferantur; cum & crassiusculae sint materiae, & radii solis per vices (noctu scilicet) cessent?

18. INQUIRATUR de regimine motus flammae in sursum; quod eo abstrusius est, quia singulis momentis flamma perit, nisi forte in medio flammarum majorum: etenim flammae abruptae a continuitate sua parum durant.

19. INQUIRATUR de motu in sursum ipsius activitatis calidi; veluti cum calor in ferro candente citius gliscit in sursum, quam in deorsum.

EXEMPLUM igitur topicae particularis tale sit: illud interim, quod monere ocepinus, iterum monemus, nempe ut homines debeant topicas particulares suas alternare, ita ut post majores progressus aliquos in inquisitione factos, aliam & subinde aliam instituant topicam; si modo scientiarum fastigia conscendere cupiant. Nos autem topicis particularibus tantum tribuimus, ut proprium opus de ipsis, in subjectis naturalibus dignioribus & obscurioribus, conficere in animo habeamus. Domini enim quaestionum sumus, rerum non item. Atque de inventiva hactenus.

C A P. IV.

Partitio artis judicandi in judicium per inductionem, & per syllogismum. Quorum prius aggregatur organo novo. Partitio prima judicii per syllogismum in reductionem rectam & inversam. Partitio secunda ejus in analyticam & doctrinam de elenchis. Partitio doctrinae de elenchis in elenchos sophismatum, elenchos hermeniae, & elenchos imaginum, sive idolorum. Partitio idolorum in idola tribus, idola specus, & idola fori. Appendix artis judicandi, videlicet de analogia demonstrationum pro natura subjecti.

TRANSEAMUS nunc ad judicium sive artem judicandi, in qua agitur de natura probationum sive demonstrationum. In arte autem ista

ista judicandi (ut etiam vulgo receptum est) aut per inductionem, aut per syllogismum concluditur : Nam enthymemata & exempla, illorum duorum compendia tantum sunt. At quatenus ad iudicium, quod fit per inductionem, nihil est, quod nos detinere debeat : uno siquidem eodemque mentis opere illud, quod quaeritur, & invenitur & iudicatur. Neque enim per medium aliquod res transigitur, sed immediate, eodem fere modo, quo fit in sensu. Quippe sensus in objectis suis primariis simul & objecti speciem arripit, & ejus veritati consentit. Aliter autem fit in syllogismo ; cujus probatio immediata non est, sed per medium perficitur. Itaque alia res est inventio medii, alia iudicium de consequentia argumenti. Nam primo discurrit mens, postea acquiescit. At inductionis formam vitiosam prorsus valere jubemus ; legitimam ad novum organum remittimus. Itaque de iudicio per inductionem hoc loco satis.

De illo altero per syllogismum quid attinet dicere ; cum subtilissimis ingeniorum limis haec res fere attrita sit, & in multas minutias redacta ? Nec mirum, cum sit res, quae cum intellectu humano magnam habeat sympathiam. Nam animus humanus miris modis ad hoc contendit & anhelat, ut non pensilis sit, sed nanciscatur aliquid fixum & immobile, cui tanquam firmamento in transcurribus & disquisitionibus suis innitatur. Sane quemadmodum Aristoteles probare conatur, inveniri in omni motu corporum aliquid quod quiescit ; & fabulam antiquam de Atlante, qui ipse erectus coelum humeris sustinuit, pereleganter ad polos mundi traducit, circa quos conversiones expediuntur : Similiter magno studio appetunt homines aliquem habere intra se cogitationum Atlantem aut polos, qui intellectus fluctuationes & vertigines aliquatenus regant ; timentes scilicet, ne coelum ipsorum ruat. Itaque ad principia scientiarum constituenda praepropere festinarunt, circa quae omnis disputationum varietas verteretur, sine periculo ruinae & casus : nescientes profecto eum, qui certa nimis propere captaverit, in dubiis finiturum : qui autem iudicium tempestive cohibuerit, ad certa perventurum.

MANIFESTUM est igitur, artem hanc judicandi per syllogismum nihil aliud esse, quam reductionem propositionum ad principia per medios terminos. Principia autem consensu recepta intelliguntur, atque a quaestione eximuntur. At terminorum mediorum inventio libero ingeniorum acumini & investigationi permittitur. Est autem reductio illa duplex, directa scilicet, & inversa. Directa est, cum ipsa propositio ad ipsum principium reducitur : id quod probatio ostensiva vocatur. Inversa est, cum contradictoria propositionis reducitur ad contradictorium principii ; quod vocant probationem per incommodum. Numerus vero terminorum mediorum, sive scala eorum, minuitur aut augetur, pro remotione propositionis a principio.

His positis, partiemur artem iudicii (sicut vulgo fere solet) in analyticam, & doctrinam de elenchis : altera indicat, altera cavet : Analytica enim veras formas instituit de consequentiis argumentorum ; a quibus si varietur sive deflectatur, vitiosa deprehenditur esse conclusio : Atque hoc ipsum in se elenchum quendam sive redargutionem continet. Rectum enim (ut dicitur) & sui index est, & obliqui. Tutissimum nihilominus est elenchos veluti monitores adhibere, quo facilius detegantur fallaciae, iudicium alioquin illaqueaturae. In analytica vero nihil desiderari reperimus, quin potius oneratur superfluis quam indiget accessionibus.

DOCTRINAM de elenchis in tres partes dividere placet : Elenchos sophismatum, elenchos hermeniac, & elenchos imaginum sive idolorum. Do-

ctrina

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Strina de elenchis sophismatum apprime utilis est: quamvis enim pinguius fallaciarum genus, a Seneca, non inſcite comparetur cum praefſtiatorum technis: in quibus quo pacto res geratur nescimus; aliter autem ſe habere rem quam videtur, ſatis novimus: ſubtiliora tamen ſophismata non ſolum id praefſtant, ut non habeat quis quod respondeat; ſed & iudicium ipſum ſerio confundunt.

HAEC pars de elenchis ſophismatum praeclare tractata eſt ab Ariſtotele quoad praecepta: etiam a Platone adhuc melius, quoad exempla: neque illud tantum in perſona ſophiſtarum antiquorum, (Gorgiae, Hippiae, Protagorae, Euthydemii, & reliquorum) verum etiam in perſona ipſius Socratis, qui cum illud ſemper agat, ut nihil aſſimet, ſed a caeteris in medium adducta infirmet, ingenioſiſſime objectionum, fallaciarum, & redargutionum modos expreſſit. Itaque in hac parte nihil habemus quod deſideremus. Illud interim notandum; quamvis uſum huius doctrinae probum & praecipuum, in hoc poſuerimus, ut redarguantur ſophismata; liquido nihilominus patere, uſum ejus degenerem & corruptum, ad captiones & contradictiones per illa ipſa ſophismata ſtruendas & concinnandas ſpectare. Quod genus facultatis etiam pro eximio habetur, & haud parvas aſſert utilitates. Licet eleganter introducta ſit a quopiam illa differentia inter oratorem & ſophiſtam; quod alter tanquam leporarius curſu praefſtet; alter tanquam lepus ipſe flexu.

SEQUUNTUR elenchi hermeniae: Ita enim (vocabulum potius, quam ſenſum ab Ariſtotele mutuantes) eos appellabimus. Redigamus igitur hominibus in memoriam, ea quae a nobis de tranſcendentibus & de adventitiis entium conditionibus, ſive adjunctis, (cum de philoſophia prima ageremus) ſuperius dicta ſunt. Ea ſunt, majus, minus, multum, paucum, prius, poſterius, idem, diverſum, potentia, actus, habitus, privatio, totum, partes, agens, patiens, motus, quies, ens, non ens, & ſimilia. Inprimis autem meminerint & notent, differentes eas, quas diximus, harum rerum contemplationes: videlicet quod poſſint inquiri vel phyſice, vel logice. Phyſicam autem circa eas tractationem, philoſophiae primae aſſignavimus. Superest logica: Ea vero ipſa eſt res, quam in praefſenti doctrinam de elenchis hermeniae nominamus. Portio certe eſt haec doctrinae ſana & bona. Hoc enim habent notiones illae generales & communes, ut in omnibus diſputationibus ubique intercurrent; adeo ut niſi accurate, & anxio cum iudicio, bene jam ab initio diſtinguantur; univerſo diſputationum lumini caliginem miris modis offuſurae ſint, & eo rem fere deducturae, ut deſinant diſputationes in pugnas verborum. Etenim aequivocationes, & malae acceptiones verborum, (praefſertim huius generis) ſunt ſophismata ſophismatum. Quare etiam melius viſum eſt, iſtarum tractationem ſeorſum conſtituere; quam eam, vel in philoſophiam primam ſive metaphyſicam recipere; vel ex parte analyticae ſubjicere; ut Ariſtoteles ſatis conſuſe fecit. Dedimus autem ei nomen ex uſu, quia verus ejus uſus eſt plane redargutio, & cautio circa uſum verborum. Quinimo partem illam de praedicamentis, ſi recte inſtituatur, circa cautiones de non confundendis aut tranſponendis definitionum & diſiſionum terminis, praecipuum uſum ſortiri exiſtimamus, & huc etiam referri malumus. Atque de elenchis hermeniae haſtenus.

AD elenchos vero imaginum ſive idolorum quod attinet, ſunt quidem idola, profundiffimae mentis humanae fallaciae. Neque enim fallunt in particularibus, ut caeterae, iudicio caliginem offundendo, & tendiculas ſtruendo: ſed plane ex praediſpoſitione mentis prava, & perperam conſtituta,

stituta, quae tanquam omnes intellectus anticipationes detorquet & inficit. Nam mens humana (corpore obducta & obfusca) tantum abest ut speculo plano, aequali, & claro similis sit, (quod rerum radios sincere excipiat & reflectat,) ut potius sit instar speculi alicujus incantati, pleni superstitionibus & spectris. Imponuntur autem intellectui idola, aut per naturam ipsam generis humani generalem: aut per naturam cujusque individualementem: aut per verba, five naturam communicativam. Primum genus idola tribus; secundum idola specus; tertium idola fori vocare consuevimus. Est & quartum genus, quod idola theatri appellamus, atque superinductum est a pravis theoriis, five philosophiis, & perversis legibus demonstrationum: Verum hoc genus abnegari potest & deponi; itaque illud in praesentia omitemus. At reliqua plane obsident mentem, neque prorsus evelli possunt. Igitur non est, quod quis in istis analyticam aliquam expectet; sed doctrina de elenchis est, circa ipsa idola, doctrina primaria. Neque (si verum omnino dicendum sit) doctrina de idolis, in artem redigi possit: sed tantum adhibenda est, ad ea cavenda, prudentia quaedam contemplativa. Horum autem tractationem plenam & subtilem ad novum organum amandamus: pauca generaliter tantum de iis hoc loco dicturi.

Idolorum tribus exemplum tale sit. Natura intellectus humani magis afficitur affirmativis & activis, quam negativis & privativis, cum rite & ordine aequum se utrique praebere debeat. At ille, si res quaecumque aliquando existat & teneat: fortiolem recipit de ea impressionem, quam si eadem longe pluries fallat, aut in contrarium eveniat. Id quod omnis superstitionis & vanae credulitatis quasi radix est. Itaque recte respondit ille, qui, cum suspensa tabula in templo monstraretur eorum, qui vota solverant, quod naufragii periculum effugissent; atque interrogando premeretur, annon tum demum Neptuni numen agnosceret? Quaesivit vicissim, At ubi sunt illi depicti, qui post vota nuncupata perierunt? Atque eadem est ratio superstitionum similium, sicut in astrologicis, insomniis, ominibus, & reliquis. Alterum exemplum est hujusmodi; animus humanus (cum sit ipse substantia aequalis & uniformis) majorem praesupponit & affingit in natura rerum aequalitatem & uniformitatem, quam revera est. Hinc commentum mathematicorum, in coelestibus omnia moveri per circulos perfectos, rejiciendo lineas spirales: Hinc etiam fit, quod cum multa sint in natura monodica, & plena imparitatis; affingat tamen semper cogitatio humana, relativa, parallela, & conjugata: ab hoc enim fonte elementum ignis cum orbe suo introductum est, ad constituendam quaternionem cum reliquis tribus, terra, aqua, aere. Chymici autem fanaticam instruxerunt rerum universalium phalangem, inanissimo commento inveniri fingentes, in quatuor illis suis elementis, (coelo, aere, aqua, & terra,) species singulas parallelas invicem & conformes. Tertium exemplum est superiori finitimum; quod homo fiat quasi norma & speculum naturae: Neque enim credibile est, (si singula percurrantur & notentur) quantum agmen idolorum philosophiae immiserit naturalium operationum ad similitudinem actionum humanarum reductio: Hoc ipsum inquam, quod putetur talia naturam facere, qualia homo facit. Neque multo meliora sunt ista quam haeresis anthropomorphitarum, in cellis ac similitudine stupidorum monachorum orta: aut sententia Epicuri huic ipsi in paganismo respondens, qui diis humanam figuram tribuebat. At non opus fuit Velleio Epicureo interrogare, Cur Deus coelum stellis & luminibus, tanquam aedilis, ornasset? Nam si summus ille opifex ad modum aedilis se gessisset, in pulchrum aliquem & elegantem ordinem stellas digerere debuisset,

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isset, operosis palatiorum laquearibus confimilem; cum e contra aegre quis ostendat in tam infinito stellarum numero figuram aliquam vel quadratam, vel triangularem, vel rectilinearem. Tanta est harmoniae discrepantia inter spiritum hominis & spiritum mundi.

Quod ad idola specus attinet, illa ortum habent ex propria cujusque natura & animi & corporis; atque etiam ex educatione & consuetudine, & fortuitis rebus, quae singulis hominibus accidunt. Pulcherrimum enim emblema est illud de specu Platonis: Siquidem si quis (missa illa exquisita parabola subtilitate) a prima infantia, in antro aut caverna obscura & subterranea, ad maturam usque aetatem degeret, & tunc derepente in aperta prodiret, & hunc coeli & rerum apparatus contueretur; dubium non est, quin animum ejus subirent & perfringerent quamplurimae mirae & absurdissimae phantasiae. Nos vero scilicet sub aspectu coeli degimus; interea tamen animi in cavernis corporum nostrorum conduntur; ut infinitas errorum & falsitatum imagines haurire necesse sit, si e specu sua raro tantum & ad breve aliquod tempus prodeant, & non in contemplatione naturae perpetuo, tanquam sub dio, morentur. Emblematis siquidem illi de specu Platonis optime convenit parabola illa Heracliti; quod homines scientias in mundis propriis, & non in mundo majore quaerant.

At idola fori molestissima sunt, quae ex foedere tacito inter homines, de verbis & nominibus impositis, se in intellectum insinuarunt. Verba autem plerumque ex captu vulgi induntur; atque per differentias, quarum vulgus capax est, res secant; cum autem intellectus acutior aut observatio diligentior res melius distinguere velit, verba obstrepunt. Quod vero hujus remedium est, (definitiones scilicet) in plurimis huic malo mederi nequit, quoniam & ipsae definitiones ex verbis consistunt, & verba gignant verba. Etsi autem putemus verbis nostris nos imperare; & illud facile dictu sit, loquendum esse ut vulgus, sentiendum ut sapientes. Quinetiam vocabula artium (quae apud peritos solum valent) huic rei satisfacere videri possint; & definitiones (de quibus diximus) artibus praemissae, (secundum prudentiam mathematicorum) vocabulorum pravas acceptiones corrigere valeant; attamen haec omnia non sufficiunt, quo minus verborum praeftigiae & incantationes plurimis modis seducant, & vim quandam intellectui faciant, & impetum suum (more Tartarorum sagittationis) retro in intellectum (unde profecta sunt) retorqueant. Quare altiore, & novo quodam remedio, ad hoc malum opus est. Verum haec jam cursim perstringimus, interim desiderari pronuntiantes hanc doctrinam, quam elenchos magnos, sive de idolis animi humani nativis & adventitiis, appellabimus. Ejus autem tractationem legitimam ad organum novum referimus.

SUPEREST artis judicandi appendix quaedam insignis, quam etiam desiderari statuimus. Siquidem Aristoteles rem notavit, modum rei nullibi persecutus est. Ea tractat, quales demonstrationes ad quales materias sive subiecta applicari debeant; ut haec doctrina tanquam judicationes judicationum contineat. Optime enim Aristoteles, Neque demonstrationes ab oratoribus, neque suasiones a mathematicis, requiri debere monet. Ut si in probationis genere aberretur, judicatio ipsa non absolvatur. Quando vero sint quatuor demonstrationum genera, vel per consensum immediatum & notiones communes, vel per inductionem, vel per syllogismum, vel per eam (quam recte vocat Aristoteles) demonstrationem in orbem, (non a notioribus scilicet, sed tanquam de plano,) habent haec demonstrationes singulae certa subiecta, & materias scientiarum in quibus pollent; alia, a quibus excluduntur. Et
enim

enim rigor & curiositas in poscendo probationes nimium severas in aliquibus, multo magis facilitas & remissio in acquiescendo probationibus levioribus in aliis, inter ea sunt numeranda, quae detrimenti plurimum & impedimenti scientiis attulerunt. Atque de arte judicandi haec dicta sint.

C A P. V.

Partitio artis retinendi sive retentivae in doctrinam de adminiculis memoriae, & doctrinam de memoria ipsa. Partitio doctrinae de memoria ipsa, in praenotionem & emblemata.

ARTEM retinendi sive custodiendi in duas doctrinas partiemur: Doctrinam scilicet de adminiculis memoriae, & doctrinam de memoria ipsa. Adminiculum memoriae plane scriptio est: Atque omnino monendum quod memoria sine hoc adminiculo, rebus prolixioribus & accuratioribus impar sit; neque ullo modo, nisi de scripto, recipi debeat. Quod etiam in philosophia inductiva, & interpretatione naturae, praecipue obtinet: Tam enim possit quis calculationes ephemeridis, memoria nuda, absque scripto absolvere, quam interpretationi naturae per meditationes & vires memoriae nativas & nudas sufficere; nisi eidem memoriae per tabulas ordinatas ministeretur. Verum missa interpretatione naturae, quae doctrina nova est, etiam ad veteres & populares scientias haud quicquam fere utilius esse possit, quam memoriae adminiculum solidum & bonum; hoc est, digestum probum & eruditum locorum communium. Neque tamen me fugit; quod relatio eorum, quae legimus aut discimus, in locos communes damno eruditionis ab aliquibus imputetur, ut quae lectionis cursum remoretur, & memoriam ad feriandum invitet. Attamen quoniam adulterina res est in scientiis praecocem esse & promptum; nisi etiam solidus sis & multipliciter instructus; diligentiam & laborem in locis communibus congerendis magni prorsus rem esse usus & firmitudinis, in studiis judicamus; veluti quae inventioni copiam subministret, & aciem iudicii in unum contrahat. Verum est tamen inter methodos & syntaxes locorum communium, quas nobis adhuc videre contigit, nullam reperiri, quae alicujus sit pretii: quandoquidem in titulis suis faciem prorsus exhibeant magis scholae, quam mundi, vulgares & paedagogicas adhibentes divisiones, non autem eas, quae ad rerum medullas & interiora quovis modo penetrent.

CIRCA memoriam autem ipsam satis segnitè & languide videtur adhuc inquisitum. Extat certe de ea ars quaequam: verum nobis constat tum meliora praecepta de memoria confirmanda & amplianda haberi posse, quam illa ars complectitur; tum practicam illius ipsius artis meliorem institui posse, quam quae recepta est. Neque tamen ambigimus, (si cui placet hac arte ad ostentationem abuti) quin possint praestari per eam nonnulla mirabilia & portentosa: Sed nihilominus res quasi sterilis est, (eo quo adhibetur modo) ad usus humanos. At illud interim ei non imputamus, quod naturalem memoriam destruat & superoneret, (ut vulgo obicitur,) sed quod non dextere instituta sit ad auxilia memoriae commodanda in negotiis & rebus seriis. Nos vero hoc habemus, (fortasse ex genere vitae nostro politicae) ut, quae artem jactant, usum non praebent, parvi faciamus. Nam ingentem numerum nominum aut verborum semel recitatorum eodem ordine statim repetere, aut versus complures de quovis argumento extempore conficere, aut quicquid

occurrit

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occurrit Satyrica aliqua similitudine perstringere, aut seria quaeque in joco vertere, aut contradictione & cavillatione quidvis eludere, & similia; (quorum in facultatibus animi haud exigua est copia; quaeque ingenio & exercitatione ad miraculum usque extolli possunt;) haec certe omnia & his similia nos non majoris facimus, quam funambulorum & mimorum agilitates & ludicra: Etenim eadem ferme res sunt; cum haec corporis, illa animi viribus abutantur; & admirationis forsitan aliquid habeant, dignitatis parum.

ARS autem memoriae duplici nititur intentione, praenotione & emblemate. Praenotionem vocamus abscissionem quandam investigationis infinitae. Cum enim quis aliquid revocare in memoriam conatur; si nullam praenotionem habeat, aut perceptionem ejus quod quaerit; quaerit certe & molitur, & hac illac discurrit, tanquam in infinito. Quod si certam aliquam praenotionem habeat, statim abscinditur infinitum, & fit discursus memoriae magis in vicino; ut venatio damae intra septa. Itaque & ordo manifesto juvat memoriam. Subest enim praenotio, id quod quaeritur, tale esse debere, ut conveniat cum ordine. Similiter carmina facilius discuntur memoriter, quam prosa. Si enim haeretur in aliquo verbo; subest praenotio, tale debere esse verbum, quod conveniat cum versu. Atque ista praenotio est artificialis memoriae pars prima: Nam in artificiali memoria locos habemus jam ante digestos & paratos; imagines extempore, prout res postulat, conficimus: At subest praenotio, talem esse debere imaginem, qualis aliquatenus conveniat cum loco: Id quod vellicat memoriam, & aliquo modo munit ad rem, quam quaerimus. Emblemata vero deducit intellectuale ad sensibile: Sensibile autem semper fortius percutit memoriam, atque in ea facilius imprimitur quam intellectuale. Adeo ut etiam brutorum memoria per sensibile excitetur, per intellectuale minime. Itaque facilius retineas imaginem venatoris leporem persequentis, aut pharmacopoei pyxides ordinantis, aut pedantii orationem habentis, aut pueri versus memoriter recitantis, aut mimi in scena agentis; quam ipsas notiones inventionis, dispositionis, elocutionis, memoriae, actionis. Sunt & alia, quae pertinent ad memoriam juvandam, (ut modo diximus;) sed ars, quae jam habetur, ex his duobus jam praemissis consistit. Particulares autem artium defectus persequi, fuerit ab instituto nostro recedere. Igitur de arte retinendi sive custodiae haec dicta sint. Jam vero ad quartum membrum logicae, quod traditionem & elocutionem tractat, ordine pervenimus.



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FRANCISCI

Baronis de VERULAMIO,

Vice-Comitis SANCTI ALBANI,

De Dignitate & Augmentis SCIENTIARUM,

LIBER SEXTUS:

AD REGEM SUUM.

CAP. I.

Partitio traditivae in doctrinam de organo sermonis; doctrinam de methodo sermonis; & doctrinam de illustratione sermonis. Partitio doctrinae de organo sermonis in doctrinam de notis rerum; de locutione, & de descriptione: Quarum duae posteriores grammaticam constituunt, ejusque partitiones sunt. Partitio doctrinae de notis rerum in hieroglyphica & characteres reales. Partitio secunda grammaticae in literariam & philosophantem. Aggregatio poeseos quoad metrum ad doctrinam de locutione. Aggregatio doctrinae de ciphris ad doctrinam de descriptione.

CONCEDITUR certe cuivis (rex optime) seipsum & sua ridere & ludere. Quis igitur novit, num forte opus istud nostrum non descriptum fuerit ex libro quodam veteri, reperto inter libros famosissimae illius bibliothecae sancti Victoris; quorum catalogum excepit magister Franciscus Rabelesius? Illic enim invenitur liber, cui titulus est, Formicarium artium. Nos sane pusillum acervum pulvisculi congestimus, & sub eo complura scientiarum & artium grana condidimus, quo formicae reptare possint, & paulatim conquiescere, & subinde ad novos se labores accingere. At regum sapientissimus pigros quoscunque remittit ad formicas: Nos autem pigros eos homines pronunciamus, quibus acquisitis uti tantum cordi sit; neque subinde novas scientiarum sementes & messes facere.

ACCEDAMUS nunc ad artem tradendi, five proferendi & enunciandi, ea quae inventa, judicata, ac in memoria reposita sunt; quam nomine generali traditivam appellabimus. Ea omnes artes circa verba & sermones complectitur. Quamvis enim ratio sermonis veluti anima sit, tamen in tractando

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tractando disjungi debent ratio & sermo; non minus quam anima & corpus. Traditivam in tres partes dividemus, doctrinam circa organum sermonis, doctrinam circa methodum sermonis, & doctrinam circa sermonis illustrationem five ornatum.

DOCTRINA de organo sermonis vulgo recepta, quae & grammatica dicitur, duplex est: Altera de locutione, altera de scriptione. Recte enim Aristoteles, *Cogitationum tesserae verba, verborum literae*. Utrumque grammaticae assignabimus. Verum ut rem altius repetamus, antequam ad grammaticam & partes ejus jam dictas veniamus, in genere de organo traditivae dicendum est. Videntur enim esse proles quaedam traditivae aliae praeter verba & literas. Hoc igitur plane statuendum est: Quicquid scindi possit in differentias satis numerosas, ad notionum varietatem explicandam, (modo differentiae illae sensui perceptibiles sint) fieri posse vehiculum cogitationum de homine in hominem. Nam videmus nationes linguis discrepantes commercia non male per gestus exercere: At in practica nonnullorum, qui surdi & muti usque a nativitate fuerant, & alias erant ingeniosi, miros vidimus haberi inter eos & amicos suos, qui eorum gestus perdidicerant, dialogos. Quinetiam notissimum fieri jam coepit, quod in China & provinciis ultimi orientis in usu hodie sint characteres quidam reales, non nominales, qui scilicet nec literas, nec verba, sed res & notiones exprimunt. Adeo ut gentes complures linguis prorsus discrepantes, sed hujusmodi characteribus (qui apud illos latius recepti sunt) consentientes, scriptis communicent: Eousque, ut librum aliquem hujusmodi characteribus conscriptum, quaeque gens patria lingua legere & reddere possit.

NOTAE igitur rerum, quae absque ope aut medio verborum res significant, duplicis generis sunt: Quarum prius genus ex congruo; alterum ad placitum significat. Prioris generis sunt hieroglyphica & gestus: Posterioris vero ii, quos diximus, characteres reales. Hieroglyphicorum usus vetustus admodum, & in veneratione quadam habitus: praecipue apud Aegyptios gentem valde antiquam: Adeo ut videantur hieroglyphica fuisse scriptio quaedam antenata, & senior ipsis elementis literarum, nisi forte apud Hebraeos. Gestus autem, tanquam hieroglyphica transitoria sunt. Quemadmodum enim verba prolata volant, scripta manent; ita & hieroglyphica gestibus expressa transeunt, depicta durant. Cum enim Periander consultus de conservanda tyrannide, legatum astare juberet; atque ipse in horto deambulans summitates florum eminentiorum carperet, ad sedem procerum innuens; non minus usus est hieroglyphico, quam si id in charta depinxisset. Illud interim patet, hieroglyphica & gestus semper cum re significata aliquid similitudinis habere; & emblemata quaedam esse; unde eas notas rerum ex congruo nominavimus. At characteres reales nihil habent ex emblemate, sed plane surdi sunt; non minus quam ipsa elementa literarum, & ad placitum tantum effecti, consuetudine autem tanquam pacto tacito recepti. Illud interim liquet vasta ipsorum multitudine ad scribendum opus esse: tot enim esse debent, quot sunt vocabula radicalia. Haec igitur portio doctrinae de organo sermonis, quae est de notis rerum, nobis ponitur pro desiderato. Etsi autem tenuis possit videri esse ejus usus, cum verba & scriptio per literas sint organa traditivae longe commodissima; visum est tamen nobis, veluti rei non ignobilis, aliquam hoc loco mentionem ejus facere. Tractamus enim hic, veluti numismata rerum intellectualium: Nec abs re fuerit nosse, quod sicut nummi possint confici ex alia materia praeter aurum & argentum, ita & notae rerum aliae possint cudi praeter verba & literas.

PERGAMUS

PERGAMUS igitur ad grammaticam. Ea vero, veluti viatoris locum, erga caeteras scientias obtinet; non nobilem illum quidem, sed inprimis tamen necessarium; praesertim cum scientiae nostris saeculis, ex linguis eruditae non vernaculis, potissimum hauriantur. Neque tamen dignitas ejus parva censenda est, quandoquidem antidoti cujusdam vicibus fungatur contra maledictionem illam confusionis linguarum. Sane hoc agit industria humana, ut se restituat & redintegret in benedictionibus illis, quibus culpa sua excidit. Atque contra maledictionem primam generalem de sterilitate terrae, & comedendo panem suum in sudore vultus sui, reliquis artibus omnibus se munit & instruit. At contra secundam illam de confusione linguarum advocat in auxilium grammaticam: Ejus in linguis quibusque vernaculis exiguus certe usus est; in externis perdiscendis latior: Amplissimus vero in illis linguis, quae vulgares esse desierunt, & in libris tantum perpetuantur.

GRAMMATICAM etiam bipartitam ponemus, ut alia sit literaria, alia philosophica: Altera adhibetur simpliciter ad linguas, nempe ut eas quis aut celerius perdiscat, aut emendatius & purius loquatur: Altera vero aliquatenus philosophiae ministrat; qua in parte occurrit nobis, Caesarem libros de analogia conscripsisse; atque dubitatio subiit, utrum illi hanc, quam dicimus, grammaticam philosophicam tractarint? Suspiciamur tamen nil admodum in illis fuisse subtilius aut sublimius, sed tantum praeceptiones tradidisse de oratione casta & integra, neque a consuetudine loquendi prava, neque ab affectatione aliquorum vitiata & polluta, in quo genere ipse excelluit. Veruntamen hac ipsa re moniti, cogitatione complexi sumus grammaticam quandam, quae non analogiam verborum ad invicem, sed analogiam inter verba & res, sive rationem, sedulo inquirat: citra tamen eam, quae logicae subservit, hermeniam. Vestigia certe rationis verba sunt; itaque vestigia etiam aliquid de corpore indicant: Hujus igitur rei adumbrationem quandam tenuem dabimus. Primo autem minime probamus curiosam illam inquisitionem, quam tamen Plato vir eximius non contempsit; nimirum de impositione & originali etymologia nominum; supponendo, ac si illa jam a principio ad placitum indita minime fuissent, sed ratione quadam & significanter derivata & deducta: Materiam certe elegantem & quasi ceream, quae apte fingi & flecti possit; quoniam vero antiquitatum penetralia perscrutari videtur, etiam quodammodo venerabilem; sed nihilominus parce veram & fructu cassam. Illa demum, ut arbitramur, foret nobilissima grammaticae species, si quis in linguis plurimis tam eruditae quam vulgaribus eximie doctus, de variis linguarum proprietatibus tractaret; in quibus quaeque excellat, in quibus deficiat, ostendens. Ita enim & linguae mutuo commercio locupletari possint; & fiet ex iis, quae in singulis linguis pulchra sunt, (tanquam Venus Apellis) orationis ipsius quaedam formosissima imago, & exemplar quoddam insigne, ad sensus animi rite exprimendos. Atque una etiam hoc pacto capientur signa haud levia, sed observatu digna (quod fortasse quispiam non putaret) de ingeniis & moribus populorum & nationum ex linguis ipsorum. Equidem libenter audio Ciceronem notantem, quod apud Graecos desit verbum, quod Latini illud (ineptum) reddat; propterea (inquit) quod Graecis hoc vitium tam familiare fuit, ut illud in se ne agnoscerent quidem: Digna certe gravitate Romana censura. Quid illud, quod Graeci in compositionibus verborum tanta licentia usi sunt, Romani contra magnam in hac re severitatem adhibuerunt? Plane colligat quis Graecos fuisse artibus, Romanos rebus gerendis, magis idoneos. Artium enim distinctiones verborum compositionem fere exigunt: At res & negotia simpliciora

pliciora verba postulant. Quin Hebraei tantum compositiones illas refugiunt, ut malint metaphora abuti quam compositionem introducere. Quin etiam verbis tam paucis & minime commixtis utuntur, ut plane ex lingua ipsa quis perspiciat gentem fuisse illam Nazaraeam, & a reliquis gentibus separatam. Annon & illud observatione dignum (licet nobis modernis spiritus nonnihil retundat) antiquas linguas plenas declinationum, casuum, conjugationum, temporum, & similibus fuisse; modernas his fere destitutas, plurima per praepositiones & verba auxiliaria segniter expedire. Sane facile quis conjiciat, (utcumque nobis ipsi placeamus) ingenia priorum saeculorum nostris fuisse multo acutiora & subtiliora. Innumera sunt ejusmodi, quae justum volumen complere possint. Non abs re igitur fuerit grammaticam philosophantem a simplici & literaria distinguere, & desideratam ponere.

A D grammaticam etiam pertinere judicamus omnia illa, quae verbis quoquo modo accidunt, qualia sunt sonus, mensura, accentus. At prima illa literarum simplicium cunabula (nempe qua percussione linguae, qua apertura oris, qua adductione labiorum, quo nisu gutturis, singularum literarum sonus generetur) ad grammaticam non pertinent, sed portio sunt doctrinae de sonis sub sensu & sensibili tractanda. Sonus, de quo loquimur, grammaticus ad euphonias tantum pertinet & dysphonias. Illarum quaedam communes sunt: Nulla enim est lingua, quin vocalium concurrentium hiatus, aut consonantium concurrentium asperitates aliquatenus refugiat. Sunt & aliae respectivae, quae scilicet diversorum populorum auribus gratae aut ingratae accedunt. Graeca lingua diphthongis scatet; Latina longe parcus: Lingua Hispanica literas tenues odit, easque statim vertit in medias: Linguae quae ex Gothis fluxere, aspiratis gaudent: Multa sunt ejusmodi: Verum haec ipsa fortasse plus satis.

A T mensura verborum ingens nobis corpus artis peperit; poësim scilicet, non quatenus ad materiam, de qua supra, sed quatenus ad stylum & figuram verborum, versus nimirum sive carmina: Circa quae ars habetur quasi pusilla; exempla accedunt grandia, & infinita. Neque tamen ars illa (quam prosodiam grammatici appellant) ad carminum genera & mensuras edocendas tantum restringi debeat: Adjicienda enim sunt praecepta, quod carminum genus cuique materiae sive subjecto optime conveniat. Antiqui heroica carmina historiis & encomiis applicaverunt; elegos querimoniis, iambos invectivis, lyricos odibus & hymnis. Neque haec prudentia recentioribus poëtis in linguis propriis defuit: illud reprehendendum, quod quidam antiquitatis nimium studiosi, linguas modernas ad mensuras antiquas (heroicas, elegiacas, sapphicas, &c.) traducere conati sunt, quas ipsarum linguarum fabrica respuit, nec minus aures exhorrent. In hujusmodi rebus sensus judicium artis praeceptis praeponendum, ut ait ille:

—*Coenae fercula nostrae*

Mallem convivis quam placuisse cocis.

Neque vero ars est, sed artis abusus, cum illa naturam non perficiat, sed pervertat. Verum quod ad poësim attinet, (sive de fabulis, sive de metro loquamur,) est illa, (ut superius diximus,) tanquam herba luxurians, sine semine nata, ex vigore ipsius terrae germinans. Quare ubique serpit & latissime diffusa est, ut supervacuum foret de defectibus ejus sollicitum esse. De illa igitur cura est abjicienda. Quod vero ad accentus verborum, nil opus est de re tam pusilla dicere; nisi forte illud quis notatu dignum putet; quod accentus verborum exquisitè, accentus autem sententiarum neutiquam

in observationem venit. Attamen illud fere universo generi humano commune est, ut vocem in fine periodi submittant, in interrogatione elevent, & alia hujusmodi non pauca. Atque de grammaticae parte, quae ad locutionem spectat, haecenus.

Quod ad scriptionem attinet, ea aut alphabeto vulgari perficitur, (quod ubique recipitur,) aut occulto & privato, de quo inter singulos convenit, quod ciphrae vocant. At orthographia vulgaris etiam controversiam & quaestionem nobis peperit: Utrum scilicet eodem verba scribere oporteat, quo pronunciantur, modo, an potius ex more consueto? At illa scriptio, quae reformata videri possit, (ut scilicet scriptio pronuntiationi consona sit,) est ex genere inutilium subtilitatum. Nam & ipsa pronuntiatio quotidie gliscit, nec constans est; & derivationes verborum, praesertim ex linguis extraneis, prorsus obscurantur: denique cum ex more recepto scripta, morem pronuntiandi nullo modo impediunt, sed liberum relinquant, quorsum attinet ista novatio?

Ad ciphrae igitur veniendum. Earum genera haud pauca sunt: Ciphrae simplices; ciphrae non significantibus characteribus intermixtae; ciphrae duplices literas uno characterem complexae; ciphrae rotatae; ciphrae clavis; ciphrae verborum, aliae. Virtutes autem in ciphris requirendae tres sunt: Ut sint expeditae, non nimis operosae ad scribendum: Ut sint fidae, & nullo modo pateant ad deciphrandum: Addo denique, ut si fieri possit, suspitione vacent. Si enim epistolae in manus eorum deveniant, qui in eos, qui scribunt, aut ad quos scribuntur, potestatem habeant, tametsi ciphra ipsa fida sit & deciphratu impossibilis, tamen subijcitur haec res examini & quaestioni; nisi ciphra sit ejusmodi, quae aut suspitione vacet, aut examinationem eludat. Quod vero ad elusionem examinis attinet, suppetit inventum ad hoc novum atque utile, quod cum in promptu habeamus, quorsum attinet illud inter desiderata referre, sed potius id ipsum proponere? Hoc hujusmodi est; ut habeat quis duo alphabeta, unum literarum verarum, alterum non-significantium: Et simul duas epistolas involvat, unam, quae secretum deferat: alteram, qualem verisimile fuerit scribentem missurum fuisse, absque periculo tamen. Quod si quis de ciphra severe interrogetur, porrigat ille alphabetum non-significantium pro veris literis; alphabetum autem verarum literarum pro non-significantibus; hoc modo incidet examinatio in epistolam illam exteriorem, quam cum probabilem inveniet, de interiori epistola nihil suspicabitur. Ut vero suspicio omnis absit, aliud inventum subijciemus, quod certe, cum adolescentuli essemus Parisiis, excogitavimus; nec etiam adhuc visa nobis res digna est, quae pereat. Habet enim gradum ciphrae altissimum; nimirum ut omnia per omnia significari possint: ita tamen ut scriptio, quae involvitur, quintuplo minor sit, quam ea cui involvatur: Alia nulla omnino requiritur conditio aut restrictio. Id hoc modo fiet. Primo, universae literae alphabeti in duas tantummodo literas solvantur per transpositionem earum. Nam transpositio duarum literarum per locos quinque differentiis triginta duabus, multo magis viginti quatuor, (qui est numerus alphabeti apud nos) sufficiet. Hujus alphabeti exemplum tale est.

Exemplum

Exemplum Alphabeti Biliterarii.

<i>A.</i>	<i>B.</i>	<i>C.</i>	<i>D.</i>	<i>E.</i>	<i>F.</i>	<i>G.</i>	<i>H.</i>
<i>Aaaaa.</i>	<i>aaaab.</i>	<i>aaaba.</i>	<i>aaabb.</i>	<i>aabaa.</i>	<i>aabab.</i>	<i>aabba.</i>	<i>aabbb.</i>
<i>I.</i>	<i>K.</i>	<i>L.</i>	<i>M.</i>	<i>N.</i>	<i>O.</i>	<i>P.</i>	<i>Q.</i>
<i>abaaa.</i>	<i>abaab.</i>	<i>ababa.</i>	<i>ababb.</i>	<i>abbaa.</i>	<i>abbab.</i>	<i>abbba.</i>	<i>abbbb.</i>
<i>R.</i>	<i>S.</i>	<i>T.</i>	<i>V.</i>	<i>W.</i>	<i>X.</i>	<i>Y.</i>	<i>Z.</i>
<i>baaaa.</i>	<i>baaab.</i>	<i>baaba.</i>	<i>baabb.</i>	<i>babaa.</i>	<i>babab.</i>	<i>babba.</i>	<i>babbb.</i>

NEQUE leve quiddam obiter hoc modo perfectum est. Etenim ex hoc ipso patet modus, quo ad omnem loci distantiam per objecta, quae vel visui vel auditui subijci possint, sensa animi proferre & significare liceat: si modo objecta illa duplicis tantum differentiae capacia sunt, veluti per campanas, per buccinas, per flammeos, per sonitus tormentorum, & alia quaecunque. Verum ut inceptum persequamur, cum ad scribendum accingeris, epistolam interiorem in alphabetum hoc biliterarium solves. Sit epistola interior,

Fuge.

Exemplum Solutionis.

<i>F.</i>	<i>V.</i>	<i>G.</i>	<i>E.</i>
<i>Aabab.</i>	<i>baabb.</i>	<i>aabba.</i>	<i>aabaa.</i>

PRAESTO simul sit aliud alphabetum biforme, nimirum, quod singulas alphabeti communis literas, tam capitales quam minores, duplici forma, prout cuique commodum sit, exhibeat.

Exemplum alphabeti biformis.

a. b. a. b. a. b. a. b. a. b. a. b. a. b. a. b. a. b. a. b. a. b.
A. A. a. a. B. B. b. b. C. C. c. c. D. D. d. d. E. E. e. e. F. F. f. f.
a. b. a. b. a. b. a. b. a. b. a. b. a. b. a. b. a. b. a. b. a. b.
G. G. g. g. H. H. h. h. I. I. i. i. K. K. k. k. L. L. l. l. M. M. m. m.
a. b. a. b. a. b. a. b. a. b. a. b. a. b. a. b. a. b. a. b. a. b.
N. N. n. n. O. O. o. o. P. P. p. p. Q. Q. q. q. R. R. r. r.
a. b. a. b. a. b. a. b. a. b. a. b. a. b. a. b. a. b. a. b. a. b.
S. S. s. s. T. T. t. t. V. V. v. v. u. u. W. W. w. w. X. X. x. x.
a. b. a. b. a. b. a. b.
Y. Y. y. y. Z. Z. z. z.

TUM demum epistolae interiori, jam factae biliteratae, epistolam exteriori biformem literatim accommodabis, & postea describes. Sit epistola exterior:

Manere te volo, donec venero.

Exemplum Accommodationis.

<i>F</i>	<i>V</i>	<i>G</i>	<i>E</i>
<i>aabab.</i>	<i>baabb.</i>	<i>aabba.</i>	<i>aabaa.</i>

Manere te volo donec venero.

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APPOSUIMUS etiam exemplum aliud largius ejusdem, ciphrae scribendi omnia per omnia.

EPISTOLA interior, ad quam delegimus epistolam Spartanam, missam olim in Scytale.

Perditae res: Mindarus cecidit: Milites esuriunt: Neque hinc nos extricare, neque hic diutius manere possumus.

EPISTOLA exterior sumpta ex epistola prima Ciceronis, in qua epistola Spartana involvitur.

Ego omni officio, ac potius pietate erga te, caeteris satisfacio omnibus: Mibi ipse nunquam satisfacio. Tanta est enim magnitudo tuorum erga me meritorum, ut quoniam tu, nisi perfecta re, de me non conquiesci; ego, quia non idem in tua causa efficio, vitam mihi esse acerbam putem. In causa haec sunt: Ammonius regis legatus aperte pecunia nos oppugnat. Res agitur per eosdem creditores, per quos, cum tu aderas, agebatur. Regis causa, si qui sunt, qui velint, qui pauci sunt, omnes ad Pompeium rem deferri volunt. Senatus religionis calumniam, non religione, sed malevolentia, & illius regiae largitionis invidia, comprobabat, &c.

DOCTRINA autem de ciphris aliam secum traxit doctrinam erga ipsam relativam: Illa est de deciphratione five refectione ciphrarum; licet quis alphabetum ciphrae aut pactum de latebra penitus ignoret. Res sane est illa laboriosa simul & ingeniosa, & arcanis principum, veluti & illa prior, dicata. Attamen praecautioe solerti fieri possit inutilis; etsi, quomodo res nunc se habent, magni prorsus sit usus. Etenim si ciphrae introductae essent bonae & fideles, plurimae fuerint, quae operam deciphrationis prorsus eluderent & excluderent; quae tamen sint satis commodae & expeditae ad legendum aut scribendum. Verum imperitia & inscitia secretariorum & amanuensium in aulis principum tanta est, ut maxima plerumque negotia ciphris infirmis & futilibus committantur.

INTEREA fieri potest, ut suspicetur quispiam nos in enumeratione, & quasi censu artium, id agere, ut scientiarum copiae (quas veluti in aciem adducimus) auctae & multiplicatae magis sint admirationi; cum tamen numerus earum forte ostentari, vires tam brevi tractatu vix explicari, possint. Verum nos institutum nostrum fideliter urgemus, atque in hoc globo scientiarum conficiendo, etiam insulas minores aut remotiores omitti nolumus. Neque vero (ut arbitramur) perfunctorie, licet cursim, eas artes attingimus; sed potius nucleos & medullas ipsarum ex multa materiae massa stylo acuto excerpimus. Cujus rei judicium ipsis illis, qui in hujusmodi artibus peritissimi sunt, permittimus: Cum enim plerique, qui multificii videri volunt, hoc fere habeant; ut vocabula & exteriora artium passim jactantes, illarum ignaris admirationi, magistris ludibrio sint; speramus, nostra contrarium prorsus eventum habitura, ut peritissimi cujusque in artibus singulis judicium maxime detineant, caeteris minoris sint. Quod vero ad artes illas, quae minorum quasi gentium videri possunt; si quis existimet nos, nimium quid ipsis tribuere; circumspiciat ille, & videbit, homines in provinciis suis magnos sane & celebres, cum ad metropolim aut sedem imperii forte migraverint, turbae fere immisceri, & inferioris notae esse: similiter mirum non est artes istas leviores, juxta artes principales & supremas collocatas, dignitate minui; cum tamen iis, qui operam illis praecipue impenderint, res videantur utique magnae & praeclarae. Atque de organo sermonis haec dicta sint.

C A P. II.

Doctrina de methodo sermonis constituitur ut pars traditivae substantiva & principalis : Nomen ei inditur prudentia traditivae. Enumerantur methodi genera diversa ; & subjunguntur eorum commoda & incommoda.

VENIAMUS ad doctrinam de methodo sermonis. Ea ut pars dialecticae tractari consuevit. Etiam locum in rhetorica per nomen dispositionis reperit. Verum collocatio ejus in famulatio aliarum artium in causa fuit, ut plurima, quae ad ipsam spectant, cognitu utilia praetermissa sint. Visum igitur est nobis doctrinam substantivam & principalem de methodo constituere, quam nomine generali prudentiam traditivae appellamus. Itaque methodi genera (cum varia sint) enumerabimus potius quam partiemur. Atque de unica methodo & dichotomiis perpetuis nil attinet dicere : Fuit enim nubecula quaedam doctrinae, quae cito transiit : res certe simul & levis & scientiis damnosissima. Etenim hujusmodi homines, cum methodi suae legibus res torqueant ; & quaecunque in dichotomias illas non apte cadunt aut omittant, aut praeter naturam inflectant ; hoc efficiunt, ut quasi nuclei & grana scientiarum exilient, ipsi aridas tantum & desertas filiquas stringant. Itaque inania compendia parit hoc genus methodi, solida scientiarum destruit.

CONSTITUATUR igitur prima differentia methodi, ut sit aut magistralis aut iniciativa. Neque vero verbum iniciativae ita intelligimus, quasi haec initia scientiarum tantum traderet, illa doctrinam integram ; verum contra (vocabulum a sacris mutuantes) eam dicimus methodum iniciativam, quae ipsa scientiarum mysteria recludet & denudet. Magistralis siquidem docet ; iniciativa intimat : Magistralis poscit, ut fides habeatur iis ; quae dicuntur ; iniciativa vero potius ut examen subeant : Altera scientias discendum vulgo ; altera tanquam filiis scientiarum tradit ; denique altera pro fine habet scientiarum (quales jam sunt) usum ; altera earundem continuationem & ulteriorem progressum. Harum posterior via videtur deserta & interclusa. Ita enim adhuc scientiae tradi consueverunt, quasi ex pacto, tam docens quam discens errores asciscere cupiant. Etenim qui docet, eo docet modo, quo maxime dictis suis fides astruatur, non quo illa commodissime examini subiciantur : & qui discit, sibi extemplo satis fieri, non legitimam disquisitionem praestolari, expetit ; ut magis sit ei cordi non dubitare, quam non errare. Ita ut & magister amore gloriae infirmitatem scientiae suae prodere caveat, & discipulus laboris odio vires proprias experiri nolit. Scientia vero, quae aliis tanquam tela pertexenda traditur, eadem methodo (si fieri possit) animo alterius est insinuanda, qua primitus inventa est. Atque hoc ipsum fieri sane potest in scientia per inductionem acquisita : sed in anticipata ista & praematura scientia (qua utimur) non facile dicat quis, quo itinere ad eam, quam nactus est, scientiam pervenerit. Attamen sane secundum majus & minus possit quis scientiam propriam revisere, & vestigia suae cognitionis simul & consensus remetiri ; atque hoc pacto scientiam sic transplantare in animum alienum, sicut crevit in suo. Artibus enim idem usum venit quod plantis : si planta aliqua uti in animo habeas, de radice quid fiat, nil refert : si vero transferre cupias in aliud solum, tutius est radicibus uti, quam furculis. Sic traditio, (quae nunc in usu est) exhibet plane tanquam truncos (pulchros illos quidem) scientiarum ; sed tamen absque radicibus fabro lignario certe commodos,

commodos, at plantatori inutiles. Quod si, disciplinae ut crescant, tibi cor-
 id sit, de truncis minus sis sollicitus; ad id curam adhibe, ut radices illaefae,
 etiam cum aliquantulo terrae adhaerentis, extrahantur. Cujus quidem ge-
 neris traditionis, methodus mathematicorum, in eo subiecto, similitudinem
 quandam habet; generatim autem non video, quid aut in usu sit, aut quid
 quis inquisitioni ejus dederit operam; proinde eam inter desiderata numera-
 bimus, eamque traditionem lampadis, sive methodum ad filios appellabimus.

SEQUITUR aliud methodi discrimen priori intentioni affine, reipsa
 fere contrarium. Hoc enim habet utraque methodus commune, ut vulgus
 auditorum a selectis separet. Illud oppositum, quod prior introducit mo-
 dum tradendi solito apertiore; altera, de qua jam dicemus, occultio-
 rem. Sit igitur discrimen tale, ut altera methodus sit exoterica, altera acroama-
 tica. Etenim quam antiqui adhibuerunt praecipue in edendis libris diffe-
 rentiam; eam nos transferemus ad ipsum modum tradendi. Quinetiam acroa-
 matica ipsa apud veteres in usu fuit, atque prudenter & cum judicio adhi-
 bita. At acroamaticum sive aenigmaticum istud dicendi genus posteriori-
 bus temporibus dehonestatum est a plurimis, qui eo tanquam lumine am-
 biguo & fallaci abusi sunt, ad merces suas adulterinas extrudendas. Inten-
 tio autem ejus ea esse videtur, ut traditionis involucris vulgus (profanum
 scilicet) a secretis scientiarum summoveatur; atque illi tantum admittantur,
 qui aut per manus magistrorum parabolarum interpretationem nacti sunt,
 aut proprio ingenii acumine & subtilitate intra velum penetrare possint.

SEQUITUR aliud methodi discrimen, magni prorsus ad scientias momen-
 ti; cum scilicet scientiae traduntur, aut per aphorismos, aut methodice.
 Notatu enim inprimis dignum est in consuetudinem plerumque venisse, ut
 homines ex pauculis axiomatibus & observationibus in quovismodo subje-
 cto artem constituent quasi completam & solennem, eam ingenii quibusdam
 commentationibus suffarcinando, exemplis illustrando, & methodo revinci-
 endo. At illa altera traditio per aphorismos plurima secum fert commo-
 da, ad quae traditio methodica non attingit. Primum enim de scriptore
 specimen dat, utrum ille leviter & perfunctorie scientiam hauserit, an peni-
 tus imbiberit. Aphorismi enim, nisi prorsus forent ridiculi, necesse est, ut
 ex medullis & interioribus scientiarum conficiantur. Abscinditur enim illu-
 stratio & excursio; abscinditur varietas exemplorum; abscinditur deductio
 & connexio; abscinditur descriptio practicae: ut ad materiam aphorismo-
 rum nihil relinquatur, praeter copiam observationum bene amplam. Igitur
 ad aphorismos non sufficiet quispiam, imo de eis nec cogitabit sane, qui se
 neutiquam copiose & solide instructum ad scribendum perspexerit. At in
 methodis:

——— *Tantum series juncturaque pollet;*
Tantum de medio sumptis accedit honoris;

ut speciem artis, nescio cujus, praeclarae saepenumero reportent ea, quae
 si solvantur, segregentur, & denudentur, ad nihilum fere recasura forent.
 Secundo, traditio methodica, ad fidem & consensum valet; ad indicationes
 de praxi minus innuit, siquidem demonstrationem quandam in orbe prae se
 fert, partibus se invicem illuminantibus, ideoque intellectui satisfacit ma-
 gis; quia vero actiones in vita communi sparguntur, non ordine compo-
 nuntur, ideo magis iisdem conducunt etiam sparsa documenta. Postremo, a-
 phorismi, cum scientiarum portiones quasdam & quasi frustra tantum exhi-
 beant, invitant, ut alii etiam aliquid adjiciant & erogent; traditio vero me-
 thodica,

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thodica, dum scientiam integram ostendat, securos illico homines reddit quasi jam summa adeptos.

SEQUITUR aliud methodi discrimen, magni & illud quoque momenti: cum scilicet scientiae traduntur, aut per assertiones adjectis probationibus, aut per quaestiones una cum determinationibus. Hanc autem posteriorem methodum si immoderatus quis persequatur; scientiarum profectui non minus illa officit, quam fortunis & progressibus exercitus cujuscumque impedimento & damno foret, si in minutis quibusque castellis aut oppidis expugnandis subinde haereat. Etenim si quis in acie sit superior, & summae belli sedulo incumbat, minora illa loca ultro se submittent: Illud tamen inficias non ierim urbem aliquam magnam & munitam a tergo relinquere, haudquaquam semper tutum esse: Eodem modo, confutationibus in scientiarum traditione temperandum, iisque parce utendum: & ad hoc tantum, ut majores praecupationes animorum & praejudicia frangantur, minime autem ut leviores dubitationes excitentur & provocentur.

SEQUITUR aliud methodi discrimen, ut scilicet methodus sit subjectae materiae, quae tractatur, accommodata. Alio enim modo traduntur mathematica, (quae sunt inter scientias maxime abstracta & simplicia:) alio politica, quae maxime sunt immersa & composita. Neque (ut jam diximus) methodus uniformis in materia multiformi commode se habere potest. Equidem quemadmodum topicas particulares ad inveniendum probavimus, ita & methodos particulares ad tradendum similiter aliquatenus adhiberi volumus.

SEQUITUR aliud methodi discrimen in tradendis scientiis cum iudicio adhibendum. Illud autem regitur per informationes & anticipationes de scientia (quae tradenda est) in animis discipulorum prius infusas & impressas. Aliter enim tradi debet scientia, quae ad animos hominum nova & peregrina prorsus accedit, aliter ea, quae opinionibus jam pridem imbibitis & receptis est affinis & familiaris. Ideoque Aristoteles Democritum fugillare cupiens, revera eum laudat: Si (inquit) serio disputare velimus, non sectari similitudines, &c. id vitio vertens Democrito, quod in comparationibus esset nimius. At illi, quorum documenta in opinionibus popularibus jam sedes suas collocarunt, non aliud habent, quod agant, nisi ut disputent & probent. Illis contra, quorum dogmata opiniones populares transcendunt, gemino labore opus est: primo ut intelligantur quae afferunt; deinde ut probentur: Ita ut necessum habeant confugere ad auxilia similitudinum & translationum, quo se captui hominum insinuent. Videmus igitur sub infantia doctrinarum saeculis rudioribus, cum syllepses illae, quae jam factae sunt vulgares & tritae, novae fuerant & inauditae, omnia parabolis & similitudinibus plena fuisse. Alias evenisset, ut quae proponebantur, aut absque nota seu attentione debita transmissa, aut pro paradoxis rejecta, fuissent. Etenim regula quaedam est traditivae, quod scientia omnis, quae anticipationibus sive praesuppositionibus non est consona, a similitudinibus & comparationibus suppetias petere debeat.

ATQUE de methodorum diversis generibus haec dicta sint; iis videlicet, quae antehac ab aliis notata non fuerunt: Nam quantum ad caeteras illas methodos, analyticam, systaticam, dialecticam, etiam crypticam, Homericam, & similes, recte sunt eae inventae & distributae; neque causa videtur, cur illis immoremur.

AT methodi genera hujusmodi sunt: Partes autem duae; altera de dispositione totius operis, vel argumenti libri alicujus; altera de limitatione propositionum. Etenim ad architecturam spectat, non solum fabrica totius aedificii,

difficili, sed etiam efformatio & figura columnarum, trabium, & similium. Methodus vero veluti scientiarum architectura est. Atque hac in parte melius meruit Ramus, in optimis illis regulis (*καθ' ἑαυτὴν, κατὰ πᾶν, καὶ αὐτὸ, &c.*) renovandis, quam in unica sua methodo & dichotomiis obtrudendis. Veruntamen nescio quo fato fit, ut in humanis (sicut saepius fingunt poetae) rebus pretiosissimis semper adhibeantur perniciosissimi quique custodes. Certe conatus Rami circa illam propositionum limam, coniecit eum in epitomas illas & scientiarum vada. Auspicato enim & felici cujusdam genii ductu procedere oportet, qui axiomata scientiarum convertibilia facere attentaverit, & non simul ea reddiderit circularia, aut in semet recurrentia. Conatum nihilo secius Rami in hac parte utilem fuisse non inficiamur.

SUPERSTANT duae adhuc propositionum limitationes, praeter eam ut fiant convertibiles: altera de extensione; altera de productione ipsarum. Sane habent scientiae, si quis recte advertat, praeter profunditatem, alias duas dimensiones; latitudinem scilicet ac longitudinem suam. Ac profunditas quidem ad ipsarum veritatem & realitatem refertur: Hae enim sunt, quae soliditatem conferunt. Quantum ad reliquas duas, latitudo accipi & computari potest de scientia in scientiam; longitudo vero sumitur a summa propositione ad imam in eadem scientia. Altera fines & veros scientiarum terminos complectitur, ut propositiones proprie, non promiscue tractentur; & evitetur repetitio, excursio, denique confusio omnis: altera normam praescribit, quousque & ad quem particularitatis gradum propositiones scientiarum sint deducendae. Sane dubium non est, quin aliquid exercitationi & practicae sit relinquendum; oportet siquidem Antonini Pii vitium evitari, ne simus cymini sectores in scientiis, neve divisiones ad infima quaeque multiplicemus. Itaque qualiter in hac parte nobis ipsi temperemus, inquisitione plane dignum est. Videmus enim nimium generalia (nisi deducantur) parum informare, quin potius hominum practicorum ludibrio scientias exponere, cum nihilo magis ad practicam faciant quam chorographia Ortelii universalis ad viam monstrandam, quae Londino ducit Eboracum. Certe regulae optimae speculis ex metallo non inscite assimulantur, in quibus cernuntur utique imagines, sed non antequam expolita fuerint; sic juvant demum regulae & praecepta, postquam exercitationis limam subierint. Quod si tamen, usque a principio, regulae illae fieri possint nitidae, & quasi crystallinae, id optimum factu foret, quandoquidem exercitatione assidua minus indigebunt. Atque de scientia methodi (quam prudentiam traditivae nominavimus) haec dicta sint.

NEQUE tamen illud praetermittendum, quod nonnulli viri magis tumidi quam docti infudarunt circa methodum quandam, legitimae methodi nomine haud dignam, cum potius fit methodus imposturae; quae tamen quibusdam ardelionibus acceptissima proculdubio fuerit. Haec methodus ita scientiae alicujus guttulas aspergit, ut quis sciolus specie nonnulla eruditionis ad ostentationem possit abuti. Talis fuit ars Lullii; talis typocosmia a nonnullis exarata; quae nihil aliud fuerunt quam vocabulorum artis cujusque massa & acervus; ad hoc, ut qui voces artis habeant in promptu, etiam artes ipsas perdidicisse existimentur. Hujus generis collectanea officinam referunt veteramentariam, ubi praesegeta multa reperiuntur, sed nihil quod alicujus sit pretii.

C A P. III.

De fundamentis & officio rhetoricae. Appendices tres rhetoricae, quae ad promptuariam tantummodo pertinent: Colores boni & mali, tam simplicis, quam comparati: Antitheta rerum: Formulae minores orationis.

VENIMUS jam ad doctrinam de illustratione sermonis. Ea est, quae rhetorica dicitur, five oratoria. Scientia certe & in se egregia, & egregie a scriptoribus exulta. Eloquentia autem, si quis vere rem aestimet, sapientia proculdubio est inferior. Videmus enim, quanto intervallo haec illam post se relinquat, in verbis quibus allocutus est Mosem Deus, cum ille munus sibi delatum propter defectum elocutionis recusasset, *Habes Aaronem, ille erit tibi vice oratoris, tu vero ei vice Dei.* At fructu, & populari existimatione, sapientia eloquentiae cedit. Ita enim Solomon, *Sapiens corde appellabitur prudens, sed dulcis eloquio majora reperiet.* Haud obscure innuens, sapientiam famam quandam & admirationem cuiuspiam conciliare: at in rebus gerendis & vita communi, eloquentiam praecipue esse efficacem. Ad artis vero hujus culturam quod attinet; Aristotelis erga rhetores sui temporis aemulatio, atque Ciceronis studium acre & vehemens, illi nobilitandae totis viribus incumbens, cum longo usu conjunctum, in causa fuerunt, ut in libris suis de hac arte conscriptis se ipsos vicerint. Dein exempla illa luculentissima hujusce artis, quae in orationibus Demosthenis & Ciceronis habentur, praeceptorum acumini & diligentiae addita, profectus ipsius geminarunt. Quare, quae in hac arte desiderari invenimus, versabuntur potius in collectionibus quibusdam, quae tantum pedissequae huic arti praesto sint, quam in disciplina & usu artis ipsius. Nam etiam tum, cum promptuariae cujusdam inter logica mentionem faceremus, uberiora ejus rei exempla in rhetoricis polliciti sumus.

VERUNTAMEN ut more nostro, circa radices hujus artis, glebam paululum aperiamus & subigamus; rhetorica certe phantasiae, quemadmodum dialectica intellectui subservit. Estque, si quis altius rem penetret, officium & munus rhetoricae non aliud, quam ut rationis dictamina phantasiae applicet & commendet, ad excitandum appetitum & voluntatem. Regimen enim rationis impeti & perturbari videmus tribus modis: vel per illaqueationem sophismatum, quod ad dialecticam pertinet; vel per praestigias verborum, quod ad rhetoricam; vel per affectuum violentiam, quod ad ethicam. Quemadmodum enim in negotiis, quae cum aliis contrahimus, vinci quis & perduci solet, vel astu, vel importunitate, vel vehementia; ita etiam in illa negotiatione interna, quam nobiscum exercemus, aut argumentorum fallaciis subruimur, aut impressionum & obversationum assiduitate sollicitamur & inquietamur, aut affectuum impetu concutimur & rapimur. Neque vero tam infeliciter agitur cum natura humana, ut illae artes & facultates ad rationem deturbandam valeant; neutiquam vero ad eandem roborandam & stabiliendam: Verum ad hanc rem longe magis. Finis enim dialecticae est, docere formam argumentorum, ad praesidia intellectus, non ad insidias. Finis itidem ethicae, affectus ita componere, ut rationi militent, non autem eam invadant. Finis denique rhetoricae, phantasiam implere obversationibus & simulachris, quae rationi suppetias ferant, non autem eam opprimant.

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Abusus enim artis ex obliquo tantum interveniunt, ad cavendum non ad utendum.

QUAPROPTER in Platone summa fuit iniquitas (licet ex non immerito erga rhetores sui temporis odio orta) cum rhetoricam inter artes voluptarias collocavit: eam similem esse dicens coquinariae, quae non minus cibos salubres corrumpere, quam insalubres gratiores redderet, condimentorum varietate & deliciis abutens. Absit autem, ut oratio non frequentius versetur in rebus honestis ornandis, quam in turpibus oblinendis: Hoc enim ubique praesto est: siquidem nemo est, quin honestius loquatur, quam aut sentiat, aut faciat. Sane a Thucydide optime notatum est, tale quidpiam solitum fuisse objici Cleoni; quod, cum semper deteriore partem tueretur, in hoc multus esset, ut eloquentiam & sermonis gratiam carperet: Probe quippe; cum sciret, de rebus sordidis & indignis non posse quempiam pulchre loqui; at de rebus honestis, facillime. Eleganter enim Plato (licet jam in trivio decantetur) virtus si conspici daretur, ingentes sui amores concitaret. At rhetorica virtutem & bonum depingit plane, & reddit quasi conspicuum. Cum enim in corporea effigie, illa sensui monstrari nequeant, superest ut per ornatum verborum, phantasiae repraesentatione, quantum fieri potest, viva, coram fistantur. Siquidem mos Stoicorum, merito derisus est a Cicerone; qui concisis & argutis sententiis & conclusionibus, virtutem animis hominum imponere satagebant; quae res parvum habet cum phantasia & voluntate consensum.

PORRO, si affectus ipsi in ordinem compulsi, & rationi prorsus morigeri essent; verum est, nullum magnopere futurum persuasionum & insinuationum, quae aditum ad mentem praebere possint, usum; sed satis fore, si res ipsae nude & simpliciter proponantur, & probentur. Verum affectus contra, tantas secessionem faciunt; quinetiam tantas turbas & seditiones movent, (secundum illud,

— *Video meliora, proboque,
Deteriora sequor,*)

ut ratio prorsus in servitutem & captivitatem abrepta foret, nisi eloquentiae suada efficeret, quo minus phantasia a partibus affectuum staret, sed potius opera ejus, foedus ineatur inter rationem & phantasiam, contra affectus. Notandum est enim, affectus ipsos ad bonum apparens semper ferri, atque hac ex parte aliquid habere cum ratione commune: verum illud interest; quod affectus intuentur praecipue bonum in praesentia; ratio prospiciens in longum, etiam futurum, & in summa. Ideoque cum quae in praesentia obversentur, impleant phantasiam fortius, succumbit plerumque ratio, & subjugatur. Sed postquam eloquentia & suasionum vi effectum fit, ut futura & remota constituentur & conspiciantur tanquam praesentia, tum demum abeunte in partes rationis phantasia, ratio fit superior.

CONCLUDAMUS igitur, non deberi magis vitio verti rhetoricae, quod deteriore partem cohonestare sciat; quam dialecticae, quod sophismata concinnare doceat. Quis enim nescit, contrariorum eandem rationem esse, licet usu opponantur? Porro non eo tantum differt dialectica a rhetorica, quod (ut vulgo dicitur) altera instar pugni, altera instar palmae sit; (altera scilicet presse, altera fusa tractet;) verum multo magis, quod dialectica rationem in suis naturalibus; rhetorica, qualis in opinionibus vulgi sita est, consideret. Prudenter igitur Aristoteles rhetoricam inter dialecticam & ethicam cum politica, collocat, cum ex utrisque participet. Siquidem proba-
tiones

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tiones & demonstrationes dialecticae, universis hominibus sunt communes; at probationes & suasiones rhetoricae, pro ratione auditorum variari debent; ut quis tanquam musicus, auribus diversis se accommodans, sit demum

Orpheus in sylvis, inter delphinas Arion.

Quae quidem applicatio & variatio orationis (si quis ejus perfectionem & culmen desideret) eo usque extendi debet; ut si eadem ipsa apud diversos homines sint dicenda, apud singulos tamen aliis atque aliis verbis sit utendum. Quanquam hac parte eloquentiae (politica scilicet & negotiosa, in privatis sermonibus) maximos oratores plerumque destitui certum sit; dum ornatum & formulas elegantes orationis captantes, volubili illa applicatione, & characteribus sermonum, quibus versus singulos uti consultius foret, excidunt. Certe non abs re fuerit, circa hoc ipsum, de quo nunc dicimus, novam instituere inquisitionem, eamque nomine prudentiae sermonis privati indigitare, atque inter desiderata reponere: Rem certe, quam quo attentius quis recogitet, eo pluris faciet. Utrum vero haec inter rhetorica, an politica collocetur, haud magni refert.

DESCENDAMUS modo ad desiderata in hac arte, quae (ut ante diximus) ejus sunt generis, ut pro appendicibus potius censeretur, quam pro portionibus artis ipsius, & pertinent omnia ad promptuariam. Primo igitur non invenimus, qui prudentiam illam, simul & diligentiam Aristotelis, bene persecutus sit aut suppleverit. Hic nimirum coepit colligere, signa popularia, five colores boni ac mali apparentis, tam simplicis quam comparati, qui sunt vere sophismata rhetorica. Sunt autem eximii usus, praesertim ad negotia, & prudentiam sermonis privati. Labores vero Aristotelis circa colores istos in tribus claudicant. Primo, quod cum multi sint, paucos admodum recenscat. Secundo, quod elenchos suos non habeant adjunctos. Tertio, quod videtur ille usum eorum ex parte ignorasse. Usus enim eorum, non magis ad probandum, quam ad afficiendum & commovendum subservit. Complures siquidem loquendi formulae, quae idem significant, varie tamen afficiunt. Nam longe fortius penetrat, quod acuminatum est, quam quod obtusum; licet in ipsa percussione vires aequaliter intendantur. Nemo est certe, qui non magis afficiatur audiens, inimici tui de hoc miros triumphos agent:

Hoc Ithacus velit & magno mercentur Atridae;

Quam si simpliciter dicatur, hoc rebus tuis incommodabit. Itaque mucrones isti & aculei sermonum, minime sunt negligendi. Cum vero hanc rem, ut desideratam proponamus, ex consuetudine nostra, illam exemplis fulciemus; praecepta enim minus rem illustraverint.

Exempla colorum boni & mali, tam simplicis quam comparati.

Sophisma I. QUOD laudant homines & celebrant, bonum, quod vituperant & reprehendunt, malum.

Elenchus. FALLIT *Sophisma* quatuor modis; scilicet, aut propter ignorantiam; aut propter malam fidem; aut propter studia & factiones; aut propter ingenia laudatorum & vituperatorum. Propter ignorantiam; quid vulgi judicium ad examen boni & mali? Melius Phocion, qui cum populus ei praeter solitum applauderet, quaesivit, num forte deliquisset? Propter malam fidem, laudantes enim & vituperantes suam rem saepius agunt, neque loquuntur ut sentiunt.

Laudat

Laudat vaenales, qui vult extrudere merces.

ITEM, Malum est, malum est, inquit emptor; sed cum recesserit, tum gloriabitur. Propter factiones: Cuivis enim patet, consuefcere homines, eos, qui suarum partium sunt, immodicis efferre laudibus, qui autem contrariorum sunt, infra meritum deprimere. Propter ingenia; alii enim naturā facti sunt & compositi ad adulationem servilem; alii contra momi & tetrici; ut laudando & vituperando, suis ingeniis tantum obsecundent, parum de veritate solliciti.

Sophisma 2. QUOD etiam ab inimicis laudatur, magnum bonum, quod vero etiam ab amicis reprehenditur, magnum malum.

SOPHISMA fundamento hoc niti videtur, quod quae ingratiis & contra animi nostri affectum & propensionem loquimur, ea ipsa vim veritatis a nobis extorquere, facile creditur.

Elenchus. FALLIT sophisma propter astutiam, tam inimicorum quam amicorum. Inimici enim laudes quandoque tribuunt, non invite nec a vi veritatis coacti, sed eas tamen diligentes, quae inimicis suis invidiam & pericula conflare possint. Itaque apud Graecos, superstitione quaedam invaluit ut crederent, si quis ab altero laudaretur, animo malevolo & proposito nocendi, naribus ejus pustulam annasci solere. Fallit iterum, quia laudes interdum impertiunt inimici, tanquam praefatiunculas quasdam, ut postea liberius & malitiosius calumniarentur. Ex altera parte, fallit etiam hoc sophisma propter astutiam amicorum. Solent enim & illa vitia amicorum interdum agnoscere, & praedicare, non quod aliqua vis veritatis eos cogat, sed ea eligentes, quae minimum amicos suos laedere possunt, ac si caetera quidem viri optimi essent. Fallit iterum, quia amici quoque reprehensionibus suis (sicut de inimici laudibus diximus) tanquam praefatiunculis quibusdam utuntur, quo paulo post in laudes effusius excurrant.

Sophisma 3. CUJUS privatio bona, id ipsum malum: cujus privatio mala, id ipsum bonum.

Elenchus. FALLIT sophisma duobus modis: Aut propter comparisonem boni & mali: Aut propter successionem boni ad bonum, aut mali ad malum. Propter comparisonem: Si bonum fuerit generi humano, privati esu glandium, non sequitur, quod malus ille erat; sed Dodona bona, Ceres melior. Neque si malum fuit populo Syracusano, Dionysio seniore privari, sequitur quod Dionysius ille bonus fuerit, sed minus malus quam Junior. Propter successionem: Etenim privatio boni alicujus non semper dat locum malo, sed quandoque majori bono; ut cum flos decidit, fructus succedit. Nec privatio alicujus mali dat semper locum bono, sed interdum majori malo: Nam sublato inimico Clodio, Milo simul & segetem gloriae perdidit.

Sophisma 4. QUOD bono aut malo vicinum est, id ipsum itidem bonum aut malum: quod vero remotum est a bono, malum; quod a malo, bonum.

HABET hoc fere rerum natura, ut quae natura sua conveniunt, etiam locis convenient; quae vero contrariae naturae sunt, etiam intervallis distent: cum singula, amica sibi associare, inimica summoveere gaudeant.

Elenchus. SED fallit sophisma tribus modis: primo propter destitutionem, secundo propter obscuracionem, tertio propter protectionem. Propter destitutionem; fit, ut quae in suo genere amplissima sunt, & maxime excellunt, omnia, quantum fieri potest, ad se trahant, & in vicino quaeque posita destituant, ac quasi inedia conficiant. Itaque in propinquo arborum grandium virgulta nunquam laeta reperies. Recte enim ille, divitis servi
maxime

maxime servi. Nec male cavillatus est, qui inferius famulitium in aulis principum, festorum vigiliis comparavit; quae, festa sua in proximo attingunt, ipsae autem jenuniis addicuntur. Propter obscuracionem; etenim & hoc habent quaeque, in suo genere, praestantissima, ut licet proxima non extenuent aut destituant, tamen obscurent & obumbrent. Quod etiam de sole notant astronomi, quod sit scilicet aspectu bonus, conjunctione & approximatu malus. Propter protectionem; nam non solum res coeunt & congregantur propter consortium & naturae similitudinem, sed etiam malum (praesertim in civilibus) confugit ad bonum, ut lateat & protegatur. Itaque scelerati homines petunt asyla divorum, & vitium ipsum se in virtutis umbram recipit:

Saepe latet vitium proximitate boni.

Contra & bonum se aggregat ad malum, non propter consortium, sed ut illud convertat & reformet in bonum. Itaque & medici magis accedunt ad aegrotos, quam ad sanos; & Servatori nostro objectum est, quod converfaretur cum publicanis & peccatoribus.

Sophisma 5. Cui caeterae partes vel sectae, secundas unanimiter deferunt, (cum singulae principatum sibi vendicent) melior reliquis videtur: Nam primas quaeque ex zelo videtur sumere, secundas autem ex vero & merito tribuere.

Ita Cicero argumentatur, sectam academicorum, quae acatalepsiam tenuit, philosophiarum fuisse praestantissimam. *Interroga enim* (inquit) *Stoicum, quae secta sit potior; ille suam caeteris anteponet: deinde quae secundas teneat, academicam fatebitur. Age similiter cum Epicureo; (qui Stoici vix aspectum toleraverit) postquam suam sectam collocarit in summo, collocabit academicam in proximo.* Similiter, vacante dignitate aliqua, princeps si competitores singulos interrogaret, quem post se potissimum commendare vellent, verisimile est, secunda illorum vota, in eum qui praecipue dignus & optime meritus fuerit, concursura.

Elenchus. FALLIT sophisma propter invidiam. Solent enim homines proxime post se, & factionem suam, in eos inclinare & propendere, qui reliquorum maxime sint enerves & imbelles, quique eis minimum molestiae exhibuerunt, in odium illorum, qui illis plurimum insultarunt aut incommodarunt.

Sophisma 6. Cujus excellentia vel exuperantia melior, id toto genere melius.

Huc pertinent formulae illae usitatae; ne pervagemur in generalibus: conferamus particularem aliquem cum particulari, &c.

Elenchus. VIDETUR hoc sophisma satis nervosum; & magis dialecticum quiddam, quam rhetoricum. Attamen interdum fallit. Primo, quia sunt res haud paucae, periculo plurimum obnoxiae, quae tamen, si evadant, caeteris antecellant. Ita ut genere sint deteriores, quia saepius periclitantur & excidunt; individuo autem nobiliores. In hoc numero est gemma Martia, de qua Gallicum adagium: Filius Parisiorum, & gemma mensis Martii, si ex illis evadat unus, erit instar decem aliorum. Adeo ut in genere gemma Maii gemmae Martii praestet, sed tamen in individuo optima gemma Martii optimae gemmae Maii praeferatur. Fallit secundo; propter naturam rerum, in aliquibus generibus aut speciebus magis aequalem, in aliquibus magis inaequalem. Quemadmodum in observationem venit, climata calidiora generaliter ingenia producere acutiora; at in frigidioribus

ingenia illa, quae eminent, etiam acutissimis calidarum regionum praestare. Similiter, in exercitiis compluribus, si res duello inter singulos transfigeretur, fortasse ad unam partem accederet victoria; si copiis universis, in alteram. Etenim excellentiae & exuperantiae casum recipiunt; at generatur aut disciplina reguntur. Quinetiam in genere metallum lapide pretiosius; attamen adamas praecellit auro.

Sophisma 7. QUOD rem integram servat, bonum; quod sine receptu est, malum: nam se recipere non posse, impotentiae genus est; potentia autem bonum.

HINC confinxit AEsopus fabulam de duabus ranis; quae in magna siccitate, cum aquae ubique deficerent, deliberarunt, quid sibi demum agendum esset. Prior autem; descendamus (inquit) in puteum profundum, neque enim verisimile est ibi aquam defuturam. Cui altera ita regerit; quin si forte ibi quoque aqua deficiet, quomodo exinde rursus ascendere poterimus? Firmamentum autem hujus sophismatis est; quod actiones humanae adeo sint incertae, & periculis expositae, ut illud optimum videatur, quod plurima habeat effugia. Huc spectant formulae illae, quae in usu sunt: Obligatum plane & obstrictum te reddes: Non tantum, quantum voles, sumes ex fortuna, &c.

Elenchus. FALLIT sophisma primo, quia in actionibus humanis fortuna urget, ut aliquid demum decernatur. Etenim ut eleganter a quopiam dictum est; etiam non statuere, est aliquid statuere: Adeo ut saepenumero consilii suspensio pluribus nos implicet necessitatibus; quam si aliquid statuissemus. Videtur autem iste morbus quidam animi, similis ei, qui reperitur in avaris: sed translatus a cupiditate retinendi opes, ad cupiditatem retinendi arbitrium & potestatem. Siquidem avarus frui non vult, ne quid detrahat de summa; ita & hujusmodi scepticus nil exequi vult, ut omnia ei sint integra. Fallit secundo, quia necessitas, & illud (quod aiunt) jacta est alea, stimulos addit animis; sicut inquit ille, caeteris pares, necessitate certe superiores estis.

Sophisma 8. QUOD quis culpa sua contraxit, majus malum; quod ab externis imponitur, minus malum,

HUJUS rei causa est, quod morsus conscientiae adversa conduplicet: contra, conscium sibi esse, quod culpa quis vacet, magnum praebet in calamitate solatium. Itaque poetae ea pathemata maxime exaggerant, tanquam desperationi propiora, ubi quis seipsum accuset, & discruciet:

Seque unum clamat causamque caputque malorum.

Contra, calamitates virorum insignium elevat & diluit innocentiae & meriti conscientia. Porro cum malum ab aliis intentetur, habet quivis, quod libere conqueri possit, unde dolores sui exhalent, neque cor suffocent: etenim iis, quae ab injuria hominum profecta sunt, indignari solemus, aut ultionem meditari, aut denique nemesis divinam vel implorare vel expectare: quinetiam, si a fortuna ipsa inflicta quid sit, tamen datur quaedam cum satis ipsis expositulatio:

Atque Deos, atque astra vocat crudelia mater.

Contra, ubi quis malum aliquod sua culpa contraxerit, stimuli doloris intro vertuntur, animumque magis vulnerant & confodiunt.

Elenchus. FALLIT istud Sophisma, primo propter spem; quae malorum magnum est antidotum. Etenim culpa emendatio, saepe in nostra potestate

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potestate sita est; fortunae vero minime. Itaque Demosthenes, non semel cives suos huiusmodi verbis affatus est; *Quod ad praeterita pessimum, id ad futura optimum est. Quid hoc tandem sit? Hoc ipsum scilicet, quod vestra incuria & culpa res vestrae male se habeant: Nam si vos officio vestro per omnia perfuncti essetis, & nihilominus status vester ut nunc, laborasset, ne spes quidem reliqua esset, eum futurum aliquando meliorem. Cum vero errores vestri in causa potissimum fuerint; confidendum plane, vos, illis emendatis, pristinum statum vestrum recuperaturos.* Similiter Epictetus de gradibus tranquillitatis animi verba faciens; infimum locum illis attribuit, qui alios accusant: superiorem iis, qui seipsos; supremum vero illis, qui nec alios nec seipsos. Fallit secundo, propter infitam animis humanis superbiam; qua aegre adducuntur homines, ut errores proprios agnoscant. Hoc vero ut evitent, patientiam adhibent longe maiorem in iis malis, quae culpa sua contraxerunt. Etenim, quemadmodum fieri videmus, ut cum culpa admissa sit, neque de auctore constiterit, supra modum excandescant homines & tumultuentur: quod si postea in notitiam pervenerit, culpam illam ad filium, aut uxorem aut gratiosum aliquem pertinere, statim sedantur turbae & consilescunt: Eodem modo fit, cum res aliqua accidit, propter quam necessitas incumbit, culpam in nos ipsos recipiendi. Id quod in mulieribus saepissime conspicitur, quae si quid infelici-ter egerunt, contra consensum parentum aut amicorum, quaecunque infortu-nium sequatur, illud sedulo dissimulabunt.

Sophisma 9. GRADUS privationis major videtur, quam gradus diminutionis: & rursus; gradus inceptionis major videtur quam gradus incrementi.

CANON est in mathematicis; nullas esse rationes nihili ad aliquid. Itaque gradus nullitatis & quidditatis, majores videntur gradibus incrementi & decrementi. Sicut monoculo durius est, unum perdere oculum, quam utrumque oculum habenti. Similiter complures liberos habenti gravius est, ultimum, qui superstes fuerit, filium amittere, quam reliquos priores. Itaque & Sibylla, cum duos priores libros combussisset, pretium tertii duplicavit: Siquidem illius amissio gradus fuisset privationis, non diminutionis.

Elenchus. FALLIT sophisma primo, propter eas res, quarum usus in sufficientia quadam, sive competentia; hoc est, quantitate determinata, consistit. Si quis enim obligetur poenaliter ad solutionem certae pecuniae summae, ad diem certum; gravius ei fuerit, nummo unico aureo carere, quam si posito quod ille unicus parari non potuerit, deessent etiam decem alii. Similiter in decoctionibus fortunarum, damnosior videtur gradus obaerationis, qui primus fortem minuit; quam extremus, qui ad egestatem redigit. Huc spectant formulae illae usitatae: fera in fundo parsimonia: parum interest, utrum nihil habeas, an quod nihil juvet, &c. Fallit secundo, propter illud principium in natura, quod corruptio unius, sit generatio alterius. Adeo ut gradus ipse privationis ultimae, minus interdum incommodet, quoniam ansam & stimulum praebet novae alicui rationi ineundae. Unde etiam Demosthenes saepius conqueritur apud cives suos: *Conditiones minus utiles, & honorificas, quas a Philippo impositas subibant, nihil aliud esse, quam alimenta quaedam ipsorum ignaviae & socordiae; ut multo iis fuisset satius illis omnino carere, propterea quod hoc pacto industria illorum melius acui possit ad alia paranda remedia.* Novimus certe medicum quendam, qui, mulieribus delicatis, querentibus se male habere, sed tamen a medicamentis omnibus abhorrere, solebat dicere, non minus facete, quam morose:

morose: Vobis omnino opus est, ut deterius valeatis, quo medicamenta, etiam quaelibet, libenter toleretis. Quinetiam ipse gradus privationis, sive indigentiae ultimae, salutaris esse possit, non tantum ad excitandam industriam, verum etiam ad imperandam patientiam.

QUOD ad secundum membrum hujus sophismatis, illud eodem, quo prius, fundamento (de gradibus quidditatis & nullitatis) nititur. Hinc tanta usurpantur, de initiis negotiorum, praeconia.

Dimidium facti, qui bene coepit, habet, &c.

Hinc astrologorum superstitio; qui iudicium faciunt de dispositione aut fortuna hominis, ex momento sive articulo nativitatis aut conceptus.

Elenchus. FALLIT sophisma primo, quoniam in nonnullis primae rerum inceptions nihil aliud sunt, quam quae Epicurus, in philosophia sua, appellat tentamenta; id est, rudimenta quaedam, quae nihili sunt, nisi iterentur aut provehantur. Itaque in hoc casu, gradus secundus dignior videtur & potentior, quam primus: Quemadmodum in plaustris, equus qui penultimus est, plus confert ad motum plaustris, quam primus. Etiam non inepte dici solet; convitium regeſtum, illud esse, quod pugnae sit reum. Prius enim fortasse praetervolaturum fuisset: Itaque prius malo principium dedit, sed posterius modum abstulit. Fallit sophisma secundo, propter dignitatem perseverantiae; quae in progressu, non in aggressu sita est. Etenim casus, aut natura, primum impetum progignere possunt; at affectus tantummodo maturus & iudicium, constantiam. Fallit tertio in iis rebus, quarum natura & cursus ordinarius in contrarium rei inceptae fertur. Ita ut prima inceptio perpetuo evacuetur, nisi vires continuentur. Quemadmodum in formulis illis usitatis dicitur; Non progredi, est regredi: Et, Qui non proficit, deficit: Ut in cursu in adversum montis; remigatione in adversum gurgitis: At contra, si in declivi montis motus incipiat; aut secundo flumine remigatio fiat; tum gradus inceptus longe potiores partes tenet. Porro iste color, non tantum extenditur ad gradum inceptionis, qui sit a potentia ad actum, comparatum cum gradu, qui sit ab actu ad incrementum: verum etiam ad gradum qui sit ab impotentia ad potentiam, comparatum cum gradu, qui sit a potentia ad actum. Etenim gradus ab impotentia ad potentiam, major videtur, quam a potentia ad actum.

Sophisma 10. QUOD ad veritatem refertur, majus est, quam quod ad opinionem. Modus autem, & probatio ejus, quod ad opinionem pertinet, haec est, quod quis, si clam putaret fore, facturum non esset.

ITA pronunciant Epicurei de felicitate Stoicorum, in virtute collocata, quod similis sit felicitati histrionis in scena; qui si a spectatoribus & plausu eorum destitueretur, animis statim concideret. Itaque virtutem per ignominiam, bonum theatrale vocant. Aliter fit in divitiis; de quibus ille:

Populus me sibilat; at mihi plaudo.

Itidem in voluptate.

—— *Grata sub imo*

Gaudia corde premens, vultu simulante pudorem.

Elenchus. FALLACIA hujus sophismatis subtilior paulo est; licet responsio ad exemplum, quod adducitur, facilis. Neque enim virtus eligitur propter auram popularem. Cum etiam illud praeceptum sit, Ut quis maxime omnium seipsum revereatur. Ita ut vir bonus, idem fuerit in solitudine, idem in theatro. Licet forte intendatur virtus nonnihil per laudes, quemadmodum

admodum calor augetur per reflexionem. Sed hoc suppositionem negat, non fallaciam redarguit. Elenchus vero talis est. Dato, quod virtus (praesertim ea, quae labores & conflictus subit) non eligeretur, nisi quod laudes & fama eam comitari soleant; haud inde sequitur, quod appetitus & motus ad virtutem, non sit praecipue propter se. Siquidem fama, possit esse causa tantum impulsiva, aut sine qua non; neutiquam efficiens aut constituens. Exempli gratia; si duo fuerint equi, quorum unus, calcaribus non admotis, quaevis haud segniter praestaret; at alter, calcaribus admotis, priorem longe superaret: posterior iste (arbitror) palmam referet, & pro equo meliore judicabitur. Neque quenquam iudicii sani commoverit formula illa: Apage istum equum, cujus spiritus siti sunt in calcaribus. Quandoquidem enim instrumentum ordinarium equitanti fit calcar, neque ullo modo oneri aut impedimento ei sit; non minoris propterea aestimandus est equus, qui calcare incitatur: neque etiam ille alter, qui absque calcaribus mira praestet, eo ipso melior, sed delicatior tantum habendus est. Simili ratione, gloria & honor, virtuti, pro stimulis & calcaribus, subserviunt: Ac licet virtus, sine illis, paulo futura esset languidior; tamen cum semper illa praesto sint ei, etiam non invitata; nil officit, quo minus virtus propter se quoque expectatur. Itaque recte redarguitur illa positio: Nota ejus rei, quod propter opinionem, & non propter veritatem eligitur, haec est; quod quis, si clam putaret fore, facturus non fuisset.

Sophisma II. QUOD opera & virtute nostra partum est, majus bonum; quod ab alieno beneficio, vel ab indulgentia fortunae delatum, est minus bonum.

CAUSAE hujus rei hae sunt. Primo propter spem de futuro. Siquidem in aliorum gratia, aut fortunae ipsius ventis secundis, non multum inest certitudinis; propria vero industria aut virtus, semper domi adsunt. Adeo ut postquam boni quid nobis hoc modo paratum fuerit, maneant etiam eadem instrumenta in novos usus parata, quin & consuetudine & successu reddita validiora. Secundo, quia quod alieno beneficio adipiscimur, ejus etiam aliis debitores sumus: cum quae per nos ipsi comparaverimus, nihil oneris secum trahant. Etiam si quid indulgentia divina in nos cumulaverit, retributionem quandam erga Dei bonitatem efflagitat, quod homines pravos & improbos mordet, ubi in priore genere illud prophetae usuvenerit, laetantur, & exultant, *immolant plagis suis & sacrificant reti suo*. Tertio quia ea, quae a virtute nostra minime profecta sunt, nulla sequitur laus & existimatio. Quae enim felicitatis sunt, admirationem quandam pariunt, laudem minime. Sicut ait Cicero ad Caesarem: Quae miremur habemus; quae laudemus expectamus. Quarto quia quae industria propria acquiruntur, cum laboribus & contentione fere conjuncta sunt; quod nonnullam habet in se suavitatem; uti Solomon, *suavis cibus a venatu*.

Elenchus. AT quatuor inveniuntur colores oppositi, qui rem in contrariam partem inclinant, possintque esse prioribus instar elenchorum. Primo, quia felicitas videtur esse signum quoddam & character favoris divini: & propterea tum in nobismetipsis confidentiam & alacritatem generat, tum apud alios auctoritatem & reverentiam. Felicitas autem ista etiam fortuita complectitur, ad quae virtus aegre aspirat; veluti cum Caesar ad navis gubernatorem, animos addendo dixit: Caesarem portas & fortunam ejus. Quod si dixisset, Caesarem portas & virtutem ejus, frigidum prorsus fuisset solatium periclitanti in procella. Secundo, quia ea quae a virtute aut industria procedunt, sunt imitabilia & aliis patent; cum felicitas sit res inimitabilis,

& praerogativa quaedam hominis individui. Itaque in genere videmus, res naturales artificialibus praeponi, quia imitationem non recipiunt. Quod enim imitabile est, potentia vulgatum est. Tertio, quae ex felicitate proveniunt, bona videntur gratuita nec laboribus empta: At quae virtute propria pretio veluti acquisita. Itaque eleganter Plutarchus, de rebus Timoleontis hominis longe fortunatissimi, cum rebus Agefilai & Epaminondae, qui uno aevo vixerunt, comparatis, dixit: Illas Homeri carminibus fuisse similes, quae cum alias excellent, sponte etiam fluere videantur & quasi genium sapere. Quarto, quia, quod praeter spem aut praeter expectatum contingit, gratius & majore cum voluptate in hominum animos influit. Illud vero neutiquam competit iis, quae propria cura & ambitu comparantur.

Sophisma 12. QUOD ex pluribus constat & divisibilibus, est majus quam quod ex paucioribus, & magis unum: Nam omnia per partes considerata majora videntur: Quare & pluralitas partium, magnitudinem prae se fert: Fortius autem operatur pluralitas partium si ordo absit: Nam inducit similitudinem infiniti & impedit comprehensionem.

SOPHISMA istud videtur etiam primo intuitu fallax, & quasi palpabile: Siquidem, non pluralitas partium tantum, sed majoritas earundem, poterit constituere totum auctius. Attamen abripit hoc ipsum sophisma saepius phantasia; quinetiam insidiatur sensui. Etenim aspectui ipsi brevior videtur via in planitie, ubi nihil intercurrat quod visum frangat, quam in tali tractu terrae, ubi simul conspiciuntur arbores, aut aedificia, aut aliud aliquod signum, quod spatium metiri & dividere possit. Sic homini bene nummato, postquam arcas suas & marsupia diviserit & digesserit, major etiam quam antea subit divitiarum phantasia. Habet etiam vim in amplificationibus, si res in plures portiones dividatur, atque singulae seorsum tractentur. Hoc vero adhuc magis phantasia implet, si fiat promiscue & sine ordine. Confusio enim multitudinis opinionem generat. Siquidem quae ordine ostenduntur aut proponuntur, tum ipsa magis finita apparent, tum certum praebent argumentum, nihil esse praetermissum. At contra quae confuse repraesentantur, non solum in se numerosa putantur, sed & suspicioni locum relinquunt, restare adhuc plura quae omittuntur.

Elenchus. FALLIT sophisma primo, ubi quis ampliorem praeceperit de re aliqua opinionem, quam pro vera rei ipsius magnitudine. Etenim cum hoc fit, distributio falsam illam opinionem destruet, & rem in veritate sua, non autem cum amplificatione monstrabit. Itaque si quis morbo aut dolore corripiatur, horae longiores ei videbuntur, absque horologio aut clepsydra, quam si iisdem mensurentur. Nam si taedium & vexatio morbi, tempus videri longius faciunt, quam revera est, at computatio temporis errorem illum corrigit & brevius facit, quam opinio illa falsa conceperat. Etiam in planitie contra, quam superius dictum est, aliquando evenit. Licet enim visus in principio viam ostendet brevioris sensui, quia indivisa est: tamen si ex eo obrepat opinio de longe minori intervallo quam reperitur: opinionis ejus vanae frustratio efficiet, ut videatur demum etiam, quam revera est, productior. Itaque si quis opinioni alicujus falsae de magnitudine rei cujuscumque velificari cupiat, caveat a distributionibus, sed rem integram utique extollat. Fallit sophisma secundo, si distributio ea distrahat, non autem simul obversetur, aut uno aspectu visum feriat. Itaque si flores in horto aliquo in plures torulos distinguantur, majoris quantitatis speciem praebent, quam si omnes in uno toro simul crescerent; modo toruli illi oculis simul subjiciantur; aliter enim unio distributioni distractae praeva-

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praevalebit. Sic reditus eorum majores videntur, quibus praedia & latifundia sua vicina aut conjuncta sunt. Nam si sparsim sita sint, non veniunt tam facile sub aspectum. Fallit sopherma tertio propter dignitatem unitatis supra multitudinem. Omnis enim compositio, indigentiae in singulis signum est certissimum; ubi illud usu venit:

Et quae non prosunt singula multa juvant.

Itaque Mariae partes potiores; Martha, Martha, attendis ad plurima, unum sufficit. Hinc illa fabula AEsopi de vulpe & feli. Jactabat enim vulpes, quantas artes haberet & effugia, quibus se a canibus eriperet; felis autem se unico tantum confidere auxilio dixit, utpote quae tenuem scandendi facultatem haberet. Quod tamen reliquis illis vulpinis longe praestantius praesidium fuit: unde adagium; multa novit vulpes, sed felis unum magnum. Quin etiam in hujus fabulae significatione morali idem cernitur: Nam potenti & fido amico niti, plus praesidii habet, quam artes & astutiae complurimae.

ATQUE haec exempli loco sufficient. Supereft autem nobis ejusmodi colorum numerus etiam magnus, quos olim adolescentes congestimus: attamen sine illustrationibus suis, atque elenchis; quos hoc tempore concinnare non vacat: ideoque colores illos nudos, absque illustrationibus suis, (cum superiores isti vestiti prodeant,) proponere, minime nobis consentaneum videtur. Illud interim monemus rem istam, qualiscunque ea videri possit, haud parvi, judicio nostro, esse pretii: utpote quae ex philosophia prima, & ex politica, & ex rhetorica participet. Atque de signis popularibus, five coloribus boni ac mali apparentis, tam simplicis quam comparati haecenus.

SECUNDA collectio, quae pertinet ad promptuariam & desideratur, ea est, quam Cicero (ut superius in logica diximus) innuit; cum praecipit, ut in promptu habeantur loci communes in utramque partem disputati & tractati. Quales sunt pro verbis legis, & pro sententia legis, &c. Nos vero hoc praeceptum, etiam ad alia extendimus; ut non solum ad genus judiciale, sed etiam ad deliberativum & demonstrativum adhibeatur. Omnino hoc volumus locos omnes, quorum frequens est usus, (five ad probationes & refutationes, five ad suasiones & dissuasiones, five ad laudes & vituperia spectent;) meditados jam haberi, eosque ultimis ingenii viribus, & tanquam improbe, & prorsus praeter veritatem, attolli & deprimi. Modum autem hujus collectionis, tam ad usum quam ad brevitatem, optimum fore censemus, si hujusmodi loci contrahantur in sententias quasdam acutas & concisas; tanquam glomos quosdam, quorum fila in fusiores discursus, cum res postulat, explicari possint. Atque similem quandam diligentiam in Seneca reperimus, sed in hypothefibus five casibus. Ejus generis cum plurima parata habeamus, aliqua ad exemplum proponere visum est. Ea autem antitheta rerum nominamus.

Exempla Antithetorum.

Nobilitas. I.

Pro. **Q**UIBUS virtus a genere penitus insita est; ii jam non mali esse nolunt, sed nequeunt.

NOBILITAS laurea, qua tempus homines coronat.

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ANTIQUITATEM etiam in monumentis mortuis veneramur; quanto magis in vivis?

SI nobilitatem familiarum contempnas, quae tandem erit differentia, inter sobolem hominum & brutorum?

NOBILITAS virtutem invidiae subducit, gratiae tradit.

Contra. RARO ex virtute nobilitas; rarius ex nobilitate virtus.

NOBILES majorum deprecatione ad veniam saepius utuntur, quam suffragatione ad honores.

TANTA solet esse industria hominum novorum, ut nobiles prae illis tanquam statuae videantur.

NOBILES in stadio respuant nimis saepe; quod mali cursoris est.

Forma. II.

Pro. DEFORMES naturam ulcisci solent.

ET virtus nil aliud, quam interna forma; & forma nil aliud, quam externa virtus.

DEFORMES se a contemptu, per malitiam utique suam, vindicare cupiunt.

FORMA virtutes splendere facit, vitia rubere.

Cont. VIRTUS, ut gemma nobilis, melius inferitur sine multo auro & ornatu.

QUOD vestis lauta deformi, hoc forma improbo.

SIMILITER plerunque leves sunt, quos forma ornat, & quos movet.

Juventus. III.

Pro. PRIMAE cogitationes, & juvenum consilia, plus habent e Numine.

SENEs sibi sapiunt magis; aliis, & reipublicae, minus.

SI conspici daretur, magis deformat animos quam corpora senectus.

SENEs omnia metuunt, praeter Deos.

Cont. JUVENTUS poenitentiae campus.

INGENITUS est juvenibus senilis auctoritatis contemptus; ut quisque suo periculo sapiat.

TEMPUS, ad quae consilia non advocatur, nec rata habet.

SENIbus veneres mutantur in gratias.

Valetudo. IV.

Pro. CURA valetudinis animum humilem facit, & corpori supplicem.

CORPUS sanum, hospes animae est; aegrum, ergastularius.

NIL tam summas actionum promovet, quam prospera valetudo; at contra, infirma feriatur nimis.

Cont. SAEPE convalescere, est saepe juvenescere.

EXCUSATIO valetudinis polychresta; ad quam etiam sani confugimus.

NIMIS arcto foedere corpus animae jungit sanitas.

ET lectus magna imperia administravit, & lectica magnos exercitus.

Uxor & Liberi. V.

Pro. CHARITAS reipublicae incipit a familia.

UXOR & liberi disciplina quaedam humanitatis; at coelibes tetrici & feveri.

COELIBATUS & orbitas ad nil aliud conferunt; quam ad fugam.

MORTI sacrificat, qui liberos non procreat.

CAETERA

CAETERA felices, in liberis fere infortunati sunt; ne divinae forti nimium appropinquent homines.

Cont. QUI uxorem duxit, & liberos suscepit, obsides fortunae dedit.

GENERARE & liberi, humana sunt; creare & opera, divina.

BRUTORUM aeternitas soboles: virorum fama, merita & instituta.

OECONOMICAER rationes publicas plerunque evertunt.

ALIQUIBUS fortuna Priami placuit, qui suis omnibus superstes fuit.

Divitiae. VI.

Pro. DIVITIAS contemnunt, qui desperant.

INVIDIA divitiarum, virtutem effecit deam.

DUM philosophi dubitant, utrum ad virtutem an voluptatem omnia sint referenda, collige instrumenta utriusque.

VIRTUS per divitias vertitur in commune bonum.

CAETERA bona provincialem habent administrationem, divitiae solae generalem.

Cont. DIVITIARUM magnarum vel custodia est, vel dispensatio quaedam, vel fama; at nullus usus.

ANNON vides lapillis, & id genus deliciis, fingi pretia; ut possit esse aliquis magnarum divitiarum usus?

MULTI, dum divitiis suis omnia vaenalia fore crediderunt, ipsi in primis vaenierunt.

NON aliud divitias dixerim, quam impedimenta virtutis: Nam virtuti & necessariae sunt & graves.

DIVITIAE bona ancilla, pessima domina.

Honores. VII.

Pro. HONORES non tyrannorum, (ut loquuntur) sed providentiae divinae calculi sunt.

HONORES faciunt & virtutes & vitia conspicua: itaque illas provocant, haec refraenant.

NON novit quispiam, quantum in virtutis cursu profecerit: nisi honores ei campum praebeant apertum.

VIRTUTIS, ut rerum aliarum, rapidus motus est ad locum, placidus in loco: Est autem virtutis locus honos.

Cont. DUM honores appetimus, libertatem exuimus.

HONORES dant fere potestatem earum rerum, quas optima conditio est nolle, proxima non posse.

HONORUM ascensus arduus, statio lubrica, regressus praeceps.

QUI in honore sunt, vulgi opinionem mutuentur oportet, ut seipsos beatos putent.

Imperia. VIII.

Pro. FELICITATE frui, magnum bonum est, sed eam & aliis imperiri posse, adhuc majus.

REGES non hominum instar, sed astrorum sunt: Nam & in singulos, & in tempora ipsa, magnum habent influxum.

QUI Dei vices gerunt, iis resistere, non tantum laesae majestatis crimen est, sed theomachia quaedam.

Cont. QUAM miserum, habere nil fere quod appetas, infinita quae metuas.

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QUI in imperiis sunt, similes sunt corporibus coelestibus, quae magnam venerationem habent, requiem nullam.

NEMO humanae fortis ad deorum convivia admittitur, nisi ad ludibrium.

Laus, Existimatio. IX.

Pro. **V**IRTUTIS radii reflexi laudes.

LAUS honoris est, ad quem liberis suffragiis pervenitur.

HONORES a diversis politis conferuntur, sed laudes ubique sunt libertatis.

VOX populi habet aliquid divinum: Nam quomodo aliter tot capita in unum conspirare possint?

NE mireris, si vulgus verius loquatur, quam honoratior: quia etiam tutius loquitur.

Cont. **F**AMA deterior iudex, quam nuncia.

QUID viro bono cum saliva vulgi?

FAMA veluti fluvius, levata attollit, solida mergit.

INFIMARUM virtutum apud vulgus laus est, mediarum admiratio, supremarum sensus nullus.

LAUS magis ex ostentatione, quam ex merito; & ventosis magis accedit, quam realibus.

Natura. X.

Pro. **C**ONSUETUDINIS progressus est arithmeticus, naturae geometricus.

UT in rebus publicis se habent leges communes erga consuetudines, eodem modo in singulis se habet natura ad consuetudinem.

CONSUETUDO contra naturam quasi tyrannis quaedam est: & cito, ac levi occasione corrumpit.

Cont. **C**OGITAMUS secundum naturam, loquimur secundum praecepta; sed agimus secundum consuetudinem.

NATURA pedantius quidam est, consuetudo magistratus.

Fortuna. XI.

Pro. **V**IRTUTES apertae laudes pariunt, occultae fortunas.

VIRTUTES officiorum laudes pariunt, facultatum fortunas.

FORTUNA veluti galaxia, hoc est, nodus quarundam obscurarum virtutum, sine nomine.

FORTUNA saltem ob filias suas honoranda est, confidentiam scilicet, & auctoritatem.

Cont. **S**TULTITIA unius, fortuna alterius.

IN fortuna illud praecipue laudaverim, quod cum non eligat, non tueatur.

VIRI magni, dum invidiam virtutum suarum declinarunt, inter fortunae cultores reperti sunt.

Vita. XII.

Pro. **A**BSURDUM est accidentia vitae magis amare, quam vitam ipsam.

PRAESTAT ad omnia, etiam ad virtutem, curriculum longum, quam breve.

ABSQUE spatio vitae majoribus, nec perficere datur, nec perdiscere, nec poenitere.

Cont. **P**HILOSOPHI dum tantum apparatus adversus mortem colligunt, ipsam magis timendam effecerunt.

I

MORTEM

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MORTEM homines timent, quia nesciunt, ut pueri tenebras.

NON invenias inter humanos affectum tam pusillum, qui si intendatur paulo vehementius, non mortis metum superet.

MORI velle, non tantum fortis, aut miser, aut prudens, sed etiam fastidiosus potest.

Superstitio. XIII.

Pro. QUI zelo peccant, non probandi, sed tamen amandi sunt.

MEDIOCRITATES moralibus debentur, extremitates divinis.

SUPERSTITIOSUS, religiosus designatus.

FABULOSISSIMA quaeque portenta cujusvis religionis citius crediderim, quam haec omnia sine Numine fieri.

Cont. UT simiae, similitudo cum homine, deformitatem addit: ita superstitioni, similitudo cum religione.

QUALE odium est affectationis in civilibus, tale superstitionis in divinis.

PRAESTAT nullam habere de diis opinionem, quam contumeliosam.

NON Epicuri schola, sed Stoa, veteres respublicas perturbavit.

NON cadit in mentem humanam, ut sit merus atheista dogmate; sed magni hypocritae, sunt veri atheistae: qui sacra perpetuo contrectant, sed nunquam verentur.

Superbia. XIV.

Pro. SUPERBIA etiam vitii insociabilis; atque ut venenum veneno, ita haud pauca vitia superbia expelluntur.

FACILIS, etiam alienis vitiis obnoxius est: superbus, tantum suis.

SUPERBIA, si ab aliorum contemptu, ad sui contemptum ascendet, fiet demum philosophia.

Cont. HEDERA virtutum ac bonorum omnium superbia.

CAETERA vitia virtutibus tantum contraria; superbia sola contagiosa.

SUPERBIA optima vitiorum conditione caret, id est, latebris.

SUPERBUS, cum caeteros contemnit, se interim negligit.

Ingratitudo. XV.

Pro. CRIMEN ingrati animi nil aliud est, quam perspicacia quaedam in causam beneficii collati.

DUM grati erga quosdam esse volumus; nec caeteris justitiam praestamus, nec nobis ipsis libertatem.

BENEFICII gratia eo minus reddenda est, quod de pretio non constat.

Cont. CRIMEN ingrati animi, non suppliciis coercetur, sed furis permittitur.

ARCTIORA sunt vincula beneficiorum, quam officiorum: quare qui ingratus, etiam injustus & omnia.

EA est conditio humana: Nemo tam publica fortuna natus est, quin privatae & gratiae & vindictae, se omnino debeat.

Invidia. XVI.

Pro. NATURALE est exprobrationem fortunae suae odisse.

INVIDIA in rebus publicis, tanquam salubris ostracismus.

Cont. INVIDIA festos dies non agit.

NEMO virtuti invidiam reconciliaverit praeter mortem.

INVIDIA virtutes laboribus exercet, ut Juno Herculem.

Impudi-

Impudicitia. XVII.

Pro. ZELOTYPIAE debetur, quod castitas fit facta virtus.

MULTA tristitia opus est, ut quis venerem rem seriam putet.

QUID vel diaetae partem, vel munditiae speciem, vel superbiae filiam, inter virtutes collocas?

AMORUM, ut avium sylvestrium, nulla proprietas est, sed jus possessione transfertur.

Cont. PESSIMA Circes transformatio impudicitia.

IMPUDICUS prorsus reverentiam sui perdidit; quod fraenum est omnium vitiorum.

OMNES ut Paris, qui formae optionem faciunt, prudentiae & potentiae jacturam faciunt.

IN veritatem non vulgarem incidit Alexander; cum somnum & venerem, mortis arrhabones esse dixit.

Crudelitas. XVIII.

Pro. NULLA virtutum tam saepe rea est, quam clementia.

CRUDELITAS, si a vindicta est, justitia est; si a periculo, prudentia.

QUI misericordiam inimico impertit, sibi denegat.

NON saepius phlebotomiae necessariae sunt in curationibus, quam caedes in civilibus.

Cont. CAEDIBUS grassari, aut ferae, aut furiae est.

CRUDELITAS viro bono semper fabulosa esse videtur, & fictio tragica.

Gloria vana. XIX.

Pro. QUI suas laudes appetit, aliorum simul appetit utilitates.

QUI tam sobrius est, ut nihil alienum curet, vereor ne & publica aliena putet.

INGENIA in quibus aliquid inane est, facilius curam reipublicae recipiunt.

Cont. GLORIOSI semper factiosi, mendaces, mobiles, nimii.

THRASO Gnathonis praeda.

TURPE est proco sollicitare ancillam; est autem virtutis ancilla laus.

Justitia. XX.

Pro. IMPERIA & politiae, justitiae tantum additamenta sunt: Si enim justitia aliter possit exerceri, illis minime fuerit opus.

JUSTITIAE debetur, quod homo homini sit Deus, non lupo.

JUSTITIA etsi vitia tollere non possit, tamen hoc efficit, ut non laedant.

Cont. SI hoc est justum esse; quae tibi fieri nolis, ea alteri non facere, clementia demum justitia est.

SI suum cuiquetribuendum est, certe & venia humanitati.

QUID mihi aequitatem narras, cum sapienti omnia inaequalia sint?

CONSIDERA qualis reorum conditio fuerit apud Romanos, & pronuncia justitiam e reipublica non esse.

VULGARIS ista justitia politiarum, philosophus in aula: hoc est, facit tantum ad reverentiam imperantium.

Fortitudo. XXI.

Pro. NIL terribile nisi ipse timor.

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NIL aut in voluptate solidum, aut in virtute munitum, ubi timor infestat.

QUI pericula apertis oculis intuetur ut excipiat, advertit & ut evitet.

CAETERAE virtutes nos a dominatu liberant vitiorum; fortitudo sola a dominatu fortunae.

Cont. PRAECLARA virtus velle perire ut perdas.

PRAECLARA virtus quam etiam ebrietas inducit.

VITAE suae prodigus alienae periculosus.

VIRTUS ferreae aetatis fortitudo.

Temperantia. XXII.

Pro. EADEM fere vis abstinendi & sustinendi.

UNIFORMITATES, concordiae & mensurae motuum, coelestia sunt, & characteres aeternitatis.

TEMPERANTIA, velut frigora salubria, animi vires colligit & firmat.

EXQUISITI & vagi sensus narcoticis indigent; similiter & affectus.

Cont. NEGATIVAE istae virtutes non placent; nam innocentiam praestant, non merita.

LANGUET mens, quae excessibus caret.

AMO virtutes, quae excellentiam actionis inducunt, non hebetudinem passionis.

CUM consonantes animi motus ponis, paucos ponis; nam pauperis est numerare pecus.

ISTA (non uti, ut non appetas; non appetere ut non timeas) pusillanimitas sunt & diffidentis.

Constantia. XXIII.

Pro. BASIS virtutum constantia.

MISER est, qui qualis ipse futurus sit, non novit.

IMBECILLITAS humani iudicii, rebus ipsis constare non potest; quare saltem sibi constet.

ETIAM vitiis decus aspirat constantia.

SI ad fortunae inconstantiam accedat etiam inconstantia mentis, in quantis tenebris vivitur?

FORTUNA, tanquam Proteus, si perseveres ad formam redit.

Cont. CONSTANTIA, ut janitrix morosa, multa utilia indicia abigit.

Aequum est, ut constantia res adversas bene toleret; nam fere inducit. STULTITIA brevissima optima.

Magnanimitas. XXIV.

Pro. SI animus semel generosos fines optaverit; statim non modo virtutes circumstant, sed & Numina.

VIRTUTES ex habitu, aut praeceptis, gregales sunt; ex fine, heroicae.

Cont. MAGNANIMITAS est virtus poetica.

Scientia, Contemplatio. XXV.

Pro. EA demum voluptas est secundum naturam, cujus non est satietas.

DULCISSIMUS prospectus in errores aliorum subjacentes.

QUAM bonum est, orbis mentis habere concentricos universo?

OMNES affectus pravi, falsae aestimationes sunt; atque eadem sunt bonitas & veritas.

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Cont. CONTEMPLATIO, speciosa inertia.

BENE cogitare, non multo melius est, quam bene somniare.

ORBEM Numen curat, tu patriam.

VIR politicus etiam contemplationes ferit.

Literae. XXVI.

Pro. SI de rebus minutis, libri scripti forent, vix ullus esset experientiae usus.

LECTIO est conversatio cum prudentibus; actio fere cum stultis.

NON inutiles scientiae existimandae sunt, quarum in se nullus est usus, si ingenia acuant & ordinent.

Cont. IN academiis discunt credere.

QUAE unquam ars docuit tempestivum artis usum?

SAPERE ex regula, & ex experientia, plane contrariae rationes sunt; ut qui alteri assuefactus sit, ad alterum sit ineptus.

ARTIS saepissime ineptus usus est, ne sit nullus.

HOC fere omnes academici habent, ut ex qualibet re soleant agnoscere quod sciant, & non addiscere quod nesciant.

Promptitudo. XXVII.

Pro. OPPORTUNA prudentia non est, quae celeris non est.

QUI cito errat, cito errorem emendat.

QUI ex composito & non obiter prudens est, nil magni facit.

Cont. PRUDENTIA non alte petitur, quae praesto est.

PRUDENTIA, ut vestis, levis, quae expedita.

CUJUS consilia non maturat deliberatio, nec prudentiam aetas.

QUAE ad breve tempus excogitantur, ad breve tempus placent.

Taciturnitas in secretis. XXVIII.

Pro. TACITURNO nil reticetur, quia omnia tuto communicantur.

QUI facile loquitur quae scit, loquitur & quae nescit.

SECRETIS etiam mysteria debentur.

Cont. VARIETAS morum optime animum collocat in secreto.

TACITURNITAS confessoris virtus.

TACITURNO omnia reticentur, quia silentium rependitur.

TECTUS, ignoto proximus.

Facilitas. XXIX.

Pro. AMO virum alieno affectui obnoxium, sed tamen iudicium ab obsequio revocantem.

FLEXIBILEM esse, ad naturam auri proxime accedit.

Cont. FACILITAS, iudicii quaedam inepta privatio.

FACILIUM beneficia, debita videntur; negationes, injuriae.

SIBI gratiam habet, qui a facili aliquid impetrat.

FACILEM omnes difficultates premunt; nam omnibus se implicat.

FACILIS fere se recipit cum pudore.

Popularitas. XXX.

Pro. PRUDENTIBUS eadem fere placent, at stultorum varietati occurrere prudentiae est.

COLERE populum, est coli.

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QUI ipsi magni viri sunt, neminem unum fere habent, quem vereantur, sed populum.

Cont. QUI valde cum stultis congruit, ipse suspectus esse potest.

QUI turbae placet, fere & turbas miscet.

NIL moderatum vulgo gratum est.

INFIMA assentatio est assentatio vulgi.

Loquacitas. XXXI.

Pro. QUI fileat, aut alios habet pro suspectis, aut suspectus est ipse sibi.

CUSTODIAE omnes infelices; miserrima silentii.

SILENTIUM stultorum virtus: itaque recte ille silenti: Si prudens es, stultus es; si stultus prudens.

SILENTIUM, veluti nox, insidiis opportunum.

COGITATIONES in profluente sanissimae.

SILENTIUM, solitudinis genus. Opinioni se venditat, qui fileat. Silentium, nec pravas cogitationes egerit, nec bonas distribuit.

Cont. SILENTIUM verbis, & gratiam addit & auctoritatem.

SILENTIUM, veluti somnus quidam, alit prudentiam.

SILENTIUM fermentatio cogitationum.

STYLUS, prudentiae silentium.

SILENTIUM ambit veritatem.

Dissimulatio. XXXII.

Pro. DISSIMULATIO, compendiarie sapientia.

NON idem dicere, sed idem spectare debemus.

ETIAM in animo deformis nuditas.

DISSIMULATIO & decori est, & praesidio.

SEPE confiliorum, dissimulatio.

ALIIQVI bono suo falluntur.

QUI indissimulanter omnia agit, aequè decipit; nam plurimi, aut non capiunt, aut non credunt.

INDISSIMULATIO nihil aliud quam animi impotentia.

Cont. CUM cogitare secundum rerum veritatem non possumus, at loquamur secundum cogitationem.

QUIBUS artes civiles supra captum ingenii sunt, iis dissimulatio pro prudentia erit.

QUI dissimulat, praecipuo ad agendum instrumento se privat, i. e. fide.

DISSIMULATIO dissimulationem invitat.

QUI dissimulat, liber non est.

Audacia. XXXIII.

Pro. DOCET improbare, qui verecundatur.

QUOD actio oratori, id audacia viro civili; primum, secundum, tertium.

CONFITENTEM verecundiam amo, accusantem odi.

CONFIDENTIA morum, animos promptius fociat.

PLACET obscurus vultus, & perspicua oratio.

Cont. AUDACIA stultitiae viator.

INVERECUNDIA inutilis, nisi ad imposturam.

CONFIDENTIA, stultorum imperatrix, prudentium scurra.

AUDACIA est stupor quidam sensus, cum malitia voluntatis.

Cere-

Ceremoniae, Puncti, Affectatio. XXXIV.

Pro. VULTUS & gestus decora moderatio, verum condimentum virtutis.

SI & in verbis vulgo paremus, quid ni in habitu & gestu?

QUI in levibus & quotidiana consuetudine, decus non retinent, sit licet vir magnus, noris tamen hunc tantum certis horis sapere.

VIRTUS & prudentia sine punctis, velut peregrinae linguae sunt; nam vulgo non intelliguntur.

QUI vulgi sensum per congruitatem non novit, is, si nec per observationem noverit, omnium stultissimus est.

PUNCTI translatio sunt virtutis in linguam vernaculam.

Cont. QUID deformius, quam scenam in vitam transferre?

Ex ingenuitate decorum, ex arte odium.

MAGIS placent cerussatae buccae & calamistrata coma, quam cerussati & calamistrati mores.

QUI animum ad tam exiles observationes applicat, magnae cogitationis capax non est.

AFFECTATIO ingenuitatis, putredo lucens.

Joci. XXXV.

Pro. ORATORUM ara jocus.

QUI in omnibus modestum leporem miscet, libertatem animi retinet.

RES est supra opinionem politica, facile transire a joco ad serium, a serio ad jocum.

VERITATIS, alias non perventurae, saepe vehiculum jocus.

Cont. ISTOS deformitatum ac concinnitatum aucupes quis non contemnat?

RERUM magnitudinem eluere joco, improbum artificium est.

JOCOS tum considera, cum risu destituti sunt.

FACETI isti fere non penetrant ultra superficiem rerum, ubi joci sedes est.

UBI jocus ad seria momenti aliquid habet, ibi levitas puerilis est.

Amor. XXXVI.

Pro. ANNON vides, omnes se quaerere? at amans solus se invenit.

NON est melior ordinatio animi, quam ex imperio affectus alicujus insignis.

QUI sapit desiderium quaerat; nam qui non aliquid insigniter appetit, ei omnia ingrata sunt & taedio plena.

QUID ni in unitate acquiescat unus?

Cont. AMORI multum debet scena, nihil vita.

NIL tam varii nominis est, quam amor: Nam res, aut tam stulta est ut se nesciat, aut tam turpis, ut se fucō condāt.

ODI istos monophrontistas.

ANGUSTA admodum contemplatio amor.

Amicitia. XXXVII.

Pro. EADEM facit amicitia, quae fortitudo, sed suavius.

SUAVE condimentum omnium bonorum amicitia.

PESSIMA solitudo, non veras habere amicitias.

DIGNA malae fidei ultio, amicitia privari.

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Cont. QUI amicitias arctas copulat, novas necessitates sibi imponit.
ANIMI imbecilli est, partiri fortunam.

Adulatio. XXXVIII.

Pro. ADULATIO magis ex more, quam ex malitia.
LAUDANDO instituere, semper formula fuit debita potentioribus.
Cont. ADULATIO stylus fervorum.
ADULATIO calx vitiorum.
ADULATIO aucupii illud genus, quod similitudine vocis, aves fallit.
ADULATIONIS deformitas comica, nocumentum tragicum.
AURIBUS mederi, difficillimum.

Vindicta. XXXIX.

Pro. VINDICTA privata, iustitia agrestis.
QUI vim rependit, legem tantum violat, non hominem.
UTILIS metus ultionis privatae; nam leges nimium saepe dormiunt.
Cont. QUI injuriam fecit, principium malo dedit, qui reddidit, modum abstulit.
VINDICTA, quo magis naturalis, eo magis coercenda.
QUI facile injuriam reddit, is fortasse tempore non voluntate posterior erat.

Innovatio. XL.

Pro. OMNIS medicina innovatio.
QUI nova remedia fugit, nova mala opperitur.
NOVATOR maximus tempus; quidni igitur tempus imitemur?
EXEMPLA remota inepta sunt; recentia corrupta & ambitiosa.
IMPERITIS & contentiosus perimite, ut ad exempla res agant.
SICUT qui nobilitatem in familiam introducunt, digniores fere sunt posteris; ita novationes rerum plerumque praestant iis, quae ad exempla fiunt.
MOROSA morum retentio, res turbulenta est, aequae ac novitas.
CUM per se res mutantur in deterius, si consilio in melius non mutantur, quis finis erit mali?
MORIS servi, temporis ludibria.
Cont. NOVI partus deformes sunt.
NULLUS author placet, praeter tempus.
NULLA novitas absque injuria; nam praesentia convellit.
QUAE usu obtinere, si non bona, at saltem apta inter se sunt.
QUIS novator tempus imitatur, quod novationes ita insinuat, ut sensus fallant?
QUOD praeter spem evenit, cui prodest, minus acceptum; cui obest, magis molestum.

Mora. XLI.

Pro. FORTUNA multa festinanti vendit, quibus morantem donat.
DUM initia rerum amplecti properamus, umbras prensamus.
FLUCTUANTIBUS rebus advertendum, inclinantibus agendum.
PRIMA actionum Argo committenda sunt, extrema Briareo.
Cont. OCCASIO primum ansam vasis porrigit, deinde ventrem.
OCCASIO instar Sibyllae minuit oblatum, pretium auget.
CELERITAS, orci galea.
QUAE mature fiunt, iudicio fiunt; quae sero, per ambitum.

Praeparatio. XLII.

Pro. QUI parvis copiis rem magnam aggreditur, fingit opportunitatem, ut speret.

PARVIS apparatibus non fortuna, sed prudentia emitur.

Cont. OPTIMUS terminus parandi, prima occasio agendi.

NEMO speret, se fortunam apparatu ligare posse.

ALTERATIO apparatus & actionis, politica sunt: Distinctio tumida & infelix.

MAGNUS apparatus, prodigus & temporis & rerum.

Principiis obstare. XLIII.

Pro. PLURA pericula fallunt, quam vincunt.

MINUS operis est, periculo remedium adhibere, quam progressum ejus observare & custodire.

NON jam leve est periculum, si leve videatur.

Cont. DOCET periculum progredi, qui accingitur, & periculum figit remedio.

ETIAM in remediis periculorum, levia pericula subsistunt.

PRAESTAT cum paucis remediis, quae invaluerunt, rem habere; quam cum minis singulorum.

Consilia violenta. XLIV.

Pro. QUI lenem istam prudentiam amplectuntur, iis augmenta mali salubria sunt.

NECESSITAS, quae violenta consulit, eadem exequitur.

Cont. OMNE remedium violentum, praegnans novi mali.

VIOLENTA consilia nemo dat, praeter iram & metum.

Suspicio. XLV.

Pro. DIFFIDENTIA, nervi prudentiae, at suspicio medicamentum arthriticum.

MERITO ejus fides suspecta est, quam suspicio labefacit.

SUSPICIO fragilem fidem solvit, fortem intendit.

Cont. SUSPICIO fidem absolvit.

SUSPICIONUM intemperies est mania quaedam civilis.

Verba Legis. XLVI.

Pro. NON est interpretatio, sed divinatio, quae recedit a litera.

CUM receditur a litera iudex transit in legislatorem.

Cont. EX omnibus verbis eliciendus est sensus, qui interpretetur singula.

PESSIMA tyrannis lex in equuleo.

Pro testibus contra argumenta. XLVII.

Pro. SECUNDUM oratorem, non secundum causam pronunciat, qui argumentis nititur.

QUI argumentis potius credit, quam testibus; etiam ingenio magis debet fidere, quam sensui.

TUTUM foret argumentis credere, si homines nihil absurdi facerent.

ARGUMENTA, cum sint contra testimonia, hoc praestant, ut res mira videatur, non autem ut vera.

Cont. SI testibus credendum sit contra argumenta, sufficit, tantum iudicem esse non surdum.

ARGUMENTA antidotum contra venena testimoniorum.

IIS probationibus tutissimo creditur, quae rarissime mentiuntur.

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ATQUE haec antitheta, (quae nunc proposuimus) fortasse tanti non fuerint: Sed cum jam olim parata & collecta a nobis essent, nolimus diligentiae nostrae juvenilis fructum perire: praesertim cum, (si quis acutius introspeciat) semina sint, non flores. In illo autem adolescentiam plane spirant, quod sint in morali, sive demonstrativo genere, uberiora; in deliberativo, & judiciali, perpauca.

TERTIA collectio, quae pertinet ad promptuariam, atque etiam desideratur, est ea, quam vocare placet, formularum minorum. Illae autem sunt; veluti vestibula, posticae, ante-camerae, re-camerae, transitus, &c. orationis; quae indiscriminatim omnibus subjectis competere possint. Quales sunt praefationes, conclusiones, digressiones, transitiones, promissiones, declinationes, & plurima ejusmodi. Quemadmodum enim in aedificiis, plurimum facit & ad voluptatem & ad usum, ut frontispicia, gradus, ostia, fenestrae, aditus, transitus, & hujusmodi, commode distribuuntur; eodem modo etiam in oratione fit, ut additamenta & interpositiones istae, (si decore & perite formentur & collocentur) plurimum tum gratiae, tum commoditatis, universae orationis structurae adjiciant. Harum formularum exemplum unum aut alterum proponemus, neque diutius iisdem immorabimur. Etsi enim sint res haud exigui usus, tamen cum nihil in his addamus de nostro, sed tantum formulas nudas ex Demosthene aut Cicerone aut alio quopiam selecto authore describamus, inferius quiddam videntur, quam ut in eo tempus teramus.

Exempla formularum minorum.

Conclusio Deliberativae.

SIC & culpam praeteritam fas erit redimere, & futuris incommodis eadem opera prospicere.

Partitionis accuratae corollarium.

UT omnes intelligant, nihil me & subterfugere voluisse reticendo, aut obscurare dicendo.

Transitio cum monito.

VERUM haec ita praetereamus, ut tamen intuentes & respectantes, relinquamus.

Praeoccupatio contra opinionem inveteratam.

FACIAM, ut intelligatis in tota causa, quid res ipsa tulerit, quid error affinxerit, quid invidia conflaverit.

HAEC pauca enumerasse, ad exempla, satis fuerit: cum quibus, appendices rhetoricae, quae ad promptuariam spectant, concludimus.

C A P. IV.

Appendices generales duae traditivae; critica & paedagogica.

SUPERSUNT duae appendices traditivae in genere; altera critica, altera paedagogica. Sicut enim pars traditivae praecipua in scriptione librorum consistit, ita pars ejus relativa in librorum versatur lectione: lectio autem, vel magistrorum ope regitur, vel industria cujusque propria perficitur; atque huic rei inserviunt doctrinae illae, quas diximus, duae.

AD criticam spectant, primo authorum probatorum limata correctio, & emendata editio; quibus & ipsorum authorum honor vindicatur, & studiosis lumen praefertur. Qua tamen in re studiis haud parum detrimenti intulit

lit quorundam hominum diligentia temeraria. Criticis enim haud paucis mos est, ubi incidunt in quidpiam, quod non intelligunt, vitium statim in exemplari supponere. Veluti in illo loco Taciti: cum quaedam colonia jus asyli apud senatum assereret, narrat Tacitus, non aequis admodum auribus, quae ab iis proferebantur, fuisse ab imperatore & senatu audita: Itaque legati, causa diffisi, bonam pecuniae summam Tito Vinio dederunt, ut eis patrocinaretur. Hoc itaque pacto res obtinuit: Tum (inquit Tacitus) dignitas & antiquitas coloniae valuit: quasi argumenta, quae antea levia videbantur, accedente pretio novum tum pondus accepissent. At criticus quidam, non ex infimis, verbum *tum* expunxit, & *tantum* reposuit. Atque hac prava criticorum consuetudine factum est, ut (quod non nemo prudenter notavit) exemplaria maxime castigata sint saepenumero minime omnium casta. Quinimo, ut verum dicamus, nisi critici fuerint eruditi in scientiis illis, de quibus libri ab ipsis editi tractant, periculo diligentia eorum non vacat.

SECUNDO ad criticam spectant, authorum interpretatio & explicatio, commentarii, scholia, notae, spicilegia, & similia. In istiusmodi autem laboribus, pessimus ille criticorum nonnullos quasi morbus invasit, ut multa ex obscurioribus transilient, in satis vero perspicuis ad fastidium usque immorentur & expatiantur. Scilicet, non tam illud agitur, ut author ipse illustretur, quam ut criticus ille multiplicem suam eruditionem, & variam lectionem, ubique arrepta occasione, ostendet. Optandum inprimis foret, (licet haec res ad traditivam principalem, non ad appendices pertineat) ut qui argumenta obscuriora & nobiliora pertractet scriptor, suas ipse explicationes subjungat; ut & textus ipse digressionibus aut explicationibus non abrumperetur; & notae a scriptoris mente non recedant. Cujusmodi quidpiam suspicamur de Theone Euclidis.

TERTIO, ad criticam spectat, (quod etiam nomen eidem indidit) de authoribus, quos edunt, breve aliquot iudicium interponere; & illos cum caeteris scriptoribus, qui eadem tractant, comparare; ut per huiusmodi censuram studiosi & de librorum delectu moneantur, & ad ipsam lectionem eorum instructiores accedant. Atque hoc ultimum, est criticorum tanquam cathedra, quam certe nostra aetate nobilitarunt viri nonnulli magni, majores certe, nostro iudicio, quam pro modulo criticorum.

AD paedagogicam quod attinet, brevissimum foret dictu; consule scholas Jesuitarum: nihil enim, quod in usum venit, his melius. Nos tamen paucum more nostro monebimus, tanquam spicas legentes. Omnino institutionem pueritiae & juventutis collegiatam probamus; non in aedibus privatis; non sub ludimagistris tantum. Adest adolescentulis in collegiis aemulatio major erga aequales; adest quoque ipse vultus & aspectus virorum gravium; quod facit ad verecundiam, & teneros animos etiam a principio conformat ad exemplar: denique sunt quidem plurima educationis collegiatae commoda. In ordine autem & modo disciplinae, illud inprimis consuluerim; ut caveatur a compendiis; & a praecocitate quadam doctrinae, quae ingenia reddat audacula, & magnos profectus potius ostendet, quam faciat. Quin & favendum nonnihil ingeniorum libertati, ut si quis, quae ex more disciplinae sunt, faciat, & simul tempus ad alia, in quae propensus est, suffuretur, ne utique cohibeatur. Porro operae pretium fuerit, diligenter animadvertere, (quod fortasse adhuc non fuerit notatum) esse duos assuefaciendi & exercendi & praeparandi ingenia modos, eosque tanquam antistrophos. Alter incipit a facilioribus, & ad magis ardua paulatim deducit; alter ab initio duriora imperat & urget, ut iis obtentis, facilioribus quis etiam suaviter per-

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fungi possit. Alia enim est methodus, incipere natate cum utribus, qui sublevent; alia incipere saltare cum calceis ponderosis, qui aggravent. Neque facile est dictu, quantum harum methodorum prudens intermixtio conferat ad promovendas, tam animi quam corporis facultates. Item applicatio & delectus studiorum, pro natura ingeniorum quae erudiuntur, res est singularis & usus & iudicii; quam etiam bene & vere notatam & perspectam magistri parentibus adolescentium debent; ut de genere vitae, cui filios suos destinant, consulere possent. Verum, & illud attentius paulo observandum, non tantum in iis, ad quae natura quisque sua fertur, longe maximos fieri profectus; sed etiam ad ea, ad quae vitio naturae quis maxime fuerit inhabilis, reperiri in studiis ad hoc proprie delectis, remedia & curationes. Exempli gratia; si cuiusdam ingenium tale sit, quale est avium, ut facile abripiatur, nec per moram (qualem oportet) intentum esse sustineat; remedium huic rei praebebunt mathematica, in quibus si evagetur paulo mens, de integro renovanda est demonstratio. Etiam exercitiorum in erudiendo partes liquet esse vel maximas. At illud a paucis notatum est quod exercitiorum debeat esse non solum prudens institutio, sed etiam prudens intermissio. Optime siquidem Cicero notavit, quod in exercitiis plerumque exerceri contingat, non minus vitia, quam facultates; adeo ut malus habitus, quandoque simul acquiratur, & se insinuet cum bono. Itaque tutius est, intermittere exercitia, & subinde repetere, quam assidue continuare & urgere. Verum de his satis. Sunt certe hae res primò aspectu minus grandes & solennes, sed fructuosae tamen & efficaces. Quemadmodum enim in plantis, ad felicitatem vel infelicitatem ipsarum, plurimum faciunt injuriae, aut auxilia, quae iisdem, cum tenerae fuissent, intervenerint; quemadmodum etiam incrementa illa immensa imperii Romani, merito a quibusdam attribuuntur virtuti & prudentiae sex illorum regum, qui eidem in pueritia sua veluti tutores fuerunt, aut nutritii: sic certe cultura & institutio annorum puerilium, aut teneriorum, eas habet vires, licet latentes, & minime in cuiusvis observationem incurrentes, quas neque temporis diuturnitas, neque laborum assiduitas & contentio, postea, aetate maturiore, possint ullo modo aequiparare. Non abs re fuerit etiam notare, facultates vel mediocres, si in magnos viros aut res magnas inciderint, graves & insignes interdum producere effectus. Ejus rei ponemus exemplum memorabile; quod eo magis adducimus, quia Jesuitae eandem disciplinam non videntur aspernari, sano (ut nobis videtur) iudicio. Atque est res, quae si sit professoria, infamis est; verum disciplinaria facta, ex optimis est. Intelligimus autem actionem theatralem. Quippe quae memoriam roborat; vocis & pronunciationis tonum atque efficaciam temperat; vultum & gestum ad decorum componit, fiduciam non parvam conciliat, denique oculis hominum juvenes assuefacit. Erit autem exemplum e Tacito desumptum, Vibuleni cuiusdam, olim histriionis, tunc temporis autem militantis in legionibus Pannonicis. Ille, sub excessu Augusti, seditionem moverat; ita ut Blaesus praefectus aliquos ex seditiosis in carcerem conjiceret. Milites vero, impressione facta, illos effractis carceribus liberarunt. At Vibulenus, apud milites concionabundus, sic orsus est: *Vos (inquit) his innocentibus & miserrimis lucem & spiritum reddidistis: sed quis fratri meo vitam, quis fratrem mihi reddit? Quem missum ad vos a Germanico exercitu, de communibus commodis, nocte proxima jugulavit per gladiatores suos, quos in exitium militum habet atque armat. Responde, Blaese, ubi cadaver abjeceris? Ne hostes quidem sepulturae invident. Cum osculis, cum lacrymis dolorem meum implevero, me quoque trucidari jube; dum*

interfectos, nullum ob scelus, sed quia utilitati legionum consulebamus, hi sepeliant. Quibus verbis invidiae ac consternationis nimium quantum concivit. Adeo ut, nisi brevi postea innotuisset, nihil horum fuisse, quin etiam fratrem cum nunquam habuisse, vix a praefecto milites manus abstinuissent: Ille vero rem totam, tanquam fabulam, in scena peregit.

NUNC vero ad colophonem pervenimus tractatus nostri de doctrinis rationalibus. In quibus licet a partitionibus receptis interdum recesserimus; nemo tamen existimet, nos illas omnes improbare partitiones, quibus usi non sumus. Duplex enim nobis imponitur necessitas partitiones mutandi: Una quia haec duo nimirum, res natura proximas in unam classem redigere, & res ad usum promendas conjicere in unum cumulum, sine ipso & intentione, sunt omnino diversa. Exempli gratia secretarius aliquis regis aut reipublicae in musco chartas suas ita procul dubio distribuit, ut quae similis sint naturae simul componat, veluti foedera seorsum, seorsum mandata, literas ab exteris, literas domesticas & similia, seorsum omnia. Contra in scrinio aliquo particulari illas simul componit, quas licet diversi generis sunt, simul tamen usui fore existimet: Sic nimirum in hoc universali scientiae repositorio nobis, pro natura rerum ipsarum, partitiones erant instituendae: cum tamen si particularis aliqua scientia fuisset pertractanda, partitiones fuisset secuti, usui & praxi potius accommodatas. Altera necessitas partitiones mutandi est, quia desideratorum ad scientias adjectio, & eorum cum reliquis in integrum corpus redactio, etiam per consequentiam, scientiarum ipsarum partitiones transfudit, nam (demonstrationis gratia) esto quod artes quae habentur, rationem habeant numeri 15, adjectis autem desideratis numeri 20. Dico quod partes numeri 15, non sunt eadem partes, quae numeri 20. Nam partes numeri 15, sunt 3, & 5. Partes vero numeri 20, sunt 2, 4, 5, & 10. Itaque patet quod haec aliter fieri non potuerint. Atque de scientiis logicis haec dicta sint.



FRANCISCI

Baronis de VERULAMIO,

Vice-Comitis SANCTI ALBANI,

De Dignitate & Augmentis SCIENTIARUM,

LIBER SEPTIMUS:

AD REGEM SUUM.

CAP. I.

Partitio ethicae in doctrinam de exemplari, & georgica animi. Partitio exemplaris, (scilicet boni) in bonum simplex, & bonum comparatum. Partitio boni simplicis, in bonum individuale, & bonum communionis.

PERVENTUM est (rex optime) ad ethicam, quae voluntatem humanam intuetur & tractat. Voluntatem gubernat recta ratio, seducit bonum apparens; voluntatis stimuli affectus, ministri organa & motus voluntarii. De hac Solomon, *ante omnia* (inquit) *custodi, fili, cor tuum, nam inde procedunt actiones vitae.* In hujus scientiae pertractatione, qui de ea scripserunt, perinde mihi fecisse videntur, ac si quis scribendi artem tradere pollicitus, pulchra tantum exhibeat exemplaria literarum tam simplicium quam copulatarum, de calamo vero ducendo, aut modis characteres efformandi, nihil praecipiat: Ita & isti proposuerunt nobis exemplaria bella & luculenta, atque descriptiones sive imagines accuratas, boni, virtutis, officiorum, felicitatis, tanquam vera objecta, & scopos voluntatis & appetitus humani: Verum quomodo quis possit optime ad hos scopos (excellentes sane & bene ab illis positos) collimare; hoc est, quibus rationibus & institutis animus ad illa assequenda subigi & componi possit, aut nihil praecipiant, aut perfunctorie & minus utiliter. Differamus quantum libuerit, virtutes morales in animo humano esse habitualiter, non naturaliter: Distinguamus solenniter, inter spiritus generosos & vulgus ignobile, quod illi rationum momentis, hi praemio aut poena, ducantur: Praecipiamus ingeniose, animum humanum, ut rectificetur instar bacilli, in contrariam partem inclinationis suae flecti oportere: Aliaque insuper hujusmodi hinc inde spargamus: Longe tamen abest, ut haec & alia id genus, absentiam rei excusent, quam modo requirimus.

HUIUSCE

HUJUSCE neglectus causam haud aliam esse reor, quam latentem illum scopulum, ad quem tot scientiae naviculae impingentes, naufragia passae sunt: Nimirum, quod fastidiant scriptores versari in rebus vulgatis & plebeiis, quae nec satis subtiles sint ad disputandum, nec satis illustres ad ornandum. Sane haud facile quis verbis assequatur, quantam calamitatem attulerit hoc ipsum quod dicimus: quod homines ingenita superbia & gloria vana, eas materias tractationum, eosque modos tractandi sibi delegerint, quae ingenia ipsorum potius commendent, quam lectorum utilitatibus inferviant. Optime Seneca, *Nocet illis eloquentia, quibus non rerum facit cupiditatem sed sui*: Siquidem scripta talia esse debent, ut amores documentorum ipsorum, non doctorum excitent. Ii igitur recta incedunt via, qui de consiliis suis id praedicare possint, quod fecit Demosthenes, atque hac clausula ea concludere, *Quae si feceritis, non oratorem duntaxat in praesentia laudabitis, sed vosmet ipsos etiam, non ita multo post statu rerum vestrarum meliore*. Ego certe, (rex optime) ut de me ipso, quod res est, loquar, & in iis quae nunc edo, & in iis quae in posterum meditor, dignitatem ingenii & nominis mei (si qua sit) saepius sciens & volens projicio, dum commodis humanis inserviam: Quique architectus fortasse in philosophia & scientiis esse debeam, etiam operarius & bajulus, & quidvis demum fio; cum haud pauca, quae omnino fieri necesse sit, alii autem ob innatam superbiam subterfugiant, ipse sustineam & exequar. Verum (ut ad rem redeamus) quod coepimus dicere, delegerunt sibi philosophi in ethica massam quandam materiae splendidam & nitentem, in qua potissimum vel ingenii acumen, vel eloquentiae vigorem venditare possint: Quae vero practicam maxime instruunt, quandoquidem tam belle ornari non possint, maxima ex parte omiserunt.

NEQUE tamen debuerant viri tam eximii desperasse de fortuna, simili ei, quam poeta Virgilius, & sibi spondere ausus, & revera consequutus est; qui non minorem eloquentiae, ingenii & eruditionis, gloriam adeptus est, in explicando observationes agriculturae, quam Aeneae res gestas heroicas enarrando. *Georg. iii. 289.*

*Nec sum animi dubius, verbis ea vincere magnum
Quam sit, & angustis hunc addere rebus honorem.*

CERTE, si serio hominibus cordi sit non in otio scribere, quae per otium legantur, sed revera vitam activam instruere & subornare: Georgica ista animi humani non minore in pretio apud homines haberi debeant, quam heroicae illae effigies virtutis, boni, & felicitatis, in quibus tam operose est insudatum.

PARTIEMUR igitur ethicam in doctrinas principales duas; alteram de exemplari sive imagine boni; alteram de regimine & cultura animi, quam etiam partem georgica animi appellare consuevimus: Illa naturam boni describit, haec regulas de animo ad illam conformando praescribit.

DOCTRINA de exemplari (quae boni naturam intuetur & describit) bonum considerat, aut simplex, aut comparatum; aut genera (inquam) boni, aut gradus. In posteriore horum, disputationes illas infinitas, & speculationes circa boni supremum gradum, quem felicitatem, beatitudinem, summum bonum vocitarunt, (quae ethnicis instar theologiae erant) Christiana tandem fides sustulit & missas fecit. Quemadmodum enim Aristoteles ait, *Adolescentes posse etiam beatos esse, sed non aliter quam spe*; eodem modo, a Christiana fide edocti, debemus nos omnes minorum & adolescentum

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dolefcentum loco statuere, ut non aliam felicitatem cogitemus, quam quae in spe fita est.

LIBERATI igitur, bonis avibus, ab hac doctrina tanquam de coelo eth-
nicorum; (qua in parte proculdubio elevationem naturae humanae attri-
buerunt majorem quam cujus illa esset capax: Videmus enim quali cothur-
no Seneca; *Vere magnum, habere fragilitatem hominis, securitatem Dei*)
reliqua certe ab illis, circa doctrinam exemplaris tradita, minore aut verita-
tis aut sobrietatis jactura, magna ex parte recipere possumus. Etenim, quod
ad naturam boni positivi & simplicis spectat, illam certe pulcherrime & ad
vivum veluti in tabulis eximiis depinxerunt; virtutum & officiorum figu-
ras, posituras, genera, affinitates, partes, subjecta, provincias, actiones,
dispensationes, diligentissime sub oculos repraesentantes. Neque hic finis:
Nam haec omnia animo humano, magno quoque argumentorum acumine
& vivacitate, & suasionum dulcedine, commendarunt atque insinuarunt:
Quinetiam (quantum verbis praestari possit) eadem contra pravos & popu-
lares errores & insultus, fidelissime muniverunt. Quatenus vero ad natu-
ram boni comparati, huic rei etiam nullo modo defuerunt: In constituendis
trinis illis ordinibus bonorum; in collatione vitae contemplativae cum acti-
va; in discriminatione virtutis cum reluctatione, & virtutis jam securitatem
natae, & confirmatae; in conflictu & pugna honesti & utilis; in virtutum in-
ter se libramine, nimirum cui quaeque praeponderet, & similibus. Adeo
ut hanc partem de exemplari, insigniter excultam jam esse, & antiquos in
ea re mirabiles se viros praestitisse, reperiam: Ita tamen ut philosophos lon-
go post se intervallo reliquerit, pia & strenua theologorum diligentia in of-
ficiis, & virtutibus moralibus, & casibus conscientiae, & peccati circum-
scriptionibus pensitandis & determinandis exercitata.

NIHILO fecius (ut ad philosophos redeamus) si illi (antequam ad po-
pulares & receptas notiones, virtutis, vitii, doloris, voluptatis & caetero-
rum, se applicassent) superfedissent paulisper, & radices ipsas boni & mali,
& radicum illarum fibras indagassent; ingentem meo judicio lucem illis
omnibus; quae postea in inquisitionem ventura fuissent, affudissent: Ante
omnia, si naturam rerum non minus quam axiomata moralia consulissent;
doctrinas suas minus prolixas, magis autem profundas reddidissent. Quod
cum ab illis aut omnino omisum, aut confuse admodum tractatum fuerit,
nos breviter retractabimus; & fontes ipsos rerum moralium aperire & pur-
gare conabimur, antequam ad doctrinam de cultura animi, quam ponimus
ut desideratam, perveniamus. Hoc enim (ut arbitramur) doctrinam de ex-
emplari novis quodammodo viribus donabit.

INDITUS est atque impressus unicuique rei appetitus; ad duplicem na-
turam boni; alteram qua res totum quiddam est in se ipsa: alteram qua est
pars totius alicujus majoris. Atque posterior haec illa altera dignior est, &
potentior, cum tendat ad conservationem formae amplioris. Nominetur
prima, bonum individuale, sive fuitatis; posterior, bonum communionis.
Ferrum sympathia particulari fertur ad magnetem: at si paulo ponderosius
fuerit, amores illos deferit, & tanquam bonus civis & amator patriae, ter-
ram petit, regionem scilicet connaturalium suorum. Ulterius paulo perga-
mus; corpora densa & gravia terram petunt, congregationem magnam cor-
porum densorum: Attamen, potius quam natura rerum divulsionem patia-
tur, & detur (ut loquuntur) vacuum, corpora hujusmodi in sursum feren-
tur, & cessabunt ab officio suo erga terram, ut praestent officium suum
mundo ipsi debitum. Ita quasi perpetuo obtinet, ut conservatio formae

magis communis minores appetitus in ordinem redigat. At praerogativa ista boni communionis signatur praecipue in homine, si non degeneraverit; juxta memorabile illud Pompeii Magni dictum, qui quo tempore Romam fames premeret, annonae importandae praepositus, vehementissime autem ab amicis interpellatus ne mari, atroce tempestate ingruente, se committeret; illud tantum respondit, necesse est, ut eam, non ut vivam: Adeo ut vitae desiderium (quod in individuo maximum est) amoris & fidei in rempublicam apud eum non praeponderaret. Sed quid moramur? Nulla, omnibus saeculis, reperta est vel philosophia, vel secta, vel religio, vel lex, aut disciplina, quae in tantum communionis bonum exaltavit, bonum vero individuale depresso, quantum sancta fides Christiana: unde liquido pateat, unum eundemque Deum fuisse, qui creaturis leges illas naturae, hominibus vero legem Christianam dedisset. Propterea legimus, nonnullos ex electis & sanctis viris, optasse se potius erasos ex libro vitae, quam ut salus ad fratres suos non perveniret; ecstasi quadam charitatis & impotenti desiderio boni communionis incitati.

Hoc positum, ita ut immotum maneat & inconcussum, nonnullis ex gravissimis in morali philosophia controversiis finem imponit. Primo enim quaestionem illam determinat; de vita contemplativa activae praefenda; idque contra sententiam Aristotelis. Omnes siquidem rationes, quae ab illo pro contemplativa afferuntur, bonum privatum respiciunt, atque individi tantum ipsius voluptatem, aut dignitatem; quibus in rebus contemplativa palmam haud dubie reportat. Etenim contemplativa non absimilis est comparationi, qua usus est Pythagoras, ut philosophiae & contemplationi honorem ac decus assereret: Qui ab Hierone, quinam esset, interrogatus, respondit; Hieronem non latere, (si forte unquam olympicis certaminibus interfuisset) id ibi loci contingere, ut veniant eo; alii fortunae suae in agnibus periculum facturi: alii vero ut mercatores, ad merces distrahendas: alii ut amicos undique confluentes convenirent, & epulis ac hilaritati indulgerent: alii denique ut caeterorum essent spectatores: se autem unum esse ex illis, qui spectandi gratia venerit. Verum homines nosse debent, in hoc humanae vitae theatro, Deo & Angelis solum convenire, ut spectatores sint. Neque sane fieri potuit, ut hac de re dubitatio in ecclesia unquam fuscitaretur: (utcumque plurimis in ore fuerit dictum illud, *pretiosa in oculis Domini mors sanctorum ejus*: Ex quo loco mortem illam civilem & instituta vitae monasticae & regularis attollere solebant:) nisi illud etiam una subesset, quod vita illa monastica mere contemplativa non sit, verum plane in officiis ecclesiasticis versetur; qualia sunt jugis oratio, & votorum sacrificia, Deo oblata: Librorum item theologicorum, multo in otio conscriptio, ad legis divinae doctrinam propagandam: quemadmodum & Moses fecit, cum per tot dies in montis secessu moratus esset. Quinetiam Henoch, ab Adamo septimus, qui videtur fuisse princeps vitae contemplativae, (etenim cum Deo ambulasse perhibetur) nihilominus ecclesiam prophetiae libro (qui etiam a sancto Juda citatur) dotavit. Contemplativam vero quod attinet meram, & in se ipsa terminatam, quaeque radios nullos, siue caloris siue luminis, in societatem humanam diffundat, nescit eam certe theologia.

DETERMINAT etiam quaestionem, tanta contentione agitatam, inter scholas Zenonis & Socratis ex una parte, qui felicitatem in virtute, aut sola, aut adornata, (cujus semper in officiis vitae partes potissimae) collocarunt: & reliquas complures sectas & scholas, ex altera parte: veluti scholas Cyrenaicorum & Epicureorum: qui eam in voluptate constituerunt: Virtutem

autem

autem (sicut fit in comoediis aliquibus, ubi herā cum famula vestem mutet) plane ancillam statuerunt: utpote sine qua voluptati commodē ministrari non posset: nec minus illam alteram Epicuri scholam, quasi reformatam; quae felicitatem nihil aliud esse praedicabat, quam animi tranquillitatem & serenitatem, a perturbationibus liberi, & vacui; ac si Jovē de solio deturbare vellent, & Saturnum cum aureo saeculo reducere, quando neque aestas nec bruma fuissent, non ver, nec autumnus, sed una & aequabilis aëris temperies: denique & illam explosam Pyrrhonis & Herilli scholam, qui sitam autumaverunt felicitatem in scrupulis quibusque animi prorsus eliminandis, nullam statuentes fixam & constantem boni aut mali naturam, sed actiones pro bonis aut malis habentes, prout ex animo, motu puro & irrefracto, aut contra, cum averfatione & reluctatione, prodirent; quae tamen opinio in haeresi anabaptistarum revixit, qui cuncta metiebantur juxta motus & instinctus spiritus, & constantiam vel vacillationem fidei. Liqueat autem ista, quae recensuimus, omnia ad privatam animorum tranquillitatem, & complacentiam, nullo modo autem ad bonum communionis, spectare.

PORRO redarguit etiam philosophiam Epicteti, qui hoc utitur praesupposito: felicitatem in iis poni debere, quae in potestate nostra sunt, ne scilicet fortunae & casibus simus obnoxii: quasi vero non multo fuerit felicitus, in rectis & generosis intentionibus, & finibus, qui publicum bonum amplectantur, successu destitui & frustrari, quam in omnibus, quae ad privatam tantum fortunam nostram referuntur, voti perpetuo compotes fieri! Sicut Consalvus, Neapolim digito militibus indicans, generosa voce testatus est, multo sibi optatius fore, unum pedem promovendo, ad interitum certum rueri, quam unius pedis recessu vitam in multos annos producere. Cui etiam concinit coelestis dux & imperator, qui pronunciavit, *conscientiam bonam jure esse convivium*; quibus verbis aperte significat, mentem bonarum intentionum sibi consciam, utcumque successu careat, verius & purius & naturae magis consentaneum praebere gaudium, quam universum illum apparatus, quo instrui possit homo, vel ut desideriis suis fruatur, vel ut animo conquiescat.

REDARGUIT idem philosophiae abusum illum, circa Epicteti tempora graffari coeptum: nempe quod philosophia versa fuerit in genus quoddam vitae professorium, & tanquam in artem; quasi scilicet institutum philosophiae esset, non ut perturbationes compescerentur & extinguerentur; sed ut causae & occasionēs ipsarum evitarentur & summoventur: ideoque particularis quaedam vitae ratio ad hoc obtinendum ineunda esset: introducendo sane, tale genus sanitatis in animum, quale fuit Herodici in corpore: cujus meminit Aristoteles; illum scilicet nihil aliud per totam vitam egisse, quam ut valetudinem curaret; & proinde ab infinitis rebus abstinere, corporis interim usu quasi multatus. Ubi si hominibus officia societatis consecrari cordi sit, illa demum valetudo maxime est expetenda, quae quolibet mutationes & impetus quoscunque ferre & vincere queat. Eodem modo & animus ille demum vere & proprie sanus & validus censendus est, qui per plurimas & maximas tentationes & perturbationes percurrere potest. Ita ut optime Diogenes dixisse visus sit; qui eas vires animi laudavit, *quae non ad caute abstinendum, sed ad fortiter sustinendum valerent*; quaeque animi impetum, etiam in maximis praecipitiis, cohibere possint; quaeque (id quod in equis bene subactis laudatur) praestent, ut brevissimo spatio, & sistere se & vertere possint.

POSTREMO,

POSTREMO, redarguit idem teneritudinem quandam & ineptitudinem ad morigerandum, in nonnullis ex antiquissimis philosophis, & maxime in veneratione habitis, notatam: Qui nimis facile se a rebus civilibus subduxerint, ut indignitatibus & perturbationibus se exuerent, atque magis, sua opinione, illibati, & tanquam sacrosancti, viverent: ubi consentaneum esset, constantiam hominis vere moralis talem fore, qualem idem Consalvus in homine militari requirebat: nimirum ut honor ejus contexeretur tanquam e tela crassiore; minimeque tam tenui, ut quidvis illud vellicare & lacerare possit.

C A P. II.

Partitio boni individualis vel suitalis, in bonum activum, & bonum passivum. Partitio boni passivi, in bonum conservativum, & bonum perfectivum. Partitio boni communionis, in officia generalia, & respectiva.

REPETAMUS igitur jam, & persequamur primum bonum individuale, & suitalis. Illud partiemur in bonum activum, & bonum passivum. Etenim haec quoque differentia boni (non absimilis certe illis appellationibus, quae Romanis in oeconomicis erant familiares, promi scilicet & condi) in universa rerum natura impressa reperitur: praecipue autem se prodit in duplici rerum creatarum appetitu; altero, se conservandi & muniendi; altero, se multiplicandi & propagandi: Atque hic posterior, qui activus est, & veluti promus, potentior videtur & dignior: ille autem prior, qui passivus est, & veluti condus, inferior censei potest. Etenim in universitate rerum, natura coelestis praecipue agens est; at natura terrestris, patiens. Etiam in delectationibus animantium, major voluptas est generandi quam pascendi. In oraculis quoque divinis pronuntiatur, *Beatius esse dare, quam accipere*. Quin & in vita communi, nemo invenitur ingenio tam molli & effoeminato, quin pluri faciat aliquid quod ei in votis erat, perficere, & ad exitum perducere, quam sensualitatem aliquam, aut delectamentum. Atque ista quidem boni activi praec-eminentia in immensum exaltatur, ex intuitu conditionis humanae, quod sit & mortalis, & fortunae ictibus exposita. Nam si in voluptatibus hominum posset obtineri perpetuitas atque certitudo, magnum pretium eis accederet, propter securitatem & moram. Quandoquidem autem rem videmus huc recidere: Magni aestimamus mori tardius: &, Ne glorieris de crastino; nescis partum diei: mirum minime est, si omni contentione feramur ad ea quae temporis injurias non reformident. Ea vero nulla esse possunt, praeter opera nostra; sicut dicitur, *opera eorum sequuntur eos*. Est & altera praec-eminentia boni activi haud exigua, indita & sustentata ex eo affectu, qui humanae naturae, ut comes individuus, lateri adhaeret: amor scilicet novitatis, aut varietatis. Ille vero in sensuum voluptatibus (quae boni passivi pars sunt vel maxima) angustus admodum est, nec latitudinem habet aliquam insignem: Cogita quamdiu eadem feceris; cibus, somnus, ludus; per hunc circulum curritur. Mori velle, non tantum fortis, aut miser, aut prudens, sed etiam fastidiosus potest. At in actis vitae nostrae, & institutis, & ambitionibus, insignis est varietas; eaque multa cum voluptate percipitur, dum inchoamus, progredimur, interquiescimus, regredimur, ut vires augeamus, appropinquamus; denique

denique obtinemus, & hujusmodi; ut vere admodum dictum sit, vita sine proposito, languida & vaga est. Quod simul & prudentibus & stultissimis competit, ut ait Solomon; *Pro desiderio quaerit cerebrosus, omnibus immiscet se.* Quinetiam videmus, reges potentissimos, ad quorum nutum, quaecunque sensibus grata sunt, parari possent, nihilominus procurasse sibi interdum desideria humilia & inania (quemadmodum cithara fuit Neroni, gladiatoria Commodo, Antonino aurigatio, & alia aliis) quae tamen ipsis fuerint omni affluentia voluptatum sensualem potiora. Tanto voluptatem majorem affert ut aliquid agamus, quam ut fruamur.

ILLUD interim paulo attentius notandum est, bonum activum, individuale, a bono communionis prorsus differre; quanquam nonnunquam ambo coincident. Quamvis enim bonum istud individuale, activum, saepe opera beneficentiae (quae ex virtutibus communionis est) pariat & producat; illud tamen interest, quod illa opera ab hominibus plurimis fiant, non animo alios juvandi aut beandi, sed plane propter se atque potentiam & amplitudinem propriam. Id quod optime cernitur, quando bonum activum in aliquid impingit, quod sit bono communionis contrarium. Siquidem gigantea illa animi conditio, qua abripiuntur magni isti orbis terrarum perturbatores, (qualis fuit L. Sylla, & plurimi alii, licet in modulo longe minore:) qui videntur ad hoc anhelare, ut omnes felices & aerumnosi sint, prout sibi fuerint amici, vel inimici; atque ut mundus tanquam ipsorum praeferat imaginem: (quae vera est theomachia,) haec inquam ipsa aspirat ad bonum activum, individuale, saltem apparens, etsi a bono communionis omnium maxime recedat.

AT bonum passivum partiemur, in bonum conservativum, & bonum perfectivum. Etenim inditus est unicuique rei triplex appetitus, quatenus ad bonum fuitatis, sive individui. Primus, ut se conservet: Secundus, ut se perficiat. Tertius, ut se multiplicet sive diffundat. Atque hic postremus appetitus ad bonum activum refertur, de quo jam modo diximus. Superfunt igitur reliqua tantum duo, quae diximus bona: Ex quibus praeclit perfectivum. Minus enim quiddam est, conservare rem in suo statu: Majus vero, eandem ad naturam sublimiorem evehere. Reperiuntur siquidem per res universas, naturae aliquae nobiliores, ad quarum dignitatem & excellentiam, naturae inferiores aspirant, veluti ad origines & fontes suos. Sic de hominibus non male cecinit ille:

igneus est ollis vigor & coelestis origo. Homini enim, assumptio aut approxinatio ad divinam aut angelicam naturam, est formae suae perfectio. Cujus quidem boni perfectivi prava & praepostera imitatio, pestis est ipsa vitae humanae, & turbo quidam rapidus, qui omnia abripit & subvertit. Nimirum, dum homines, exaltationis vice formalis atque essentialis, caeca ambitione advolant ad exaltationem tantummodo localem. Quemadmodum enim aegri, remedium mali sui non invenientes, de loco in locum corpus agitant & volvunt; quasi ex mutatione loci a se ipsis abscedere, & internum malum effugere possint: Eodem modo evenit in ambitione, ut homines, simulachro quodam falso naturae suae exaltandae abrepti, nihil aliud adipiscantur, quam loci quandam celsitudinem & fastigium.

BONUM vero conservativum nihil aliud est, quam receptio & fructio rerum naturae nostrae congruentium. Hoc vero bonum, licet maxime sit simplex & nativum; tamen ex bonis videtur mollissimum atque infimum. Quin & hoc ipsum bonum recipit differentiam nonnullam, circa quam partim vacillavit judicium hominum, partim omissa est inquisitio. Boni siquidem fruitionis, sive quod vulgo dicitur, jucundi dignitas & commendatio,

aut in sinceritate fruitionis sita est, aut in ejusdem vigore: Quorum alterum inducit & praestat aequalitas, alterum autem varietas & vicissitudo: Alterum minorem habet mixturam mali, alterum impressionem magis fortem & vividam boni. Caeterum, horum utrum melius, ambigitur: Dein, num natura humana utrumque simul apud se retinere possit, non inquiritur.

ATQUE quantum ad id, de quo ambigitur, ventilari coepit illa controversia inter Socratem & sophistam quendam. Ac Socrates quidem assererat, *Felicitatem sitam esse in animi pace constante & tranquillitate*: Sophista vero in hoc, Ut quis multum appetat, & multum fruatur. Quin & ab argumentis delapsi sunt ad convitia; Dicente sophista, felicitatem Socratis, stipitis vel lapidis esse felicitatem; e contra Socrate, sophistae felicitatem, felicitatem esse scabiosi, qui perpetuo pruriret & scalperet. Neque tamen desunt utrique sententiae sua firmamenta. Nam Socrati assentitur vel Epicuri schola ipsa, quae virtutis, ad felicitatem, partes esse maximas, non diffitebatur. Quod si ita sit, certo certius est, virtutis majorem esse usum in perturbationibus sedandis, quam rebus cupitis adipiscendis. Sophistae autem nonnihil suffragari videtur assertio illa, cujus a nobis mentio modo facta est, quod videlicet bonum perfectivum bono conservativo sit superius; quippe quia cupitarum rerum adeptiones naturam videantur sensim perficere: quod licet vere non faciant: tamen & motus ipse in circulo, speciem nonnullam prae se fert motus progressivi.

AT secunda quaestio, (num scilicet natura humana non possit & animi tranquillitatem, & fruendi vigorem, simul retinere?) rite definita, priorem illam reddit otiosam & supervacaneam. Annon enim videmus, haud raro animos nonnullorum ita factos & compositos, ut voluptatibus afficiantur vel maxime cum adsint, & tamen earum jacturam non gravate ferant? Ita ut ferries illa philosophica, Non uti, ut non appetas; non appetere, ut non metuas, videatur esse pusilli cujusdam animi, & diffidentis. Sane, doctrinae pleraeque philosophorum videntur esse paulo timidiores, & cavere hominibus, plusquam natura rerum postulat. Veluti, cum mortis formidinem medendo augent. Etenim, cum nihil aliud fere vitam humanam faciant, quam mortis quandam praeparationem & disciplinam, quomodo fieri possit, ut ille hostis mirum in modum non videatur terribilis, contra quem muniendi nullus sit finis? Melius poeta, (ut inter ethnicos;)

*Qui finem vitae extremum inter munera ponat
Naturae.*

SIMILITER & in omnibus annisi sunt philosophi animum humanum reddere nimis uniformem & harmonicum: cum motibus contrariis & extremis minime assuefaciendo. Cujus causam arbitror fuisse, quod ipsi vitae se privatae dedicarunt, a negotiis & aliorum obsequiis immuni & liberae. Quin potius imitentur homines prudentiam gemmariorum; qui si forte in gemma inveniat nubecula aliqua, aut glaciecula, quae ita posset eximi, ut magnitudini lapidis non nimium detrahatur, eam tollunt; aliter vero intactam eam relinquunt: pari ratione, serenitati animorum ita consulendum est, ut non destruat magnanimitas. Atque de bono individuali haecenus.

POSTQUAM igitur de bono fuitatis (quod etiam particulare, privatum, individuale, appellare solemus) jam dixerimus; repetamus bonum communis, quod societatem intuetur. Istud nomine officii vocari consuevit: siquidem vocabulum officii magis proprie attribuitur animo bene disposito erga alios: vocabulum virtutis animo intra se recte formato & composito.

Verum

Verum ista pars, primo intuitu, scientiae civili deberi videtur: attamen, si diligentius attendas, non ita: siquidem tractat regimen & imperium uniuscujusque in se ipsum, neutiquam vero in alios. Atque sicut in architectura, alia res est, postes, trabes, & caeteras aedificii partes efformare, & ad aedificandi usum praeparare; alia autem, easdem ad invicem aptare & compaginare: sicut etiam in mechanicis, instrumentum aut machinam fabricare & conficere, non idem est, quod fabricatum erigere, movere, & in opere ponere: Sic doctrina de conjugatione ipsa hominum in civitate, sive societate, differt ab ea, quae eos reddit ad hujusmodi societatis commoda conformes & bene affectos.

ISTA pars de officiis, etiam in duas] portiones tribuitur: quarum altera tractat de officio hominis in communi: altera de officiis specialibus & respectivis, pro singulorum professione, vocatione, statu, persona, & gradu. Harum primam, satis excultam, diligenterque a veteribus & aliis explicatam, jam antea retulimus; alteram quoque, sparsim quidem tractatam, licet non in corpus aliquod integrum scientiae digestam, reperimus. Neque tamen hoc ipsum, quod sparsim tractetur, reprehendimus; quinimo de hoc argumento per partes scribi longe consultius existimamus. Quis enim tanta fuerit vel perspicacia vel confidentia, ut de officiis peculiaribus & relativis, singulorum ordinum & conditionum, perite & ad vivum disceptare & definire possit aut sustineat? Tractatus autem, qui experientiam non sapiunt, sed ex notitia rerum generali & scholastica tantummodo deprompti sunt de rebus hujusmodi, inanes plerumque evadunt & inutiles. Quamvis enim aliquando contingat, spectatorem ea animadvertere, quae lusorem fugiant; atque jactetur proverbium quoddam magis audaculum, quam sanum, de censura vulgi circa actiones principum, *stantem in valle optime perlustrare montem*; optandum tamen inprimis esset, ut non nisi expertissimus & versatissimus quisque se hujusmodi argumentis immisceret. Hominum enim speculativorum, in materiis activis, lucubrationes, iis, qui in agendo fuerint exercitati, nihilo meliores videntur, quam dissertationes Phormionis de bellis aestimatae sunt ab Hannibale, qui eas habuit pro somniis & deliriis. Unum duntaxat vitium illos occupat, qui de rebus ad suum munus aut artem pertinentibus libros conscribunt; quod scilicet in illis ipsis Spartis suis ornandis atque attollendis modum tenere nesciant.

IN hoc genere librorum, piaculum foret, non meminisse (honoris causa) excellentissimi illius operis, a maiestate tua elucubрати, De officio regis. Scriptum enim hoc plurimos intra se cumulavit ac recondidit thesauros, tam conspicuos, quam occultos, theologiae, ethicae, & politicae; insigni cum aspersione aliarum artium: Estque, meo iudicio, inter scripta, quae mihi perlegere contigerit, praecipue sanum & solidum. Non illud ullo loco, aut inventionis fervore aestuat, aut indiligentiae frigore torpet aut dormitat; non vertigine aliquando corripitur, unde in ordine suo servando confundatur aut excidat; non digressionibus distrahitur, ut illa, quae nihil ad rhombum sunt, expatiatione aliqua flexuosa complectatur: non odoramentorum aut pigmentorum fucis adulteratur; qualibus illi utuntur, qui lectorum potius delectationi, quam argumenti naturae inserviunt: ante omnia vero, spiritu valet istud opus non minus, quam corpore, utpote quod & cum veritati optime consentiat, & ad usum sit accommodatissimum. Quinetiam vitio illo, de quo paulo ante diximus, (quod, si in alio quopiam, in rege certe, & scripto de maiestate regia, tolerandum fuerit) omnino caret: nempe, quod culmen & fastigium regium non immodice aut invidiose extollat; siquidem

siquidem majestas tua regem non depinxit aliquem, Assyriae aut Persiae, gloria, externo fastu nitentem, & coruscantem: sed vere Mosem, aut Davidem, pastores scilicet populi sui. Neque vero mihi unquam memoria excidet dictum quoddam vere regium, quod in lite gravissima terminanda, majestas tua, pro sacro illo, quo praeditus es, Spiritu, ad populos regendos pronuntiavit; nimirum, *Reges juxta leges regnorum suorum gubernacula tractare, quemadmodum & Deus juxta leges naturae: & aequae raro praerogativam illam suam, quae leges transcendit, ab illis usurpandam, ac a Deo videmus usurpari potestatem miracula patrandi.* Nihilo tamen secius, ex libro illo altero, a majestate tua conscripto de libera monarchia, satis omnibus innotescit, non minus majestati tuae cognitam esse & perspectam plenitudinem potestatis regiae, atque ultimitates (ut scholastici loquuntur) jurium regalium, quam officii & muneris regii limites & cancellos. Non dubitavi igitur in medium adducere librum illum a majestatis tuae calamo exaratum, tanquam exemplum primum & maxime illustre tractatum de peculiaribus & respectivis officiis. Quo de libro, quae a me jam dicta sunt, dixissem profecto, si ante annos mille a rege quopiam conscriptus fuisset. Neque vero me movet decorum illud, quod vulgo praescribitur, ne quis coram laudetur: modo laudes illae nec modum excedant, nec intempestive, aut nulla data occasione, tribuantur. Cicero certe, in luculentissima illa oratione sua pro M. Marcello, nihil aliud agit, quam ut exhibeat tabulam quandam, singulari artificio depictam, de laudibus Caesaris, licet coram ipso oratio illa haberetur. Quod & Plinius secundus erga Trajanum. Itaque jam ad propositum revertamur.

PERTINET porro ad hanc partem de officiis respectivis vocationum, & professionum singularum, doctrina alia, tanquam priori relativa, sive opposita; nimirum de fraudibus, cautelis, imposturis, & vitiis ipsarum: siquidem depravationes & vitia officiis & virtutibus opponuntur. Neque omnino de his, in plurimis scriptis & tractatibus, filetur: sed saepe, ad illa notanda, saltem obiter excurritur. At quo tandem modo? per satyram scilicet, & cynice (more Luciani) potius, quam serio & graviter. Etenim, plus operae impenditur, ut pleraque in artibus etiam utilia & sana, maligno dente vellicentur, & ad ludibrium hominibus exponantur, quam ut, quae in iisdem corrupta sunt & vitiosa, fecernantur a salubribus & incorruptis. At optime Solomon: *quaerenti derisori scientiam, ipsa se abscondit, sed studioso fit obviam.* Quicumque enim ad scientiam accedat animo irridendi & aspernandi, inveniet proculdubio quae cavillettur plurima, ex quibus vero doctior fiat, perpauca. Verum, tractatio hujus, de quo loquimur, argumenti, gravis & prudens, atque cum integritate quadam & sinceritate conjuncta, inter munitissima virtutis ac probitatis propugnacula videtur numeranda. Nam sicut fabulose perhibetur de *basilisco*, si primus quempiam conspexerit, illico hominem perimit; si quis illum prior, basiliscus perit: pari ratione, fraudes, imposturae, & malae artes, si quis eas prior detexerit, nocendi facultate privantur; quod si illae praevenierint, tum vero, non alias, periculum creant. Est itaque quod gratias agamus *Machiavello*, & hujusmodi scriptoribus, qui aperte & indissimulanter proferrunt, quid homines facere soleant, non quid debeant. Fieri enim nullo modo potest, ut jungatur serpentina illa prudentia cum innocentia columbina, nisi quis mali ipsius naturam penitus pernoscat. Absque hoc enim deerunt virtuti sua praesidia & munimenta. Imo, neque ullo modo possit vir bonus & probus malos & improbos corrigere & emendare, nisi ipse
prius

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prius omnia malitiae latibula & profunda exploraverit. Etenim, qui iudicio plane corrupto sunt, & depravato, hoc habent, ut praesupponant honestatem in hominibus ab inscitia & simplicitate quadam morum oriri, atque ab eo tantum, quod fides habeatur concionatoribus, & paedagogis; item libris, praeceptis moralibus, & iis, qui vulgo praedicantur & decantantur, sermonibus: adeo ut, nisi plane perspiciant, opiniones suas pravas, ac corrupta & detorta principia non minus illis qui hortantur & admonent, quam sibi ipsis, esse explorata & cognita, probitatem omnem morum & consiliorum aspernentur: juxta oraculum illud Solomonis mirabile: *Non recipit stultus verba prudentiae, nisi ea dixeris, quae versantur in corde ejus.* Hanc autem partem, de cautelis, & vitiis respectivis, inter desiderata numeramus; eamque nomine satyrae seriae, sive tractatus de interioribus rerum, appellabimus.

ETIAM ad doctrinam de officiis respectivis pertinent officia mutua, inter maritum & uxorem, parentes & liberos, dominum & servum: similiter leges amicitiae, & gratitudinis; nec non civiles obligationes fraternitatum, collegiorum; etiam vicinitatis, ac similibus: verum intelligatur hoc semper, illa istic tractari, non quatenus sunt partes societatis civilis, (id enim ad politicam refertur,) sed quatenus animi singulorum, ad illa societatis vincula tuenda, instrui & praedispone debeant.

AT doctrina de bono communionis (quemadmodum & illa de individuali) bonum tractat, non tantum simpliciter, sed & comparate: quo spectat, officia perpendere, inter hominem & hominem; inter casum & casum; inter privata & publica; inter tempus praesens & futurum: Sicut videre est in animadversione illa severa & atroci L. Bruti, contra filios suos, illam a plerisque in coelum laudibus efferri; at alius quispiam dixit:

Infelix, utcunque ferent ea fata minores.

Id ipsum licet intueri in coena illa, ad quam invitati sunt M. Brutus, C. Cassius, & alii. Illic enim, cum ad animos explorandos, circa conspirationem in caput Caesaris intentatam, quaestio astute mota esset, (num licitum foret tyrannum occidere?) Ibant convivae in opiniones diversas; dum alii dicerent, plane licere, quod servitus ultimum esset malorum: alii minime, quod tyrannis minus exitialis esset, quam bellum civile. Tertium autem genus, veluti ex schola Epicuri, assererat, indignum esse, prudentes periclitari pro stultis. Verum plurimi sunt casus de officiis comparatis; inter quos frequenter ille intervenit: Utrum a justitia deflectendum sit, propter salutem patriae, aut hujusmodi aliquod insigne bonum in futuro? Circa quem Jason Thessalus dicere solebat: aliqua sunt injuste facienda, ut multa juste fieri possint: verum replicatio in promptu est: authorem praesentis justitiae habes; sponsores futurae non habes. Sequantur homines, quae in praesentia bona & iusta sunt; futura divinae providentiae remittentes. Atque circa doctrinam de exemplari, sive de bono, haec dicta sint.

C A P. III.

Partitio doctrinae de cultura animi ; in doctrinam de characteribus animorum ; de affectibus ; & de remediis sive curationibus. Appendix doctrinae ejusdem de congruitate inter bonum animi, & bonum corporis.

NUNC igitur, postquam de fructu vitae (sensu intelligimus philosophico) verba fecerimus ; superest, ut de cultura animi, quae ei debetur, dicamus : sine qua pars prior nihil aliud videtur, quam imago quaedam, aut statua, pulchra quidem aspectu, sed motu & vita destituta. Cui sententiae Aristoteles ipse disertis verbis suffragatur : *Neceesse est igitur de virtute dicere, & quid sit, & ex quibus gignatur. Inutile enim fere fuerit, virtutem quidem nosse, acquirendae autem ejus modos & vias ignorare. Non enim de virtute tantum, qua specie sit, quaerendum est, sed & quomodo sui copiam faciat : utrumque enim volumus, & rem ipsam nosse, & ejus compotes fieri : Hoc autem ex voto non succedet, nisi sciamus, & ex quibus, & quo modo.* Verbis adeo expressis, atque etiam iterato, hanc partem inculcat ; quam tamen ipse non persequitur. Hoc similiter illud est, quod Cicero Catoni juniori, veluti laudem non vulgarem, attribuit ; quod scilicet philosophiam amplexus esset, non disputandi causa, ut magna pars, sed ita vivendi. Quamvis autem, pro temporum, in quibus vivimus, socordia, paucis curae sit, ut animum sedulo colant & componant, & vitae rationem ad normam aliquam instituant ; (secundum illud Senecae, *De partibus vitae quisque deliberat ; de summa nemo* : adeo ut haec pars censeri possit supervacua :) illud tamen minime nos movet, ut eam intactam relinquamus, quin potius cum illo Hippocratis aphorismo concludimus ; *Qui gravi morbo correpti, dolores non sentiunt, iis mens aegrotat.* Medicina illis hominibus opus est, non solum ad curandum morbum, sed ad sensum expergefaciendum. Quod si quis objiciat, animorum curationem, theologiae sacrae munus esse, verissimum est quod asserit ; at tamen philosophiam moralem in famulitium theologiae recipi, instar ancillae prudentis, & pedissequae fidelis, quae ad omnes ejus nutus praesto sit, & ministret, quid prohibeat ; etenim quemadmodum in Psalmo habetur, quod *Oculi ancillae perpetuo ad manus dominae respiciunt* : cum tamen minime dubium sit, quin haud pauca ancillae judicio & curae relinquantur : eodem modo & ethica obsequium theologiae omnino praestare debet, ejusque praeceptis morigerà esse ; ita tamen ut & ipsa, intra suos limites, haud pauca sana & utilia documenta continere possit.

HANC igitur partem (quando praestantiam ejus in animo recolo) in corpus doctrinae nondum redactam, non possum non vehementer mirari. Eam igitur, ex more nostro, cum inter desiderata collocemus, aliqua ex parte adumbrabimus.

ANTE omnia igitur in hac re (sicut & in universis, quae spectant ad practicam) ratio nobis est subducenda, quid in nostra sit potestate, quid non. In altero enim datur alteratio, in altero vero applicatio tantum. Agricolae nullum est imperium, aut in naturam soli, aut in aëris temperies ; itidem nec medico, aut in crasin & constitutionem naturalem aegri, aut in accidentium varietatem. At in cultura animi, & morbis ejus persanandis, tria in considerationem veniunt ; characteres diversi dispositionum ; affectus, & remedia :

media: quemadmodum & in corporibus medicandis proponuntur illa tria; complexio, five constitutio aegri, morbus, & curatio. Ex illis autem tribus, postremum tantum in nostra potestate situm est; priora duo non item. Verum & in illis ipsis, quae in potestate nostra non sunt, non minus diligens facienda est inquisitio, quam in illis, quae potestati nostrae subjiciuntur. Etenim illorum perspicax & accurata cognitio substernenda est doctrinae de remediis, ut eadem commodius & felicius applicentur. Neque enim vestis corpori aptari possit, nisi mensura corporis ante excipiatur.

PRIMUS igitur articulus doctrinae de cultura animi, versabitur circa diversos characteres ingeniorum five dispositionum. Neque tamen loquimur de vulgatis illis propensionibus in virtutes & vitia; aut etiam in perturbationes & affectus: sed de magis intrinsecis & radicalibus. Sane subiit animum, etiam in hac parte, nonnunquam admiratio, quod a scriptoribus, tam ethicis, quam politicis, ut plurimum neglecta aut praetermissa sit; cum utrique scientiae clarissimum luminis jubar affundere possit. In traditionibus astrologiae non inscite omnino distincta sunt ingenia, & dispositiones hominum, ex praedominantiis planetarum; quod alii a natura facti sint ad contemplationes; alii ad res civiles; alii ad militiam: alii ad ambitum; alii ad amores; alii ad artes; alii ad genus vitae varium. Item apud poetas (heroicos, satyricos, tragicos, comicos) sparguntur ubique simulachra ingeniorum, licet fere cum excessu, & praeter modum veritatis. Quin & hoc ipsum argumentum, de diversis characteribus ingeniorum est ex iis rebus, in quibus sermones hominum communes (quod valde raro, interdum tamen contingit) libris ipsis sunt prudentiores. At longe optima hujus tractatus suppellex & sylva peti debet ab historicis prudentioribus: Neque tamen ab elogiis tantum, quae sub obitum personae alicujus illustris subnectere solent, sed multo magis ex corpore integro historiae, quoties hujusmodi persona veluti scenam conscendat. Illa enim intertexta imago, potior videtur descriptio, quam elogii censura: Qualis habetur apud T. Livium, Africani & Catonis majoris: apud Tacitum, Tiberii, Claudii & Neronis: apud Herodianum, Septimii Severi: apud Philippum Comineum, Lodovici undecimi Gallorum regis: apud Franciscum Guicciardinum, Ferdinandi Hispani, Maximiliani Caesaris, & Leonis, & Clementis, pontificum. Isti enim scriptores harum personarum, quas sibi depingendas delegerunt, effigies quasi perpetuo intuentes, nunquam fere rerum gestarum ab ipsis mentionem faciunt, quin & aliquid insuper de natura ipsorum inspergant. Etiam nonnullae, in quas incidimus, relationes de conclavibus pontificum, characteres de moribus cardinalium bonos exhibuerunt: sicut & literae legatorum, de consiliariis principum. Fiat itaque ex ea, quam diximus, materia, (quae certe fertilis est & copiosa) tractatus diligens & plenus. Neque vero volumus, ut characteres isti in ethicis (ut sit apud historicos, & poetas, & in sermonibus communibus,) excipiantur, tanquam imagines civiles integrae: sed potius ut imaginum ipsarum lineae & ductus magis simplices; quae inter se compositae & commixtae quascunque effigies constituunt. Quot & quales eae sunt, & quomodo inter se connexae & subordinatae; ut fiat tanquam artificiosa & accurata ingeniorum & animorum dissectio, atque ut dispositio- num, in hominibus individuis, secreta prodantur, atque ex eorum notitia, curationum animi praecepta rectius instituantur.

NEQUE vero characteres ingeniorum, ex natura impressi, recipi tantum in hunc tractatum debent; sed & illi, qui alias animo imponuntur, ex sexu, aetate, patria, valetudine, forma, & similibus: atque insuper illi qui ex fortuna,

tuna, veluti principum, nobilium, ignobilium, divitum, pauperum, magistratum, idiotarum, felicium, aerumnosorum & huiusmodi. Videmus enim, Plautum miraculi loco habere, quod senex quis sit beneficus; benignitas huius, ut adolescentuli est. D. autem Paulus, severitatem disciplinae erga Cretenses praecipiens (increpa eos dure) ingenium gentis ex poeta accusat, *Cretenses semper mendaces, malae bestiae, ventres pigri*. Salustius id in regum ingeniis notat, quod apud eos frequens sit contradictoria appetere. Plerumque regiae voluntates, ut vehementes sunt, sic mobiles, saepeque ipsae sibi adversae. Tacitus observat, honores & dignitates ingenia hominum in deterius saepius flectere, quam in melius; solus Vespasianus mutatus est in melius. Pindarus illud animadvertit, fortunam subitam & indulgentem, animos plerumque enervare & solvere; sunt, qui magnam felicitatem concoquere non possunt. Psalmus innuit, facilius esse modum adhibere & temperamentum in fortunae statu, quam in incremento: *Divitiae si affluant, nolite cor apponere*. De similibus quibusdam observationibus ab Aristotele in rhetoricis mentionem obiter factam non inficior, nec non in aliorum scriptis nonnullis sparsim: Verum nunquam adhuc incorporatae fuerunt in moralem philosophiam; ad quam principaliter pertinent: Non minus certe quam ad agriculturam, tractatus de diversitate soli & glebae; aut ad medicinam, tractatus de complexionibus aut habitibus corporum diversis. Id autem nunc tandem fieri oportet, nisi forte imitari velimus temeritatem empiricorum, qui iisdem utuntur medicamentis ad aegrotos omnes, cujuscunque sint constitutionis.

SEQUITUR doctrinam de characteribus doctrina de affectibus & perturbationibus, qui loco morborum animi sunt, ut jam dictum est. Quemadmodum enim politici prisci de democratiis dicere solebant; quod populus esset mari ipsi similis, oratores autem ventis: Quia sicut mare per se placidum foret & tranquillum, nisi a ventis ageretur & turbaretur; sic & populus esset natura sua pacatus & tractabilis, nisi a seditiosis oratoribus impelleretur & incitaretur: Similiter vere affirmari possit, naturam mentis humanae sedatam fore, & sibi constantem, si affectus, tanquam venti non tumultuarentur, ac omnia miscerent. Et hic rursus subiit nova admiratio, Aristotelem, qui tot libros de ethicis conscripsit, affectus, ut membrum ethicae principale, in illis non tractasse; in rhetoricis autem, ubi tractandi interveniunt secundo (quatenus scilicet oratione cieri aut commoveri possint) locum illis reperisse: (In quo tamen loco de iis, quantum tam paucis fieri potuit, acute & bene differuit:) Nam disceptationes ejus de voluptate & dolore huic tractatui nullo modo satisfaciunt: non magis quam, qui de luce & lumine tantum scriberet, de particularium colorum natura scripsisse diceretur: Siquidem voluptas & dolor erga affectus particulares ita se habent, ut lux erga colores. Meliorem certe in hoc argumento (quatenus ex his quae nunc extant, conjicere liceat) diligentiam adhibuerunt Stoici; at tamen talem, quae potius in definitionum subtilitate, quam in tractatu aliquo pleno & fuso, consisteret. Equidem reperio etiam libellos, quosdam elegantes, de nonnullis ex affectibus; veluti de ira, de inutili verecundia, & aliis perpaucis. Sed si verum omnino dicendum sit, doctores hujus scientiae praecipui sunt poetae & historici, in quibus ad vivum depingi & dissectari solet, quomodo affectus excitandi sunt & accendendi? Quomodo leniendi & sopiendi? Quomodo rursus continendi ac refranandi ne in actus erumpant? Quomodo itidem se, licet compressi & occultati prodant? Quas operationes edant? Quas vices subeant? Qualiter sibi mutuo implicentur? Qualiter

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Qualiter inter se digladiantur & opponantur? Et innumera hujus generis. Inter quae hoc ultimum plurimi est usus in moralibus & civilibus; qualiter (inquam) affectus affectum in ordinem cogat; & alterius auxilio, ad alterum subjugandum, uti liceat? Venatorum & aucupum more, qui bestiae opera ad bestias, volucris alicujus ad volucres capiendas utuntur: Quod fortasse aliter ex sese, absque brutorum auxilio, homo tam facile praestare non possit. Quin & hoc fundamento nititur excellens ille, & per omnia patens, usus in civilibus praemii & poenae; quae rerumpublicarum columnen sunt; cum affectus illi praedominantes formidinis & spei, alios omnes affectus noxios coerceant & suppriment. Etiam sicut in regimine status, non raro fit ut factio factione in officio contineatur; similiter fit & in regimine mentis interno.

PERVENIMUS nunc ad illa, quae in nostra sunt potestate, quaeque operantur in animum, voluntatemque & appetitum afficiunt & circumagunt; ideoque ad immutandos mores plurimum valent. Qua in parte debuerant philosophi strenue & gnaviter inquirere; De viribus & energia consuetudinis, exercitationis, habitus, educationis, imitationis, aemulationis, convictus, amicitiae, laudis, reprehensionis, exhortationis, famae, legum, librorum, studiorum, & si quae sunt alia. Haec enim sunt illa, quae regnant in moralibus; ab istis agentibus animus patitur & disponitur; ab istis veluti ingredientibus, conficiuntur pharmaca, quae ad conservandam & recuperandam animi sanitatem conducant, quatenus remediis humanis id praestari possit. Ex quorum numero unum aut alterum seligemus, in quibus paululum immorabimur, ut reliquis sint exemplo. De consuetudine igitur & habitu, pauca delibabimus.

OPINIO illa Aristotelis plane mihi videtur angustias quasdam contemplationis & negligentiam sapere: cum asserit in illas actiones, quae naturales sunt, consuetudinem nihil posse: exemplo usus, quod si lapis millies projiciatur in altum, ne inclinationem quidem sponte ascendendi acquirit: quinetiam quod saepius videndo aut audiendo, nihilo melius aut videmus aut audimus. Quamvis enim hoc teneat in aliquibus, ubi natura est peremptoria; (cujus rei causas reddere in praesentia non vacat;) aliter tamen in illis fit in quibus natura, secundum latitudinem quandam, patitur intensiorem & remissionem. Sane videre potuit, chirothecam paulo arctiorem, manui saepius inducendo, laxiorem reddi; baculum usu & mora in contrarium flexus sui naturalis incurvari, & in eodem statu paulo post durare; vocem exercitando, magis fieri robustam & sonoram; frigora aestumque consuetudine tolerari; & ejusdem generis complura. Quae quidem posteriora duo exempla propius accedunt ad rem, quam quae ab ipso adducta sunt. Attamen, utcunque hoc se habeat; quo magis verum fuerit, tam virtutes quam vitia in habitu consistere; eo magis ei contendendum fuerat, ut normas praescriberet, quomodo hujusmodi habitus fuerint acquirendi aut amovendi: Plurima siquidem confici possint praecepta de prudenti institutione exercitationum, animi non minus quam corporis. Illorum pauca recensēbimus.

PRIMUM erit, ut jam a principio caveamus a pensis, vel magis arduis, vel magis pusillis, quam res postulat: Nam si oneris nimium imponatur, apud ingenium mediocre bene sperandi alacritatem obtundes; apud ingenium fiducia plenum opinionem concitabis, qua plus sibi polliceatur, quam praestare possit; quod secum trahit socordiam. In utroque autem ingenii temperamento fiet ut experimentum expectationi non satisfaciāt: Id quod ani-

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num semper dejicit & confundit. Quod si pensa leviora fuerint, magna inducitur, in progressionis summa, jactura.

SECUNDUM erit, ut ad exercendam facultatem aliquam, quo habitus comparetur, duo inprimis tempora observentur: Alterum, quando animus optime fuerit ad rem dispositus; alterum quando pessime: Ut ex priore, plurimum in via promoveamus; ex posteriore nodos obicesque animi contentione strenua deteramus, unde tempora media facile & placide labentur.

TERTIUM erit illud praeceptum, cujus Aristoteles obiter meminit; *Ut totis viribus* (citra tamen vitium) *nitamur in contrarium illius, ad quod natura maxime impellimur*: Sicut cum in adversum gurgitis remigamus, aut baculum incurvum, ut rectum fiat, in contrarium flectimus.

QUARTUM praeceptum ex illo axiomate pendet, quod verissimum est; animum ad quaecunque feliciter trahi & suavius, si illud, quo tendimus, in intentione operantis non sit principale, sed tanquam aliud agendo superetur; quoniam ita fert natura, ut necessitatem & imperium durum ferme oderit. Sunt & alia multa, quae utiliter praecipi possint, de regimine consuetudinis; consuetudo enim, si prudenter & perite inducatur, fit revera (ut vulgo dicitur) altera natura: Quod si imperite & fortuito administratur, erit tanquam simia naturae, quae nihil ad vivum imitetur, sed inscite tantum & deformiter.

SIMILITER si de libris & studiis, eorumque ad mores virtute & influenza, verba facere vellemus; numquam desunt plurima praecepta & consilia fructuosa, eo spectantia? Annon unus ex patribus, magna cum indignatione, poesim appellavit vinum daemonum; cum revera progignat plurimas tentationes, cupiditates & opiniones vanas? Annon prudens admodum, & digna, quae bene perpendatur, est sententia Aristotelis, *Juvenes non esse idoneos moralis philosophiae auditores*: quia in illis perturbationum aestuatio nondum sedata est, nec tempore & rerum experientia consopita? Atque ut verum dicamus, an non ideo fit, ut scriptorum praeclarissimi libri & sermones (quibus ad virtutem homines efficacissime invitati sunt: tam augustam ejus majestatem omnium oculis repraesentando, quam opiniones populares, in virtutis ignominiam, tanquam habitu parasitorum indutas, derisui propinando) tam parum profint, ad vitae honestatem, & mores pravos corrigendos, quia perlegi & revolvere non consueverunt a viris aetate & judicio maturis, sed pueris tantum & tironibus relinquuntur? Annon & hoc verum est, juvenes multo minus politicae quam ethicae auditores idoneos esse, antequam religione & doctrina de moribus & officiis plane imbuantur: ne forte judicio depravati & corrupti, in eam opinionem veniant, non esse rerum differentias morales veras & solidas, sed omnia ex utilitate, aut successu metienda; sicut poeta canit:

Prosperum & felix scelus virtus vocatur.

& rursus,

Ille crucem pretium sceleris tulit, hic diadema.

Ac poetae quidem haec satyricae & per indignationem loqui videntur. At libri nonnulli politici idem serio & positive supponunt. Sic enim Macchiavello dicere placet, *Quod si contigisset Caesarem bello superatum fuisse, Catilina ipso fuisset odiosior*: Quasi vero nihil interfuisset, praeter fortunam solam, inter furiam quandam, ex libidine & sanguine conflatam, atque animum excelsum, & inter homines naturales, maxime omnium (si ambitio ab-fuisset) suspiciendum. Videmus etiam ex hoc ipso, quam necessarium sit, homines

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homines doctrinas pias & ethicas, antequam politicam degustent, plenius faucibus haurire: nimirum, quod qui in aulis principum, & negotiis civilibus, a teneris (ut aiunt) unguiculis innutriti sunt, nunquam fere sinceram & internam morum probitatem assequantur: quanto minus si accesserit etiam librorum disciplina? Porro, & in documentis ipsis moralibus, vel saltem aliquibus eorum, annon cautio pariter est adhibenda, ne inde fiant homines pertinaces, arrogantes & infociabiles? juxta illud Ciceronis de M. Catone: *Haec bona, quae videmus, divina & egregia, ipsius scitote esse propria: quae nonnunquam requirimus, ea sunt omnia non a natura, sed a magistris.* Sunt & axiomata alia complura, de iis, quae a studiis & libris, hominum animis ingenerantur. Verum est enim quod dicit ille, *Abeunt studia in mores*: Quod pariter affirmandum de caeteris illis rebus, convictu, fama, legibus patriis, & reliquis, quas paulo ante recensuimus.

CAETERUM animi quaedam est cultura, quae adhuc magis accurata & elaborata videtur, quam reliquae. Nititur autem hoc fundamento: quod omnium mortalium animi, certis temporibus, reperiuntur in statu perfectiore, aliis, in statu magis depravato. Hujus igitur culturae intentio fuerit & institutum ut bona illa tempora foveantur; prava vero tanquam ex calendario deleantur & expungantur. Ac bonorum quidem temporum fixatio duobus modis procuratur: votis, aut saltem constantissimis animi decretis, & observantiis atque exercitationibus; quae non tantum in se valent quantum in hoc, quod animum in officio & obedientia jugiter contineant. Malorum temporum oblitteratio duplici itidem ratione perfici potest: redemptione aliqua, vel expiatione praeteritorum, & novo vitae instituto, veluti de integro. Verum haec pars ad religionem plane spectare videtur; nec mirum; cum moralis philosophia vera & genuina (sicut ante dictum est) ancillae tantum vices erga theologiam suppleat.

QUAMOBREM, concludemus hanc partem de cultura animi cum eo remedio, quod omnium est maxime compendiosum & summarium, & rursus maxime nobile & efficax, quo animus ad virtutem efformetur, & in statu collocetur perfectioni proximo. Hoc autem est, ut fines vitae actionumque deligamus, & nobis ipsis proponamus rectos & virtuti congruos; qui tamen tales sint, ut eos assequendi nobis aliquatenus suppetat facultas. Si enim haec duo supponantur: ut & fines actionum sint honesti & boni, & decretum animi de iis assequendis & obtinendis, fixum sit & constans; sequetur ut continuo vertat & efformet se animus, una opera, in virtutes omnes. Atque haec certe illa est operatio, quae naturae ipsius opus referat, cum reliquae, quae diximus, videantur esse solummodo sicut opera manus. Quemadmodum enim statuarius, quando simulachrum aliquod sculpit aut incidit, illius solummodo partis figuram effingit, circa quam manus occupata est, non autem caeterarum: (veluti si faciem efformet, corpus reliquum rude permanet & informe saxum, donec ad illud quoque pervenerit:) e contra vero natura, quando florem molitur, aut animal, rudimenta partium omnium simul parit & producit: Eodem modo quando virtutes habitu acquiruntur, dum temperantiae incumbimus, ad fortitudinem aut reliquas parum proficimus; quando autem rectis & honestis finibus nos dedicaverimus penitus & devoverimus, quaecunque fuerit virtus, quam animo nostro commendaverint & imperaverint fines illi, reperiemus nos jamdudum imbutos, & praedispositos habilitate & propensione nonnulla, ad eam assequendam & exprimendam. Atque hic possit esse status ille animi, qui egregie ab Aristotele describitur; & ab eo, non virtutis, sed divinitatis cujusdam caractere

charactere insignitur. Ipsa ejus verba haec sunt; *Immanitati autem consentaneum est, opponere eam, quae supra humanitatem est, heroicam sive divinam virtutem.* Et paulo post, *Nam ut ferae neque vitium neque virtus est, sic neque Dei.* Sed hic quidem status altius quiddam virtute est; ille aliud quiddam a vitio. Plinius certe secundus, ex licentia magniloquentiae ethnicae, Trajani virtutem, divinae, non tanquam imitamentum, sed tanquam exemplar, proponit, cum ait: *Opus non esse hominibus, alias ad Deos preces fundere, quam ut benignos aequae & propitios se dominos mortalibus praestarent; ac Trajanus praestitisset.* Verum haec profanam ethnicorum jactantiam sapiunt, qui umbras quasdam corpore majores prensabant. At religio vera, & sancta fides Christiana, rem ipsam petit: imprimendo animis hominum charitatem; quae appositissime *vinculum perfectionis* appellatur, quia virtutes omnes simul colligat, & revincit. Sane elegantissime dictum est a Menandro, de amore sensuali, qui divinum illum perperam imitatur: *Amor melior sophista laevo, ad humanam vitam.* Quibus innuit, morum decus melius ab amore efformari, quam a sophista & praeceptore inepto, quem laevum appellat. Siquidem universis suis operosis regulis & praeceptionibus hominem tam dextere & expedite effingere nequeat, ut se ipsum & in pretio habeat & se belle in omnibus componat, quam amor facit. Sic proculdubio, si animus cujuscumque, fervore charitatis verae incendatur, ad majorem perfectionem evehetur, quam per universam ethicam doctrinam; quae sophistae profecto habet rationem, si cum altera illa conferatur. Quinetiam, sicut Xenophon recte observavit, *Caeteros affectus, licet animum attollant, eum tamen distorquere & discomponere per ecstases & excessus suos: amorem vero solum, eum simul & dilatare & componere.* Sic omnes aliae humanae, quas admiramur, dotes, dum naturam in majus exaltant, excessui interim sunt obnoxiae: sola autem charitas non admittit excessum. Angeli, dum ad potentiam, divinae parem, aspirarent, praevaricati sunt, & ceciderunt: *Ascendam & ero similis Altissimo.* Homo dum ad scientiam divinae parem aspiraret, praevaricatus est, & lapsus: *Eritis sicut dii; scientes bonum & malum.* Verum ad similitudinem divinae bonitatis aut charitatis aspirando, nec Angelus, nec homo, unquam in periculum venit, aut veniet. Imo ad hanc ipsam imitationem etiam invitamur: *Diligite inimicos vestros, benefacite his, qui oderunt vos, & orate pro persequentibus & calumniantibus vos, ut sitis filii Patris vestri, qui in coelis est, qui solem suum oriri facit super bonos & malos, & pluit super justos & injustos.* Quin & in ipso archetypo naturae divinae, verba sic collocat religio ethnica, (*optimus maximus*) scriptura autem sacra pronunciat; *Misericordia ejus super omnia opera ejus.*

HANC itaque moralis doctrinae partem, de georgicis animi, jam absolvimus. In qua, si ex intuitu portionum ejus, quas perstrinximus, quis existimet, operam nostram in hoc tantummodo sitam esse, ut ea in artem seu doctrinam redigeremus, quae ab aliis scriptoribus praetermissa sint, tanquam vulgata & obvia, & per se satis clara & perspicua; suo judicio libere utatur. Interim illud meminerit, quod ab initio monuimus, propositum a nobis esse, non rerum pulchritudinem, sed usum & veritatem sectari. Recordetur etiam paulisper commentum illud parabola antiquae, de geminis somni portis.

*Sunt geminae somni portae, quarum altera fertur
Cornea, qua veris facilis datur exitus umbris:*

Alter

*Altera candenti perfecta nitens elephanto;
Sed falsa ad coelum mittunt insomnia manes.*

Insignis fane magnificentia portae eburneae; tamen somnia vera per cornu-
am commean.

ADDITIONE vice poni possit circa doctrinam ethicam observatio illa;
inveniri nimirum relationem & congruitatem quandam, inter bonum animi,
& bonum corporis. Nam sicut bonum corporis constare diximus ex sani-
tate, pulchritudine, robore, ac voluptate; sic animi bonum, si juxta moralis
doctrinae scita illud contemplemur, huc tendere perspiciemus; ut animum
reddat sanum, & a perturbationibus immunem; pulchrum, verique deco-
ris ornamentis excultum; fortem, ac agilem ad omnia vitae munia obeunda;
denique non stupidum, sed voluptatis & solatii honesti sensum vivide reti-
nentem. Haec autem, sicut in corpore, ita & in animo, raro simul omnia
conjunguntur. Facile enim videre est multos, ingenii viribus & fortitudine
animi pollentes, quos infestant tamen perturbationes; quorumque etiam
moribus vix aliquid elegantiae aut venustatis, aspergitur: Alios quibus a-
bunde est in moribus elegantiae & venustatis; illis tamen non suppetit, aut
probitas animi, ut velint, aut vires, ut possint recte agere: Alios, animo
praeditos honesto, atque a vitiorum labe repurgato, qui tamen nec sibi ipsis
ornamento sunt, nec reipublicae utiles: Alios, qui istorum fortasse trium
compotes sunt, sed tamen Stoica quadam tristitia & stupiditate praediti, vir-
tutis quidem actiones exercent, gaudiis non perfruuntur. Quod si contin-
gat, ex quatuor istis duo aut tria aliquando concurrere, rarissime tamen fit,
quemadmodum diximus, ut omnia. Jam vero principale istud membrum
philosophiae humanae, quae hominem contemplatur, quatenus ex corpore
consistit atque anima, sed tamen segregatum, & citra societatem, a nobis
pertractatum est.



FRANCISCI

Baronis de VERULAMIO,

Vice-Comitis SANCTI ALBANI,

De Dignitate & Augmentis SCIENTIARUM,

LIBER OCTAVUS:

AD REGEM SUUM.

CAP. I.

Partitio doctrinae civilis, in doctrinam de conversatione ; doctrinam de negotiis ; & doctrinam de imperio, sive republica.

VETUS est narratio, (rex optime) convenisse complures philosophos solenniter, coram legato regis exteri, atque singulos pro virili parte sapientiam suam ostentasse ; ut haberet legatus, quae referret de mirabili sapientia Graecorum. Unus tamen ex eorum numero filebat, & nihil adducebat in medium : adeo ut legatus ad eum conversus diceret ; *Tu vero quid habes, quod referam ?* Cui ille ; *Refer* (inquit) *regi tuo, te invenisse apud Graecos aliquem, qui tacere sciret.* Equidem oblitus eram, in hac artium synopsi, artem tacendi interserere : quam tamen (quoniam plerumque desideretur) exemplo jam proprio docebo. Etenim, cum me tandem ordo rerum ad illud deduxerit, ut paulo post de arte imperii tractandum sit, cumque ad tantum regem scribam, qui perfectus adeo in ea arte sit magister, ipsamque ab incunabulis suis hausserit : nec omnino immemor esse possim, qualem apud majestatem tuam locum sustinuerim : consentaneum magis existimavi, me ipsum tacendo de hac re, apud majestatem tuam, quam scribendo, probare. Cicero vero, non solum artis, verum etiam eloquentiae cujusdam, quae in tacendo reperitur, meminit. Cum enim sermones nonnullos suos, cum alio quodam ultro citroque habitos, in epistola quadam ad Atticum commemorasset, sic scribit : *Hoc loco, sumpsi aliquid de tua eloquentia ; nam tacui.* Pindarus vero, (cui illud peculiare est, animos hominum inopinato, sententiola aliqua mirabili, veluti virgula divina, percutere) hujusmodi quidpiam ejaculatur : *Interdum magis afficiunt non dicta, quam dicta.* In hac parte igitur, tacere, aut quod silentio proximum est, brevis admodum esse decrevi. Verum, antequam ad artes imperii perveniam, haud pauca de aliis doctrinae civilis portionibus sunt praemittenda.

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SCIENTIA civilis, versatur circa subjectum, quod caeterorum omnium maxime est materiae immersum: ideoque difficillime ad axiomata reducitur: Sunt tamen nonnulla, quae hanc difficultatem levant. Primo enim, quemadmodum Cato ille censorius de Romanis suis dicere solitus est: *Ovibus eos similes esse, quarum gregem integrum minore quis molestia ageret, quam unam aliquam: quoniam si paucas ex grege, ut rectam ineant viam, propellere possis, caeterae ultro sequentur.* Similiter, hoc quidem respectu, ethicae munus est quodammodo illo politicae difficilius. Secundo, proponit sibi ethica, ut animus bonitate interna imbuatur, & cumuletur: at civilis scientia nihil amplius postulat praeter bonitatem externam: Haec enim ad societatem sufficit. Itaque non raro accidit, ut regimen sit bonum, tempora mala: siquidem in sacra historia illud non semel occurrit (cum de regibus bonis & piis narretur) *Sed adhuc populus non direxerat cor suum ad Dominum Deum patrum suorum.* Itaque, & hoc quoque respectu, duriores partes sunt ethicae. Tertio, hoc habent respublicae, ut tanquam machinae grandiores tardius moveantur, nec sine magno molimine; unde haud tam cito labefactantur: sicut enim in AEgypto septem anni fertiles, steriles septem sustentarunt; ita in rebuspublicis priorum temporum bona institutio efficit, ut sequentium errores non statim perniciem inferant: at singulorum hominum decreta, & mores, magis subito subverti solent. Hoc denique ethicam gravat, politicae succurrit.

SCIENTIA civilis tres habet partes, juxta tres societatis actiones summaras; doctrinam de conversatione; doctrinam de negotiis; & doctrinam de imperio sive republica; tria siquidem sunt bona, quae ex societate civili homines sibi parare expetunt: Solamen contra solitudinem, adjumentum in negotiis, & protectio contra injurias. Suntque istae tres prudentiae plane inter se diversae, & saepenumero disjunctae; prudentia in conversando, prudentia in negotiando, & prudentia in gubernando.

ENIMVERO, quod ad conversationem attinet, illa certe affectata esse non debet, at multo minus neglecta; cum prudentia in ejus moderamine, & decus quoddam morum in se ipsa prae se ferat, & ad negotia, tam publica, quam privata, commode administranda, plurimum juvet. Etenim sicut actio oratori tanti habetur, (licet sit externum quiddam) ut etiam illis alteris partibus, quae graviores & interiores videntur, anteponatur; eodem fere modo, in viro civili, conversatio, ejusque regimen, (utcunque in exterioribus occupetur) si non summum, at certe eximium locum invenit. Quale enim pondus habet vultus ipse, ejusque compositio? Recte poeta:

——— *Nec vultu destrue verba tuo.*

Poterit enim quis vim orationis vultu labefactare, & plane prodere. Quin & facta, non minus quam verba, vultu pariter destrui possint, si Ciceroni credamus: Qui, cum fratri affabilitatem commendaret erga provinciales, non in hoc eam potissimum sitam dixit, ut aditus praeberet ad se faciles, nisi etiam vultu ipso comiter accedentes exciperet. *Nil interest habere ostium apertum, vultum clausum.* Videmus quoque Atticum, sub primum Ciceronis cum Caesaris congressum, bello adhuc fervente, diligenter & serio Ciceronem per epistolam monuisse, de vultu & gestu ad dignitatem & gravitatem componendis. Quod si tantum possit oris & vultus solius moderatio, quanto magis sermo familiaris, & alia, quae ae conversationem pertinent? Atque sane summa & compendium decori & elegantiae morum in hoc fere sita sunt, ut quasi aequa lance & propriam dignitatem & aliorum metiamur

metiamur & tueamur: quod etiam non male expressit T. Livius, (licet alii rei intentus) eo personae charactere: *Ne (inquit) aut arrogans videar, aut obnoxius: quorum alterum est alienae libertatis obliti, alterum suae.* Ex contraria vero parte, si urbanitati & elegantiae morum externae impensius studeamus, transeunt illae in affectationem quandam deformem & adulterinam. *Quid enim deformius, quam scenam in vitam transferre?* Quinetiam, licet in excessum illum vitiosum minime prolabantur; temporis tamen nimium in huiusmodi leviculis absumitur, animusque ad curam ipsarum, magis quam oportet, deprimitur. Ideoque sicut in academiis, adolescenterum literarum studiosi, at sodalium congressibus plus satis indulgentes, moneri solent a praeceptoribus, *Amicos esse fures temporis*: sic certe assidua ista, in conversationis decorum, animi intentio, magnum gravioribus meditationibus furtum facit. Deinde, qui primas adeo in urbanitate obtinent, & ad hanc rem unam quasi nati videntur, hoc fere habent, ut sibi ipsis in illa sola complacent, & ad virtutes solidiores & celsiores, vix unquam aspirent: Quando e contra, qui sibi in hac parte defectus sunt conscii, decus ex bona existimatione quaerunt: ubi enim adest bona existimatio, omnia fere decent; ubi vero illa deficit, tum demum a commoditate morum atque urbanitate subsidium petendum est. Porro, ad res gerendas, vix gravius aut frequentius reperias impedimentum, quam huiusce decori externi curiosam nimis observationem, atque illud alterum, quod huic ipsi inservit; nimirum, anxiam temporis atque opportunitatum electionem. Egregie enim Solomon: *Qui respicit ad ventos, non seminat; qui respicit ad nubes, non metit.* Creanda siquidem nobis est opportunitas saepius quam opperienda. Ut verbo dicamus, urbana ista morum compositio, veluti vestis animi est, & proinde vestis commoditates referre debet. Primum enim talis esse debet, ut sit in usu communi: rursus, ut non sit nimis delicata aut sumptuosa: deinde, ita conficienda, ut si qua sit in animo virtus, eam exhibeat maxime conspicuam: si qua deformitas, eandem suppleat & occultet: Postremo, & super omnia, ne sit nimis arcta, atque ita animum angustet, ut ejusdem motus in rebus gerendis cohibeat & impediat. Verum haec pars scientiae civilis de conversatione eleganter profecto a nonnullis tractata est, neque ullo modo tanquam desiderata reponi debet.

C A P. II.

Partitio doctrinae de negotiis; in doctrinam de occasionibus sparsis, & doctrinam de ambitu vitae. Exemplum doctrinae de occasionibus sparsis, ex parabolis aliquibus Solomonis. Praecepta de ambitu vitae.

DOCTRINAM de negotiis partiemur in doctrinam de occasionibus sparsis, & doctrinam de ambitu vitae: Quarum altera universam negotiorum varietatem complectitur, & vitae communis tanquam amanuensis est; altera, ea tantum, quae ad propriam cuiusque fortunam amplificandam spectant, excerpit, & suggerit; quae singulis, pro intimis quibusdam rerum suarum tabellis aut codicillis esse possint. Verum antequam ad species descendamus, aliquid circa doctrinam de negotiis in genere praefabimur. Doctrinam de negotiis, pro rei momento, tractavit adhuc nemo; cum magna, tam literarum quam literatorum, existimationis iactura. Ab hac enim ra-

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dice pullulat illud malum, quod notam eruditio inuffit; nimirum eruditionem & prudentiam civilem raro admodum conjungi. Etenim fi quis recte advertat, ex prudentiis illis tribus, quas modo diximus ad vitam civilem fpectare, illa conversationis ab eruditio fere contemnitur, tanquam fervile quiddam, atque infuper meditationibus inimicum. Quod vero ad illam de republica adminiftranda; fane fi quando rerum gubernaculis admoveantur eruditi, munus fuum non incommode fuftinent; verum ea promotio contingit paucis. De prudentia autem negotiandi, (qua de nunc loquimur) in qua vita humana plurimum verfatur, nulli omnino libri confcripti habentur; praeter pauca quaedam monita civilia in fasciculum unum aut alterum collecta, quae amplitudini hujus fubjecti nullo modo respondent. Et enim fi libri aliqui extarent de hoc argumento, ficut de caeteris, minime dubitaverim, quin viri eruditi, aliquo experientiae manipulo inftructi, ineruditos, licet diutina experientia edoctos, longe fuperarent, & proprio illorum (quod dicitur) arcu ufi, magis e longinquo ferirent.

NEQUE vero eft cur vereamur, ne fcientiae hujus tam varia fit materia, ut fub praeceptionibus non cadat: Multo fiquidem anguftior eft, quam illa reipublicae adminiftrandae fcientia; quam tamen apprime videmus excultam. Hujus generis prudentiae apud Romanos, optimis temporibus, extitiffe videntur nonnulli profeffores. Teftatur enim Cicero moris fuiiffe, paulo ante fua faecula, ut fenatores, prudentia & rerum ufu maxime celebres, (Coruncanii, Curii, Laelii & alii) ftatis horis in foro deambulant, ubi civibus copiam fui facerent & confulerentur, non de jure fed de negotiis omnigenis: Veluti de filia elocanda, five de filio educando, five de praedio co-emendo, de contractu, accusatione, defenfione, aut alia quacunque re, quae in vita communi interveniat. Ex quo liquet, prudentiam quandam effe confilium dandi, etiam in negotiis privatis, ex univerfali rerum civilium cognitione & experientia promanantem; quae exerceatur quidem in cafibus particularibus, extrahatur autem ex generali cafuum confimilium obfervatione. Sic enim videmus in eo libro, quem ad fratrem confcripfit Q. Cicero, de petitione confultatus, (quem unicum a veteribus habemus, quantum memini tractatum de negotio aliquo particulari) quanquam ad confilium dandum, de re tum praefenti, potiffimum fpectaret, plurima tamen contineri axiomata politica, quae non ufum folum temporarium, fed normam quandam perpetuam circa electiones populares praefcribant. In hoc genere autem nihil invenitur, quod ullo modo comparandum fit cum aphorifmis illis, quos edidit rex Solomon: De quo teftatur fcriptura *cor illi fuiiffe infar arenae maris*: Sicut enim arenae maris univerfas orbis oras circundant, ita & fapientia ejus omnia humana non minus quam divina complexa eft. In aphorifmis vero illis, praeter alia magis theologica, reperies liquido haud pauca praeepta & monita civilia praefantiffima, ex profundis quidem fapientiae penetralibus fcaturientia, atque in ampliffimum varietatis campum excurrentia. Quoniam vero doctrinam de occafionibus fparfis (quae doctrinae de negotiis portio eft prior) inter defiderata reponimus, ex more noftro paulisper in illa immorabimur: Atque exemplum ejusdem, ex aphorifmis five parabolis illis Solomonis defumptum, proponemus. Neque vero quis, ut arbitramur, nos merito fugillare poffit, quod ex fcriptoribus facrae fcripturae aliquem ad fenfum politicum trahamus: Equidem exiftimo, fi extarent commentarii illi Solomonis ejusdem, de natura rerum, (in quibus de omni vegetabili, a musco fuper murum ad cedrum Libani, itemque de animalibus, confcripfit) non illicitum effe, eos fecundum fenfum naturalem interpretari: Quod idem nobis liceat in politicis.

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Exemplum portionis doctrinae de occasionibus sparsis, ex parabolis aliquibus Solomonis.

Parab. 1. MOLLIS responsio frangit iram.

Explicatio. SI incendatur ira principis vel superioris adversus te, & tu ac jam fiat loquendi partes, duo praecipit Solomon: Alterum ut fiat responsio, alterum ut eadem sit mollis. Prius continet tria praecepta. Primo, ut caveas a silentio tristi & contumaci: Illud enim aut culpam totam in te recipit, ac si nihil habeas, quod respondere possis; aut dominum occulte iniquitatis insinuat, ac si aures ejus, defensionem licet justae, non paterent. Secundo, ut caveas a re comperendinanda, neque tempus aliud ad defensionem postules: Hoc enim aut eandem notam inurit, quam prius, nimirum dominum tuum nimia mentis perturbatione efferri; aut plane significat, te artificiosam quandam defensionem meditari, cum in promptu nihil habeas: Adeo ut optimum semper fuerit, aliquid in praesentia, & e re nata, in excusationem tui adducere. Tertio, ut fiat prorsus responsio: Responsio, inquam, non mera confessio, aut mera submissio, sed aliquid apologiae & excusationis inspergatur: Neque enim aliter tutum est facere, nisi apud ingenia valde generosa & magnanima; quae rara admodum sunt. Sequitur posteriore loco, ut responsio sit mollis, minime prae fracta aut aspera.

Parab. 2. SERVUS prudens dominabitur in filium stultum; & partietur haereditatem inter fratres.

Exp. IN omni familia turbata & discordi, semper exurgit aliquis servus, aut humilis amicus praepotens, qui pro arbitrio se gerat, ad lites familiae componendas; cuique, eo nomine & familia tota & dominus ipse sunt obnoxii. Ille si suam rem agat, familiae mala fovet & aggravat: sin fidelis revera fuerit & integer, plurimum certe meretur: Adeo ut etiam tanquam inter fratres haberi debeat, aut saltem procurationem haereditatis accipere fiduciarium.

Parab. 3. VIR sapiens si cum stulto contenderit, five irascatur, five rideat, non inveniet requiem.

Exp. MONEMUR saepius, ut congressum imparem fugiamus; eo sensu, ne cum potioribus decertemus. At haud minus utile est monitum, quod hic exhibet Solomon, Ne cum indigno contendamus. Iniqua enim prorsus forte haec res transigitur. Siquidem si superiores simus, nulla sequitur victoria; si superemur magna indignitas. Neque juvat etiam, in hujusmodi contentione exercenda, si interdum veluti per jocum agamus, interdum cum fastu & contemptu. Nam quocumque nos vertamus, leviores inde efficiemur, neque commode nos explicabimus. Pessime autem fit, si hujusmodi persona, quacum contendimus, (ut Solomon loquitur,) aliquid affine habeat cum stulto; hoc est, si sit audaculus & temerarius.

Parab. 4. SED & cunctis sermonibus, qui dicuntur, ne accommodes aurem tuam, ne forte audias servum tuum maledicentem tibi.

Exp. VIX credi possit vitam quantum perturbet inutilis curiositas, circa illas res, quae nostra intersunt: Nimirum, quando secreta illa rimari fatagimus, quae detecta & inventa, aegritudinem quidem animo inferant, ad consilia autem expedienda nihil juvent. Primo enim sequitur animi vexatio & inquietudo, cum humana omnia perfidiae & ingratitude plena sint. Adeo ut si comparari posset speculum aliquod magicum, in quo odia & quaecumque contra nos ullibi commoventur, intueri possemus, melius nobis foret, si protinus projiceretur & collideretur. Hujusmodi enim res, veluti
foliorum

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foliorum murmura sunt & brevi evanescunt. Secundo curiositas illa animum suspicionibus nimis onerat; quod consiliis inimicissimum est, eaque reddit inconstantia & complicata. Tertio eadem mala ipsa saepissime figit, alias praetervolutura: Grave enim est conscientias hominum irritare; qui, si latere se putent, facile mutantur in melius, sin deprehensos se sentiant, malum malo pellunt. Merito igitur summae prudentiae tribuebatur Pompeio Magno, quod Sertorii chartas universas, nec a se perlectas, nec aliis permissas, igni protinus dedisset.

Parab. 5. ADVENTIT veluti viator pauperies, & egestas quasi vir armatus.

Exp. ELEGANTER describitur in parabola, quomodo prodigis & circa rem familiarem incuriosis, superveniant naufragia fortunarum. A principio enim pedetentim & passibus lentis, instar viatoris, advenit obaeratio & fortis diminutio, neque fere sentitur: At non multo post invadit egestas, tanquam vir armatus, manu scilicet tam forti & potente, ut ei amplius resisti non possit: Cum apud antiquos recte dictum sit, necessitatem ex omnibus rebus esse fortissimam. Itaque viatori occurrendum, contra armatum muniendum.

Parab. 6. QUI erudit derisorem, ipse sibi injuriam facit; & qui arguit impium, sibi maculam generat.

Exp. CONGRUIT cum praecepto Salvatoris, Ut non mittamus margaritas nostras ante porcos. Distinguuntur autem in hac parabola actiones praecceptionis & reprehensionis; distinguuntur itidem personae derisoris & impii: Distinguitur postremo id quod rependitur. In priore enim rependitur opera lusa; in posteriore etiam & macula. Cum enim quis erudit & instituit derisorem, jactura primum fit temporis; deinde & alii conatum irrident, tanquam rem vanam, & operam male collocatam; postremo derisor ipse scientiam, quam didicit, fastidio habet. At majore cum periculo transigitur res in reprehensione impii; quia non solum impius non auscultat; sed & cornua obvertit, & reprehensorem odiosum sibi jam factum, aut confestim convitiis proscindit, aut saltem postea apud alios criminatur.

Parab. 7. FILIUS sapiens laetificat patrem: Filius vero stultus moestitiae est matri suae.

Exp. DISTINGUUNTUR solatia atque aegritudines oeconomicae, patris videlicet & matris circa liberos suos. Etenim filius prudens & frugi, praecipuo solatio est patri, qui virtutis pretium melius novit, quam mater; ac propterea filii sui indoli, ad virtutem propensae, magis gratulatur: Quinetiam gaudium illi fortasse affert institutum suum, quod filium tam probe educarit, illique honestatem morum, praeceptis & exemplo impresserit. E contra mater calamitati filii plus compatitur & indolet; tum ob affectum maternum magis mollem & tenerum; tum fortasse indulgentiae suae conscia, qua eum corruerit & depravaverit.

Parab. 8. MEMORIA justis cum laudibus; at nomen impiorum putrescet.

Exp. DISTINGUITUR inter famam virorum bonorum & malorum, qualis esse soleat post obitum. Viris enim bonis extincta invidia, (quae famam eorum, dum vixerant, carpebat) nomen continuo efflorescit, & laudes magis indies invalescunt: At viris malis (licet fama eorum, per gratiam amicorum & factionis suae hominum, ad breve tempus manserit) paulo post fastidium nominis oboritur, & postremo laudes illae evanidae in infamiam, & veluti in odorem gravem & tetrum desinunt.

Parab. 9. QUI conturbat domum suam, possidebit ventos.

Exp. UTILE admodum monitum, de discordiis & turbis domesticis. Plurimi enim, ex dissidiis uxorum, aut exhaeredationibus filiorum, aut mutationibus frequentibus familiae, magna sibi spondent; ac si inde, vel animi tranquillitas, vel rerum suarum administratio felicior, sibi obventura foret. Sed plerumque abeunt spes suae in ventos. Et enim, tum mutationes illae, ut plurimum non cedunt in melius; tum etiam perturbatores isti familiae suae, molestias varias, & ingratitude eorum, quos, aliis praeteritis, adoptant & deligunt, saepenumero experiuntur. Quin & hoc pacto rumores sibi progignunt non optimos, & famas ambiguas: Neque enim male a Cicerone notatum est; Omnem famam a domesticis manare. Utrumque autem malum per ventorum possessionem eleganter a Solomone exprimitur: Nam & expectationis frustratio, & rumorum suscitatio, ventis recte comparantur.

Parab. 10. MELIOR est finis orationis, quam principium.

Exp. CORRIGIT parabola errorem frequentissimum, non solum apud eos, qui verbis praecipue student, verum etiam apud prudentiores. Is est, quod homines de sermonum suorum aditu atque ingressu magis sint solliciti, quam de exitu; & accuratius exordia & praefatiunculas meditentur, quam extrema orationum. Debuerant autem nec illa negligere, & ista, ut longe potiora, praeparata & digesta apud se habere; revolventes secum, & quantum fieri potest, animo prospicientes, quis tandem exitus sermonis sit futurus, & quomodo negotia inde promoveri & maturari possint. Neque hic finis. Quinimo non epilogos tantum, & sermonum, qui ad ipsa negotia spectant, egressus meditari oportet; verum etiam & illorum sermonum cura suscipienda, quos sub ipsum discessum commode & urbane injicere possint, licet a negotio prorsus alienos. Equidem cognovi consiliarios duos viros certe magnos, & prudentes, & quibus onus rerum tunc praecipue incumberebat; quibus illud fuit perpetuum & proprium, ut quoties cum principibus suis de negotiis ipsorum communicarent, colloquia in rebus ad ipsa negotia spectantibus nunquam terminarent; verum semper aut ad jocum, aut aliud aliquid, quod audire erat volupe, diverticula quaerere; atque ut adagio dicitur, *sermones marinos aqua fluviali sub extremum abluerent*. Neque hoc illis inter artes postremum erat.

Parab. 11. Sicut muscae mortuae foetere faciunt unguentum optimum, sic hominem pretiosum sapientia & gloria, parva stultitia.

Exp. INIQUA admodum & misera est conditio hominum virtute praecellentium, (ut optime notat parabola) quia erroribus eorum, quantumvis levissimis, nullo modo ignoscitur. Verum, quemadmodum in gemma, valde nitida, minimum quodque granulum, aut nubecula oculos ferit & molestia quadam afficit; quod tamen si in gemma vitiosiore repertum foret, vix notam subiret: Similiter in viris singulari virtute praeditis, minima quaeque vitia statim in oculos & sermones hominum incurrunt, & censura perstringuntur graviore; quae in hominibus mediocribus aut omnino laterent, aut veniam facile reperirent. Itaque viro valde prudenti parva stultitia; valde probo parvum peccatum; urbano & moribus eleganti paululum indecori, de fama & existimatione multum detrahit. Adeo ut non pessimum foret viris egregiis, si nonnulla absurda (quod citra vitium fieri possit) actionibus suis immiscerent; ut libertatem quandam sibi retineant, & parvorum defectuum notas confundant.

Parab.

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Parab. 12. Homines derisores civitatem perdunt; sapientes vero aver-
tunt calamitatem.

Exp. MIRUM videri possit, quod in descriptione hominum, qui ad res-
publicas labefactandas & perdendas veluti natura comparati & facti sunt, de-
legerit Solomon characterem; non hominis superbi & insolentis; non ty-
rannici & crudelis; non temerarii & violenti; non impii & scelerati; non
injusti & oppressoris; non seditiosi & turbulenti; non libidinosi & volup-
tarii; non denique insipientis & inhabilis: Sed derisoris. Verum hoc sapien-
tia ejus regis, qui rerumpublicarum conservationes & everfiones optime norat,
dignissimum est. Neque enim similis fere est pestis regnis & rebuspublicis,
quam si consiliarii regum, aut senatores, quique gubernaculis rerum admo-
ventur, sint ingenio derisores. Hujusmodi enim homines, periculorum mag-
nitudinem, ut fortes videantur senatores, semper extenuant; iisque qui pe-
ricula, prout par est, ponderant, veluti timidis insultant: Consultandi &
deliberandi maturas moras, & meditatae disceptationes, veluti rem oratori-
am, & taedii plenam, & ad summas rerum nihil facientem, subsannant: Fa-
mam, ad quam principum consilia praecipue sunt componenda, ut salivam
vulgi, & rem cito praetervolaturam, contemnunt: Legum vim & authori-
tatem, ut reticula quaedam, quibus res majores minime cohiberi debeant,
nil morantur: Consilia & praecautiones in longum prospicientes, ut somnia
quaedam, & apprehensiones melancholicas, rejiciunt: Viris revera prudenti-
bus & rerum peritis, atque magni animi & consilii, dictis & facietis illudunt:
Denique fundamenta omnia regiminis politici simul labefactant. Quod ma-
gis attendendum est, quia cuniculis & non impetu aperto, haec res agitur:
Neque coepit esse inter homines (prout meretur) suspecta.

Parab. 13. PRINCEPS qui libenter praebet aures verbis mendacii, om-
nes servos habet improbos.

Exp. CUM princeps talis fuerit, ut susurrionibus, & sycophantis absque
judicio faciles & credulas aures praebet, spirat omnino, tanquam a parte re-
gis, aura pestilens, quae omnes servos ejus corrumpit & inficit. Alii metus
principis rimantur, eosque narrationibus fictitiis exaggerant: Alii invidiae
furias concitant, praesertim in optimos quosque: Alii criminationibus alio-
rum, proprias fordes & conscientias malas eluunt: Alii amicorum suorum
honoribus & desideriis velificant, competitores eorum calumniando & mor-
dendo: Alii fabularum argumenta, contra inimicos suos, tanquam in scena,
componunt, & innumera hujusmodi. Atque haec illi, qui ex servis princi-
pis ingenio sunt magis improbo. At illi etiam, qui natura probiores sunt &
melius morati, postquam in innocentia sua parum praesidii esse senserint,
(quoniam princeps vera a falsis distinguere non novit) morum suorum pro-
bitatem exuunt & ventos aulicos captant, iisque servilem in modum circum-
feruntur. *Nihil enim* (ut ait Tacitus de Claudio) *tutum est apud prin-*
cipem, cujus animo omnia sunt tanquam indita & jussa. Atque bene
Cominaeus, *Praestat, servum esse principis, cujus suspicionum non est*
finis, quam ejus, cujus credulitatis non est modus.

Parab. 14. JUSTUS miseretur animae jumenti sui; sed misericordiae
impiorum crudeles.

Exp. INDITUS est, ab ipsa natura homini, misericordiae affectus no-
bilis & excellens; qui etiam ad animalia bruta extenditur; quae ex ordina-
tione divina, ejus imperio subjiciuntur. Itaque habet ista misericordia ana-
logiam quandam cum illa principis erga subditos. Quinetiam illud certissi-
mum est, quod quo dignior est anima, eo pluribus compatiatur. Etenim
animae angustae & degeneres, hujusmodi res ad se nihil pertinere putant: At

illa, quae nobilior est portio universi, ex communione afficitur. Quare videmus, sub veteri lege haud pauca fuisse praecepta, non tam mere ceremonialia, quam misericordiae institutiva: Quale fuit illud, de non comedendo carnem cum sanguine ejus; & similia. Etiam in sectis Effaeorum & Pythagoreorum, ab esu animalium omnino abstinebant. Quod etiam hodie obtinet (superstitione inviolata) apud incolas nonnullos imperii Mogolensis. Quin & Turcae (gens licet & stirpe & disciplina, crudelis & sanguinaria) brutis tamen eleemosynas largiri solent; neque animalium vexationes & torturas fieri sustinent. Verum, ne forte haec quae diximus, omnis generis misericordiae patrocinari videantur, salubriter subjungit Solomon impiorum misericordias esse crudeles. Eae sunt, quando hominibus sceleratis & facinorosis parcitur, justitiae gladio feriendis: Crudelior enim hujusmodi misericordia, quam crudelitas ipsa. Nam crudelitas exercetur in singulos: at misericordia illa universum facinorosorum exercitum, concessa impunitate, in homines innocentes armat & immittit.

Parab. 15. TOTUM spiritum suum proferit stultus; at sapiens reservat aliquid in posterum.

Exp. CORRIGIT parabola praecipue (ut videtur) non hominum vanorum futilitatem, qui dicenda tacenda facile proferunt: non parrhesiam illam, qua absque discrimine & judicio in omnes & omnia involant: non garrulitatem, qua ad nauseam usque aliis obstrepunt; sed vitium aliud magis occultum; nempe sermonis regimen minime omnium prudens & politicum; hoc est, cum quis ita sermonem (in colloquiis privatis) instituit, ut quaecunque in animo habeat, quae ad rem pertinere putet, simul & tanquam uno spiritu, & oratione continuata proferat. Hoc enim plurimum negotiis officit. Siquidem primo, oratio intercisae & per partes infusa, longe magis penetrat, quam continuata; quoniam in continuata pondus rerum non distincte & figillatim excipitur, nec per moram nonnullam insidet, sed ratio rationem, antequam penitus infederit, expellit. Secundo, nemo tam potenti & felici eloquentia valet, ut primo sermonis impetu eum, quem alloquitur, mutum & elinguem plane reddat: quin & alter aliquid vicissim respondet, & fortasse objiciet. Tum vero accidit, ut quae in refutationem aut replicationem reservanda fuissent, praemissa jam & antea delibata, vires suas & gratiam amiserint. Tertio si quis ea, quae dicenda sunt, non simul effundat, sed per partes eloquatur, aliud primo, aliud subinde injiciens; sentiet ex ejus, quem alloquitur, vultu & responso, quomodo singula illum affecerint, quam in partem accepta fuerint; ut quae adhuc restant dicenda, cautius aut supprimat aut excerptat.

Parab. 16. SI spiritus potestatem habentis adscenderit super te, locum tuum ne dimiseris; quia curatio faciet cessare magna peccata.

Exp. Praecipit parabola, quomodo se quis gerere debeat, cum iram atque indignationem principis incurrerit. Praeceptum duplex: Primo, ut non dimittat locum suum: Secundo, ut curationi, tanquam in morbo aliquo gravi, diligenter & caute attendat. Consueverunt enim homines, postquam commotos contra se principes suos senserint, partim ex dedecoris impatentia, partim ne vulnus obversando refricent, partim ut tristitiam & humilitatem eorum principes sui perspiciant, se a muneribus & functionibus suis subducere; quinetiam interdum ipsos magistratus & dignitates, quas gerunt, in principum manus restituere. At Solomon hanc medendi viam veluti noxiam, improbat; idque summa profecto ratione. Primo enim, dedecus ipsum nimis illa publicat; unde tum inimici, atque invidi audaciores fiunt ad laedendum; tum amici timidiore ad subveniendum. Secundo, hoc pacto fit,

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fit, ut principis ira, quae fortasse si non evulgaretur, sponte concideret, magis figatur, & veluti principio jam facto hominis deturbandi, in praecipitium illius feratur. Postremo secessus iste, aliquid sapit ex malevolo & temporibus infenso; id quod malum indignationis, malo suspicionis cumulat. Ad curationem autem pertinent ista. Primo, caveat ante omnia, ne stupiditate quadam, aut etiam animi elatione, indignationem principis minime sentire, aut inde, prout debeat affici videatur: Hoc est ut & vultum, non ad tristitiam contumacem, sed ad moestitiam gravem atque modestam componat: & in rebus quibuscunque agendis se minus solito hilarem & laetum ostendat: Quin & in rem suam erit, amici alicujus opera & sermone apud principem uti, qui quanto doloris sensu in intimis excrucietur, tempestive insinuet. Secundo, occasiones omnes vel minimas sedulo evitet, per quas aut res ipsa, quae indignationi causam praebuit, refricetur, aut princeps denuo excandescenti, & ipsum quacunque de causa coram aliis objurgandi, ansam arripiat. Tertio, perquirat etiam diligenter occasiones omnes, in quibus opera ejus principi grata esse possit; ut & voluntatem promptam redimendi culpam praeteritam ostendat; & princeps suus sentiat, quali tandem servo, si eum dimittat, privari se contigerit. Quarto, culpam ipsam aut sagaciter in alios transferat; aut animo illam non malo commissam esse insinuet; aut etiam malitiam illorum, qui ipsum regi detulerunt, vel rem supra modum aggravarunt indicet. Denique in omnibus evigilet & curationi sit intentus.

Parab. 17. PRIMUS in causa sua justus: tum venit altera pars, & inquirat in eum.

Exp. PRIMA in unaquaque causa informatio, si paulisper animo judicis infederit, altas radices agit, eumque imbuit, & occupat; adeo ut aegre elui possit, nisi aut manifesta aliqua falsitas in materia informationis, aut artificium aliquod in eadem exhibenda deprehendatur. Etenim nuda & simplex defensio, licet justa sit & praeponderans, vix praejudicium informationis primae compensare, aut libram justitiae semel propendentem ad aequilibrium reducere per se valet. Itaque & judici tutissimum, ut nihil, quod ad merita causae spectat, praelibetur, priusquam utraque pars simul audiantur; & defensori optimum, si judicem senserit praeoccupatum, in hoc potissimum (quantum dat causa) incumbere, ut versutiam aliquam, & dolum malum, ab adversa parte, in judicis abusum adhibitum, detegat.

Parab. 18. QUI delicate a pueritia nutrit servum suum, postea sentiet eum contumacem.

Exp. SERVANDUS est, principibus & dominis, ex consilio Solomonis, in gratia & favore suo, erga servos modus. Is triplex est. Primo, ut promoveantur per gradus, non per saltus: Secundo, ut interdum affuefiant repulsae: Tertio, (quod bene praecipit Macchiavellus) ut *habeant prae oculis suis semper aliquid, quo ulterius aspirare possint*. Nisi enim haec fiant, reportabunt proculdubio principes, in fine, a servis suis, loco animi grati & officiosi, fastidium & contumaciam. Etenim, ex promotione subita, oritur insolentia; ex perpetua desideratorum adeptione impatientia repulsae; denique si vota defint, deerit itidem alacritas & industria.

Parab. 19. VIDISTI virum velocem in opere suo, coram regibus stabit, nec erit inter ignobiles.

Exp. INTER virtutes, quas reges, in delectu servorum, potissimum spectant & requirunt, gratissima est prae cunctis celeritas, & in negotiis expediendis strenuitas. Viri profunda prudentia regibus suspecti, utpote qui nimium sint inspectores, & dominos suos, inscios & invitos, ingenii sui viri-

bus

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bus (tanquam machina) circumagere possint. Populares, invisi; utpote qui regum luminibus officiunt, & oculos populi in se convertunt. Animosi, pro turbulentis saepe habentur, & ultra, quam par est, ausuris. Probi, & vitae integrae, tanquam difficiles existimantur, nec ad omnes nutus heriles apti. Denique non est virtus alia, quae non habeat aliquam quasi umbram, qua regum animi offendantur; sola velocitas ad mandata, nihil habet, quod non placeat. Insuper, motus animorum regionum celeres sunt, & morae minus patientes: Putant enim, se quidvis efficere posse; illud tantum deesse, ut cito fiat. Itaque ante omnia iis grata est celeritas.

Parab. 20. VIDI cunctos viventes, qui ambulant sub sole, cum adolescentem secundo, qui consurgit pro eo.

Exp. NOTAT parabola vanitatem hominum, qui se agglomerare solent ad successores designatos principum. Radix autem hujus rei est infania illa, hominum animis penitus a natura insita; nimirum ut spes suas nimium adament. Vix enim reperitur, qui non delectatur magis iis, quae sperat, quam iis, quae fruitur. Quinetiam novitas humanae naturae grata est, & avide expetitur. In successore autem principis ista duo concurrunt; spes & novitas. Innuit autem parabola idem, quod olim dictum erat; primo a Pompeio ad Syllam; postea a Tiberio de Macrone; *Plures adorare solem orientem, quam occidentem.* Neque tamen imperantes multum hac re commoventur, aut eam magni faciunt, sicut nec Sylla, nec Tiberius fecit; sed rident potius hominum levitatem, nec pugnant cum somniis: *Est autem (ut aiebat ille) spes vigilantis insomnium.*

Parab. 21. ERAT civitas parva, & pauci in ea viri; venit contra eam rex magnus, & vadavit eam, instruxitque munitiones per gyrum, & perfecta est obsidio; inventusque est in ea vir pauper & sapiens, & liberavit eam per sapientiam suam; & nullus deinceps recordatus est hominis illius pauperis.

Exp. DESCRIBIT parabola ingenium hominum pravum & malevolum. Ii in rebus duris, & angustis, confugiunt fere ad viros prudentes, & strenuos, licet antea contemptui habitos. Quamprimum autem tempestas transierit, ingrati demum erga conservatores suos reperiuntur. Macchiavellus vero, non sine causa, instituit quaestionem, *Uter ingratiore esset erga benemeritos, princeps aut populus?* Sed interim utrumque ingratitudinis arguit. Attamen hoc non solum ex ingratitudine principis aut populi oritur, sed accedit plerumque his invidia procerum, qui secreto indolent eventui, licet felici & prospero, quia ab ipsis profectus non sit: itaque & meritum hominis extenuant, & ipsum deprimunt.

Parab. 22. ITER pigrorum, quasi sepes spinarum.

Exp. ELEGANTISSIME ostendit parabola, pigritiam in fine laboriosam esse. Diligentia enim, & sedula praeparatio, id praestant, ut pes in aliquod offendiculum non impingat; sed ut complanetur via, antequam ineatur: at qui piger est, & omnia in extremum momentum executionis differt, necesse est, ut perpetuo, & singulis passibus, quasi per rubos & sentes incedat, qui eum subinde detineant, & impedian. Idem observari possit etiam in familia regenda; in qua, si adhibeatur cura & providentia, omnia placide & veluti sponte procedunt, absque strepitu & tumultu: Sin haec defint, ubi major aliquis motus intervenerit, omnia simul agenda turmatim occurrunt; tumultuantur servi, aedes personant.

Parab. 23. QUI cognoscit in iudicio faciem, non bene facit; iste & pro buccella panis deseret veritatem.

Exp.

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Exp. PRUDENTISSIME notat parabola, in iudice magis perniciosam esse facilitatem morum, quam corruptelam munerum. Munera enim haudquaquam ab omnibus deferuntur: at vix ulla est causa, in qua non inveniatur aliquid, quod flectat iudicis animum, si personas respiciat. Alius enim respicietur, ut popularis; alius, ut maledicus; alius, ut dives; alius, ut gratus; alius, ut ab amico commendatus. Denique omnia plena sunt iniquitatis ubi dominatur respectus personarum; & levi omnino de causa, veluti pro buccella panis, iudicium pervertetur.

Parab. 24. VIR pauper calumnians pauperes, similis est imbri vehementi, in quo paratur fames.

Explicatio. PARABOLA ista antiquitus expressa & depicta fuit sub fabula hirudinis, utriusque nimirum, plenae & vacuae. Pauperis enim & famelici oppressio longe gravior est, quam oppressio per divitem & repletum; quippe quae omnes exactionum technas, & omnes nummorum angulos, perquirat. Solebat hoc ipsum etiam spongiis assimilari, quae aridae fortiter fugunt, madidae non item. Monitum autem utile continet; tum erga principes, ne praefecturas provinciarum, aut magistratus, viris indigentibus & obaeratis committant; tum erga populos, ne reges suos cum nimia egestate conflictari permittant.

Parab. 25. FONS turbatus pede, & vena corrupta, est justus cadens coram impio.

Exp. PRAECIPIT parabola, rebus publicis ante omnia cavendum esse de iniquo & infami iudicio, in causa aliqua celebri & gravi; praesertim ubi non absolvitur innoxius, sed condemnatur infons. Etenim injuriae inter privatos grassantes, turbant quidem & polluant latices justitiae, sed tanquam in rivulis: Verum iudicia iniqua, qualia diximus, a quibus exempla petuntur, fontes ipsos justitiae inficiunt & inquinant. Postquam enim tribunal cesserit in partes injustitiae, status rerum vertitur tanquam in latrocinium publicum: Fitque plane, ut *homo homini sit lupus*.

Parab. 26. NOLI esse amicus homini iracundo, nec ambulare cum homine furioso.

Exp. QUANTO religiosius amicitiae jura inter bonos servanda & colenda sunt, tanto magis cavendum est, jam usque a principio, de prudente amicorum delectu. Atque amicorum natura & mores, quantum ad nos ipsos spectant, omnino ferendi sunt. Cum vero necessitatem nobis imponunt, qualem erga alios personam induamus & geramus, dura admodum & iniqua amicitiae conditio est. Itaque interest imprimis, ut praecipit Solomon, ad vitae pacem, & praesidia, ne res nostras cum hominibus iracundis, & qui facile lites & jurgia provocant aut suscipiunt, commisceamus. Istud enim genus amicorum perpetuo nos contentionibus & factionibus implicabit; ut aut amicitiam abruptum, aut incolumitati propriae deesse, cogamur.

Parab. 27. QUI celat delictum, quaerit amicitiam; sed qui altero sermone repetit separat foederatos.

Exp. DUPLEX, concordiam tractandi, & animos reconciliandi, via. Altera, quae incipit ab amnestia; altera, quae a repetitione injuriarum, subjungendo apologias & excusationes. Equidem memini sententiam viri admodum prudentis & politici, *Qui pacem tractat, non repetitis conditionibus dissidii, is magis animos dulcedine concordiae fallit, quam aequitate componit*. Verum Solomon, illo scilicet prudentior, in contraria opinione est; & amnestiam probat, repetitionem prohibet. Etenim in repetitione haec insunt mala; tum quod ea sit veluti unguis in ulcere; tum quod periculum

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culum impendeat a nova altercatione, (siquidem de injuriarum rationibus inter partes nunquam conveniet;) tum denique quod deducat rem ad apologias; at utraque pars malit videri potius offensam remisisse, quam admisisse excusationem.

Parab. 28. IN omni opere bono erit abundantia; ubi autem verba sunt plurima, ibi frequenter egestas.

Exp. SEPARAT Solomon hac parabola fructum laboris linguae, & laboris manuum; quasi ex altero proveniat egestas, ex altero abundantia. Etenim fit fere perpetuo, ut, qui multa effutiant, jactent multa, multa promittant, egeni sint, nec emolumentum capiant ex illis rebus de quibus loquuntur. Quinetiam, ut plurimum, industrii minime sunt, aut impigri ad opera; sed tantummodo sermonibus se, tanquam vento, pascunt & satiant. Sane, ut poeta loquitur, *Qui silet, est firmus*. Is qui conscius est, se in opere proficere, sibi plaudat & tacet: Qui vero e contra conscius est, auras se inanes captare, multa & mira apud alios praedicat.

Parab. 29. MELIOR est correptio manifesta, quam amor occultus.

Exp. REPREHENDIT parabola mollitiem amicorum, qui amicitiae privilegio non utuntur in admonendo libere & audacter amico, tam de erroribus, quam de periculis suis. Quid enim faciam (solet hujusmodi mollis amicus dicere) aut quo me vertam? Amo illum quantum quis, maxime; meque, si quid illi adversi contigerit, ipsius loco libenter substituerim: sed novi ingenium ejus; si libere cum eo egero, animum illius offendam; saltem contristabo; neque tamen proficiam; atque citius eum ab amicitia mea alienabo, quam ab iis, quae in animo fixa habet, abducam. Hujusmodi amicum, tanquam enervem & inutilem, redarguit Solomon; atque plus utilitatis ab inimico manifesto, quam ab ejus generis amico, sumi posse pronunciat. Siquidem ea fortasse audire ei contigerit ab inimico per contumeliam, quae amicus mussat praeter nimiam indulgentiam.

Parab. 30. PRUDENS advertit ad gressus suos; stultus divertit ad dolos.

Exp. DUAE sunt prudentiae species. Altera vera & sana: altera degener & falsa, quam Solomon stultitiae nomine appellare non dubitat. Qui priori se dederit, viis & vestigiis propriis cavet, periculis prospiciens, meditans remedia; proborum opera utens, contra improbos se ipsum muniens; cautus inceptu, receptu non imparatus; in occasiones attentus, contra impedimenta strenuus; cum innumeris aliis, quae ad sui ipsius actiones & gressus regendos spectant. At altera species, tota est confuta ex fallaciis & astutiis, spemque ponit omnino in aliis circumveniendis, iisdemque ad libitum effingendis. Hanc merito rejicit parabola, non tantum ut improbam, sed etiam ut stultam. Primo enim, minime est ex iis rebus, quae in nostra sunt potestate, nec etiam aliqua constanti regula nititur; sed nova quotidie comminiscenda sunt strategemata, prioribus fatiscentibus & obsoletis. Secundo, qui vafri & subdoli hominis famam & opinionem semel incurrerit, praecipuo se ad res gerendas instrumento prorsus privavit, hoc est, fide: itaque omnia parum votis suis consentientia experietur. Postremo, artes istae, utcumque pulchrae videantur & complacent; attamen saepius frustrantur; quod bene notavit Tacitus: *Consilia callida & audacia, expectatione laeta, tractatu dura, eventu tristia*.

Parab. 31. NOLI esse justus nimium, nec sapientior quam oportet; cur abripiare subito?

Exp. Sunt tempora (ut inquit Tacitus) in quibus magnis virtutibus certissimum est exitium. Atque hoc viris virtute & justitia egregiis, aliquando

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aliquando subito, aliquando diu ante praevifum, contingit. Quod si adjungatur etiam prudentia, hoc est, ut cauti sint, & ad propriam incolumitatem evigilent, tum hoc lucrantur, ut ruina eorum subito obveniat ex occultis omnino & obscuris consiliis, quibus & evitetur invidia, & perniciēs ipsos imparatos adoriatur. Quod vero ad illud nimium, quod in parabola ponitur, (quandoquidem non Periandri alicujus, sed Solomonis verba sunt ista; qui mala in hominum vita saepius notat, nunquam praecipit) intelligendum est, non de virtute ipsa, (in qua nimium non est,) sed de vana ejus atque invidiosa affectatione & ostentatione. Simile quiddam innuit Tacitus de Lepido, miraculi loco ponens, quod nunquam servilis alicujus sententiae author fuisset, & tamen tam saevis temporibus incolumis mansisset: *Subit (inquit) cogitatio, utrum haec fato regantur, an etiam sit in nostra potestate, cursum quendam tenere, inter deformem obsequium & abruptam contumaciam, medium, periculo simul & indignitate vacuum?*

Parab. 32. DA sapienti occasionem, & addetur ei sapientia.

Exp. DISTINGUIT parabola inter sapientiam illam, quae in verum habitum increverit & maturaverit, & illam, quae natat tantum in cerebro & conceptu, aut sermone jactatur, sed radices altas non egerit. Siquidem prior, oblata occasione, in qua exerceatur, illico excitatur, accingitur, dilatatur, adeo ut se ipsa major videatur: Posterior vero, quae ante occasionem alacris erat, occasione data, fit attonita & confusa, ut etiam ipsi, qui ea se praeditum arbitrabatur, in dubium vocetur; annon praeceptiones de ea fuerint insomnia mera, & speculationes inanes.

Parab. 33. QUI laudat amicum voce alta, surgendo mane, erit illi loco maledictionis.

Exp. LAUDES moderatae & tempestivae, & per occasionem prolatae, famae hominum atque etiam fortunae plurimum conferunt; at immoderatae & streperae, & importune effusae, nihil prosunt; imo potius, ex sententia parabolae, impense nocent. Primo enim manifesto se produnt, aut ex nimia benevolentia oriundas, aut ex composito affectatas, quo collaudatum potius falsis praeconiis demereantur, quam veris attributis ornent. Secundo, laudes parcae & modestae, invitant fere praesentes, ut ipsis etiam aliquid adjiciant; profusae contra & immodicae, ut aliquid demant & detrahant. Tertio, (quod caput rei est) conflatur illi invidia, qui nimium laudatur; cum laudes omnes nimiae, videantur spectare ad contumeliam aliorum, qui non minus merentur.

Parab. 34. QUOMODO in aquis resplendent facies; sic corda hominum manifesta sunt prudentibus.

Exp. DISTINGUIT parabola inter mentes prudentium & caeterorum hominum; illas aquis aut speculis comparans, quae species & imagines rerum recipiunt; cum alterae similes sint terrae, aut lapidi imposito, in quibus nihil reflectitur. Atque eo magis apte comparatur animus hominis prudentis ad speculum; quia in speculo imago propria spectari possit, usque cum imaginibus aliorum; id quod oculis ipsis sine speculo non conceditur. Quod si animus prudentis adeo capax sit, ut innumera ingenia & mores observare & internoscere possit; superest, ut detur opera, quo reddatur non minus variis applicatione quam repraesentatione:

Qui sapit, innumeris moribus aptus erit.

ATQUE his Solomonis parabolis, diutius fortasse immorati sumus, quam pro modo exempli; dignitate & rei ipsius & authoris longius proveci.

NEQUE

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NEQUE tantum in usu erat apud Hebraeos, sed alibi etiam priscorum sapientibus frequentissimum; ut si cuiuspiam observatio in aliquid incidisset, quod vitae communi conducibile fuisset, id redigeret & contraheret in brevem aliquam sententiam, vel parabolam, vel etiam fabulam. Verum, quod ad fabulas, (sicut alias dictum est) illae exemplorum vicarii & supplementa olim extiterunt: Nunc quando tempora historiarum copia abundant, ad animatum scopum rectius & alacrius collimatur. At modus scribendi, qui optime convenit argumento tam vario & multiplici, (quale est tractatus de negotiis & occasionibus sparsis) aptissimus ille esset, quem delegit Macchiavellus, ad tractandas res politicas; nimirum per observationes, five discursus (ut loquuntur) super historiam & exempla. Nam scientia, quae recter, & quasi in conspectu nostro, ex particularibus elicitur, viam optime novit particularia denuo repetendi: atque certe ad practicam longe conducit magis, cum discursus five disceptatio sub exemplo militat, quam cum exemplum disceptationi subjungitur. Neque enim hic ordo tantum spectatur, sed res ipsa. Cum enim exemplum statuitur tanquam disceptationis basis, universo cum circumstantiarum apparatu proponi solet, quae discursum interdum corrigant, interdum suppleant; unde fit loco exemplaris ad imitationem, & practicam: ubi e contra exempla, in gratiam disceptationis adducta, succincte & nude citantur, & tanquam mancipia nutus tantum disceptationis observant.

Hoc vero discriminis operae pretium fuerit observasse; quod sicut historiae temporum optimam praebent materiam ad discursus super politica, quales sunt illi Macchiaveli, ita historiae vitarum optime adhibentur ad documenta de negotiis; quoniam omnem occasionum & negotiorum, tam grandium quam leviorum, varietatem complectuntur. Imo reperire est basin ad praeceptiones de negotiis utraque illa historia adhuc commodiorem: ea est, ut discursus fiant super epistolas, sed prudentiores, & magis serias; quales sunt illae Ciceronis ad Atticum, & aliae. Siquidem epistolae magis in proximo, & ad vivum, negotia solent repraesentare, quam vel annales, vel vitae. Quare jam, & de materia, & de forma portionis primae, doctrinae de negotiis, quae tractat occasiones sparsas, diximus, eamque inter desiderata numeramus.

EST & alia portio ejusdem doctrinae, quae tantum differt ab illa altera, de qua diximus, quantum sapere, & sibi sapere. Altera enim movere videtur tanquam a centro ad circumferentiam; altera tanquam a circumferentia ad centrum. Est enim prudentia quaedam consilii aliis impertiendi; est vero & alia suis rebus prospiciendi: atque hae nonnunquam conjunguntur, saepius separantur. Multi siquidem in suis ipsorum rationibus instituendis prudentissimi sunt, qui tamen in rebus publicis administrandis, aut etiam consiliis dandis, nihil valent: Formicae similes, quae creatura sapiens est ad sese tuendum, sed horto plane noxia. Haec virtus sibi sapiendi, Romanis ipsis, licet patriae optimis curatoribus, non ignota fuit; unde comicus, *Nam pol sapiens fingit fortunam sibi*. Quin & in adagium apud ipsos versum est, *Faber quisque fortunae propriae*. Et Livius hanc ipsam Catoni Majori tribuit: *In hoc viro tanta vis animi & ingenii inerat, ut quocunque loco natus esset, sibi ipse fortunam facturum videretur*.

Hoc genus prudentiae, si quis ipsum profiteatur & palam venditet, semper habitum est, non modo non politicum, verum etiam infaustum quiddam & inauspicatum: sicut in Timotheo Atheniensi observatum est: qui, postquam praeclara multa facinora, in decus & commodum civitatis suae edidisset,

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diffet, atque administrationis suae (sicut tum moris erat) populo rationem redderet; singula conclusit hac clausula: *Atque in hac re fortunae partes fuerunt nullae.* Contigit vero ut post id temporis nunquam ei quicquam feliciter cesserit. Sane nimis elatum hoc, & altum sapiens; eodem spectans, quo Ezechielis illud de Pharaone: *Dicis, fluvius est meus, & ego feci me- metipsum.* Aut illud Habacuc Prophetæ; *Exultant & sacrificant reti suo:* Aut illud etiam poëtae, de contemptore Deorum Mezentio:

*Dextra mihi Deus, & telum, quod missile libro,
Nunc adsint.* — AENEID. x. 773.

Denique, Julius Caesar, nunquam (quod memini) impotentiam cogitationum suarum arcanarum prodidit, nisi simili dicto: Cum enim aruspex ei referret, exta reperta fuisse non bona, admurmuravit submisit: *Erunt laetiora cum volo.* Quod etiam dictum, mortis suae infortunium non diu praeceffit. Verum excessus iste fiducia (ut diximus) res ut profana, ita semper infelix. Quapropter, viris magnis & vere sapientibus visum, successus quoslibet felicitati suae, non virtuti aut industriae, tribuere: Nam & Sylla, felicem se, non magnum cognominavit; & Caesar (melius quam supra) ad navis gubernatorem: *Caesarem vehis, & fortunam ejus.*

ATTAMEN istae sententiae; *Faber quisque fortunae suae, sapiens dominabitur astris, invia virtuti nulla est via,* ac similes; si intelligantur & adhibeantur potius pro calcaribus ad industriam, quam pro stapedibus ad insolentiam, magisque ut progignant in hominibus decretorum constantiam & robur, quam arrogantiam & jactantiam, tanquam sanæ & salutaris merito habitae sunt, ac proculdubio in pectoribus hominum magnanimorum sedem nonnullam occuparunt, eoque ut cogitationes tales quandoque aegre dissimulent. Videmus enim, Augustum Caesarem (qui cum avunculo suo comparatus, potius ab illo diversus quam inferior fuit; sed vir certe paulo moderatior) sub finem vitae petiisse ab amicis, qui lectum ejus circumstant, ut, postquam expirasset, sibi plauderent; quasi conscius sibi fuisset, mimum vitae a se commode transactum. Haec quoque doctrinae portio inter desiderata numeranda est: Non quin in praxi, etiam nimio plus quam oportet, usurpata sit & frequentata; verum quod libri de illa silent. Quamobrem ex more nostro, sicut in priore, nonnulla ejus capita recensere; eamque fabrum fortunae, sive (ut diximus) doctrinam de ambitu nominabimus.

Ac primo quidem intuitu, novum quoddam & insolitum argumentum tractare videbor; docendo homines, quomodo fortunae suae fabri fieri possint; doctrinam certe, cui quisvis libenter se discipulum addixerit, donec difficultatem ejusdem habuerit perspectam. Non enim leviora sunt, aut pauciora, aut minus ardua, quae ad fortunam comparandam requiruntur, quam quae ad virtutem: resque est aequae difficilis ac severa, fieri vere politicum, ac vere morale. At hujus doctrinae pertractatio plurimum ad litterarum, tum decus tum pondus, pertinet. Interest enim imprimis honoris litterarum, ut homines isti pragmatici sciant, eruditionem haudquaquam aviculae, qualis est alaunda, similem esse, quae in sublime ferri, & cantillando se oblectare soleat; at nihil aliud; quinimo ex accipitris potius genere esse, qui & in alto volare, ac subinde, cum visum fuerit, descendere, & praedam rapere novit. Deinde & ad perfectionem litterarum hoc ipsum spectat, quia legitimae inquisitionis vera norma est, ut nihil inveniatur in globo materiae, quod non habeat parallelum in globo crystallino, sive intellectu. Hoc est, ut nihil veniat in practicam, cujus non sit etiam doctrina aliqua &

theoria. Neque tamen literae hanc ipsam fortunae architecturam aliter admirantur aut aestimant, quam ut opus quoddam inferioris generis. Nemini enim, fortuna propria, pro dono esse sui, a Deo concessa, ullo modo digna retributio esse possit. Quin & non raro fit, ut viri virtutibus egregii fortunae suae sponte renuncient, ut rebus sublimioribus vacent. Digna tamen est fortuna, quatenus virtutis ac benemerendi organum est, sua quoque speculatione & doctrina.

Ad hanc doctrinam pertinent praecepta, nonnulla summaria, nonnulla sparsa & varia. Praecepta summaria versantur, circa veram notitiam, & aliorum & sui. Primum igitur praeceptum (in quo cardo notitiae aliorum vertitur) illud constituatur, ut procuremus nobis (quantum fieri possit) fenestram illam, quam olim requisivit Momus. Ille, cum in humani cordis fabrica tot angulos & recessus conspicatus esset, id reprehendit, quod defuisset fenestra, per quam in obscuros illos & tortuosos anfractus inspicere quis possit. Hanc autem fenestram obtinebimus, si omni fedulitate nobis informationem comparemus & procuremus, de personis, quibuscum intercedunt negotia, particularibus; earumque ingeniis, cupiditatibus, finibus, moribus, auxiliis & adminiculis, quibus praecipue suffulciuntur & valent; & rursus, defectibus & imbecillitatibus, quaque ex parte maxime pateant & obnoxii sint; amicis, factionibus, patronis, clientelis; rursusque inimicis, invidis, competitoribus; etiam temporibus & aditibus:

(*Sola viri molles aditus & tempora noris:*)

Denique institutis & normis, quas sibi praescripserunt, & similibus. Quinetiam, non solum informatio capienda est de personis, sed insuper de actionibus particularibus, quae de tempore in tempus in motu sunt & tanquam sub incude; quomodo regantur & succedant, quorum studiis foveantur, a quibus oppugnentur, cuiusque sint ponderis & momenti, & quid secum trahant & huiusmodi. Etenim actiones praesentes nosse, & in se plurimum prodest; & illud insuper habet, quod absque hoc etiam personarum notitia valde futura sit fallax & erronea. Mutantur enim homines simul cum actionibus: & alii sunt dum actionibus ipsis implicantur & obsidentur; alii, postquam redierint ad ingenium. Atque hae de rebus particularibus informationes, quae tam ad personas quam ad actiones spectant, sunt tanquam propositiones minores in omni activo syllogismo. Nulla enim observationum aut axiomatum (unde conficiuntur maiores propositiones politicae) veritas aut excellentia, ad conclusionis firmamentum sufficere possit, si in minore propositione fuerit erratum. Quod vero huiusmodi notitia comparari possit, fidejussor nobis est Solomon qui ait; *Consilium in corde viri, tanquam aqua profunda, sed vir prudens exhauriet illud.* Quamvis autem ipsa notitia non cadat sub praeceptum, quoniam individuorum est; attamen mandata de eadem elicienda utiliter dari possunt.

NOTITIA hominum sex modis elici & hauriri potest: per vultus & ora ipsorum; per verba; per facta; per ingenia sua; per fines suos; denique per relationes aliorum. Quantum ad vultus attinet, minime nos moveat vetus adagium, fronti nulla fides: Licet enim hoc ipsum non perperam dictum sit, de vultus & gestus compositione externa & generali; attamen subsunt subtiliores quidam motus & labores oculorum, oris, vultus & gestus: Ex quibus referatur & patet (ut eleganter ait Q. Cicero) veluti janua quaedam animi. Quis Tiberio Caesare occultior? At Tacitus, notans charactere & modum loquendi diversum, quo usus est Tiberius in laudando apud

senatum

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senatum res a Germanico & a Drufo gestas; de laudibus Germanici sic; *Magis in speciem adornatis verbis, quam ut penitus sentire videretur.* De laudibus Drufo sic: *Paucioribus, sed intentior & fida oratione.* Iterum Tacitus eundem Tiberium, alias etiam ut nonnihil pellucidum notans: *In aliis* (inquit) *erat veluti eluctantium verborum: solutius vero loquebatur quando subveniret.* Sane difficile reperiatur simulationis artifex aliquis tam peritus & egregius; aut vultus aliquis ita coactus, & ut ille loquitur iussus; qui a sermone artificioso & simulatorio possit istas notas sejungere, quin aut sermo sit solito solutior, aut comptior, aut magis vagus & oberrans, aut magis aridus & quasi eluctans.

Ad verba hominum quod attinet, sunt quidem illa (ut de urinis loquuntur medici) meretricia. Sed isti meretricii fuci optime deprehenduntur duobus modis: Cum scilicet proferuntur verba aut ex improvviso aut in perturbatione. Sic Tiberius, cum ex Agrippinae verbis aculeatis subito commotus esset & nonnihil abreptus, extra innatae simulationis terminos pedem protulit; *Audita haec* (inquit Tacitus) *raram occulti pectoris vocem elicuere; correptamque Graeco versu, admonuit, ideo laedi, quia non regnaret.* Quare poeta perturbationes huiusmodi non in scite appellat torturas, quod ab iis secreta sua prodere homines compellantur;

—Vino tortus & ira.

Ipsa sane testatur experientia, paucos admodum reperiri, qui erga arcana sua tam fidi sint, animumque gerant adeo obfirmatum, quin interdum ex iracundia; interdum ex iactantia; interdum ex intima erga amicum benevolentia; interdum ex animi imbecillitate, qui se mole cogitationum onerari amplius non sustineat; interdum denique ex alio quopiam affectu, intimas animi cogitationes revelent & communicent. Ac ante omnia sinus animi excutit, si simulatio simulationem impulerit; juxta adagium illud Hispanorum; dic mendacium & erues veritatem.

QUIN & factis ipsis, licet humani animi pignora sint certissima, non prorsus tamen fidendum, nisi diligenter ac attente pensitatis prius illorum & magnitudine & proprietate. Illud enim verissimum; fraus sibi in parvis fidem praestruit, ut majore emolumento fallat. Italus vero se ipsum in ipso stare lapide putat ubi praeco praedicat, si melius solito tractetur, absque causa manifesta. Etenim officia ista minora homines reddunt oscitantes, & quasi consopitos tam ad cautionem, quam ad industriam: Atque recte a Demosthene appellantur alimenta socordiae. Porro proprietatem & naturam nonnullorum factorum, etiam quae beneficiorum loco habentur, subdolam & ambiguam, luculenter cernere licet ex eo quod Antonio primo imposuit Mutianus: Qui post reditum cum eo in gratiam, sed fide pessima plurimos ex Antonii amicis ad dignitates evexit: *Simul amicis ejus praefecturas & tribunatus largitur.* Hoc autem astu Antonium non munivit, sed exarmavit penitus & desolavit, amicitias ejus ad se transferendo.

CERTISSIMA autem clavis, ad animos hominum referandos, vertitur, in rimandis & pernoscentis, vel ingeniis & naturis ipsorum, vel finibus & intentionibus. Atque imbecilliores certe & simpliciores ex ingeniis; prudentiores autem & tectiores, ex finibus suis optime judicantur. Certe prudenter & facete, (licet meo iudicio minus vere) dictum fuit a nuntio quopiam Pontificis, sub reditu ejus a legatione apud nationem quandam, ubi tanquam ordinarius refederat. Interrogatus de delectu successoris sui, consilium dedit; ut nullo modo mitteretur aliquis, qui eximie prudens esset, sed potius mediocriter tantum; quoniam

(inquit)

(inquit) ex prudentioribus nemo facile conjiciet, quid verisimile foret illius gentis homines facturos. Sane non raro intervenit ille error, & maxime familiaris est viris prudentibus, ut ex modulo ingenii proprii alios metiantur, ac proinde ultra scopum saepius jaculentur, supponendo quod homines majora quaedam meditentur, & sibi destinent, & subtilioribus technis utantur, quam quae illorum animos unquam subierint. Quod etiam eleganter innuit adagium Italicum, quo notatur; Nummorum, prudentiae, fidei semper minores inveniri rationes, quam quis putaret. Quare in levioris ingenii hominibus, quia multa absurda faciunt, capienda est conjectura potius ex propensionibus ingeniorum, quam ex destinationibus finium. Porro, principes quoque (sed longe aliam ob causam) ab ingeniis optime judicantur: Privati autem ex finibus. Principes enim fastigium adepti humanorum desideriorum, nullos fere sibi propositos fines habent, ad quos praesertim vehementer & constanter aspirent: ex quorum finium situ & distantia, reliquarum suarum actionum possit excipi & confici directio & scala: Id quod inter alia, causa est vel praecipua, ut corda eorum (quod scriptura pronunciat) sint inscrutabilia. At privatorum nullus est, qui non sit plane veluti viator, & proficiscatur intente ad aliquam itineris metam, ubi consistat: unde non male divinare quis poterit, quid facturus sit aut non facturus. Si enim in ordine sit quidpiam ad finem suum, probabile est facturum: Sin sit in contrarium finis, minime. Neque de finium aut ingeniorum in hominibus diversitate informatio capienda est simpliciter tantum, sed & comparate: Quid scilicet praedominetur, & reliqua in ordinem cogat? Sic, ut videmus, Tigellinus, cum se Petronio Turpiliano inferiorem sentiret, in voluptatibus Neroni ministrandis & praegustandis, *metus* (ut ait Tacitus) *Neronis rimatus est*, & hoc pacto aemulum evertit.

AD notitiam quod attinet de hominum animis secundariam, nimirum, quae ab aliorum relatione desumitur, breviter dicere sufficiet. Defectus & vitia didiceris optime ab inimicis: Virtutes & facultates ab amicis: Mores & tempora a famulis: Opiniones & meditationes ab intimis familiaribus, cum quibus frequentius colloquia miscent. Fama popularis levis est, & superiorum judicia minus certa: Etenim coram illis tectiores incedunt homines. Verior fama e domesticis emanat.

VERUM ad inquisitionem istam universam via maxime compendiaria in tribus consistit. Primum, ut amicitias multas comparemus, cum ejusmodi hominibus, qui multiplicem & variam habent tam rerum, quam personarum, notitiam: Imprimis vero enitendum, ut saltem singulos habeamus praesto, qui pro negotiorum atque hominum diversitate, nos de unaquaque re certiores facere & solide informare possint. Secundo, ut prudens temperamentum & mediocritatem quandam persequamur, & in libertate sermonis, & in taciturnitate: frequentius libertatem usurpantes, at cum res postulat, silentium. Libertas siquidem in sermone, etiam alios invitat & provocat, ut pari libertate erga nos utantur: Et sic multa deducit ad notitiam nostram: At taciturnitas fidem conciliat, efficitque ut ament homines secreta sua apud nos, tanquam in sinu, deponere. Tertio, is nobis paulatim acquirendus est habitus, ut vigilante & praesente animo, in omnibus colloquiis & actionibus simul & rem, quae instat, geramus; & alia, quae incidunt observemus. Nam sicut Epictetus praecipit ut philosophus, in singulis suis actionibus, ita secum loquatur: Et hoc volo & etiam institutum servare; sic politicus in singulis negotiis ita secum statuatur; & hoc volo atque etiam aliquid, quod in futurum usui esse possit addiscere. Itaque, qui eo

sunt

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sunt ingenio ut nimium hoc agant, & toti sint in praesente negotio, quod in manibus habent, de iis autem, quae interveniunt, nec cogitant quidem, (id quod in se agnoscit Montaneus,) illi certe ministri regum aut rerum publicarum sunt vel optimi, sed ad proprias fortunas claudicant. Interim cautio ante omnia adhibenda, ut impetum animi & alacritatem nimiam cohibeamus, ne multa sciendo, ad nos multis immiscendum feramur. Infelix enim quiddam est & temerarium, polypragmosyne. Itaque ista, quam comparandam praecipimus, notitiae rerum & personarum varietas huc tandem redit, ut & rerum, quas suscipimus, & hominum, quorum opera utimur, magis cum iudicio delectum faciamus; unde cuncta & magis dextere & magis tuto, disponere & administrare sciamus.

NOTITIAM aliorum sequitur notitia sui. Etenim non minor diligentia adhibenda est, sed major potius ut nos de nobis ipsis, quam de aliis vere & accurate informemus. Quippe cum oraculum illud, nosce te ipsum, non tantum sit canon prudentiae universalis, sed & in politicis praecipuum locum habeat. Optime enim homines monet S. Jacobus, eum qui vultum in speculo consideravit, oblivisci tamen illico, qualis fuerit: Ut omnino frequenti inspectione sit opus. Idque tenet etiam in politicis. Sed specula scilicet sunt diversa: Nam speculum divinum, in quo nos contueri debemus, est verbum Dei: Speculum autem politicum, non aliud est quam status rerum & temporum in quibus vivimus.

EXAMEN igitur accuratum, nec quale esse solet sui nimium amantis, instituendum est homini, de propriis facultatibus, virtutibus & adminiculis, necnon de defectibus, inhabilitatibus & obstaculis: ita rationem subducendo, ut haec perpetuo in majus, illa autem minoris potius, quam revera sunt aestimentur. Ex huiusmodi autem examine in considerationem veniant quae sequuntur.

PRIMA consideratio sit, quomodo alicui homini, moribusque, & naturae suae, cum temporibus conveniat; quae si inventa fuerint congrua omnibus in rebus, magis libere & solute agere, & suo ingenio uti liceat: sin sit aliqua antipathia, tum demum in universo vitae cursu magis caute & recte est incedendum, minusque in publico versandum. Sic Tiberius fecit, qui morum suorum sibi conscius, cum saeculo suo non optime convenientium, ludos publicos nunquam spectavit: quinetiam per duodecim continuos annos postremos nunquam in senatum venit: ubi contra Augustus perpetuo in oculis hominum vixit: quod & Tacitus observat; alia Tiberio morum via. Eadem & Periclis ratio fuit.

SECUNDA sit consideratio, quomodo alicui conveniat cum professionibus & generibus vitae, quae in usu & pretio sunt; quorumque sibi delectus sit faciendus: ut si jam decretum non sit de genere vitae, maxime aptum & ingenio suo congruum sumat: sin jam pridem id genus vitae, ad quod minus a natura factus est, fuerit ingressus, sub prima occasione se subducatur, & novam conditionem arripiat. Id quod a Valentino Borgia videmus factum, ad vitam sacerdotalem a patre innutrito; quam tamen postea ejuravit, suo obsecutus ingenio, & vitae militari se applicuit; quanquam principatu aeque ac sacerdotio indignus, cum utrumque homo pestilens dehonefaverit.

TERTIA sit consideratio, quomodo se habeat quis, comparatus ad aequales & aemulos suos, quos verisimile sit eum habiturum in fortuna sua competitores: eumque vitae cursum teneat, in quo maxima inveniatur virorum egregiorum solitudo: atque in quo probabile sit, se ipsum inter cae-

teros, maxime posse enitere. Id quod a C. Caesare factum est: qui ab initio orator fuit & causas egit; & in toga potissimum versabatur: Cum vero vidisset, Ciceronem, Hortensium, Catulum, eloquentiae gloria excellere, rebus vero bellicis clarum admodum neminem, praeter Pompeium; destitit ab incepto, & potentiae illi civili multum valedicere jubens, transfudit se ad artes militares & imperatorias: Ex quibus summum rerum fastigium conscendit.

QUARTA sit consideratio, ut naturae suae & ingenii rationem habeat quis in deligendis amicis ac necessariis: Siquidem diversis diversum genus amicorum convenit; aliis solenne & taciturnum; aliis audax & jactabundum; & complura id genus. Certe notatu dignum est, quales fuerint amici Julii Caesaris (Antonius, Hirtius, Pansa, Oppius, Balbus, Dolabella, Pollio, reliqui.) Illi scilicet jurare solebant, Ita vivente Caesare moriar; infinitum studium erga Caesarem prae se ferentes; erga omnes alios arrogantes & contemptores: Fueruntque homines in negotiis gerendis impigri, fama & existimatione mediocres.

QUINTA sit consideratio, ut caveat quis sibi ab exemplis: neque ad imitationem aliorum se inepte componat: quasi quod aliis fuerit pervium, etiam sibi patere necesse sit: neutiquam secum reputans, quantum fortasse interfuerit, inter suum & illorum, quos ad exemplum sibi delegit, ingenium & mores. In quem errorem manifesto incidit Pompeius, qui ut Cicero scriptum reliquit, toties solitus erat dicere: Sylla potuit, ego non potero? Qua in re vehementer sibi imposuit, cum ingenium & rationes agendi Syllae a suis toto coelo (ut aiunt) distarent: cum alter ferox esset, violentus, quique factum in omnibus urgeret: alter gravis, legum memor, omniaque ad majestatem & famam componens; unde longe minus erat, ad perficienda quae cogitavit, efficax & validus. Sunt & aliae hujus generis praeceptiones; verum hae ad exemplum reliquarum sufficient.

NEQUE vero, nosse se ipsum, homini sufficit; sed ineunda etiam est ratio secum, quomodo se ostentare, declarare, denique flectere se, & effingere, commode & prudenter possit. Ad ostentandum se quod attinet, nihil videmus usu venire frequentius, quam ut qui virtutis habitu sit inferior, specie virtutis externa sit potior. Non parva igitur est prudentiae praerogativa, si quis arte quadam & decore, specimen sui apud alios exhibere possit: virtutes suas, merita, atque fortunam etiam, (quod sine arrogantia aut fastidio fieri possit) commode ostentando; contra vitia, defectus, infortunia & dedecora, artificiose occultando: illis immorans, easque veluti ad lumen obvertens; his subterfugia quaerens, aut apte ea interpretando eluens; & similia. Itaque, de Matiano viro sui temporis prudentissimo, & ad res gerendas impigerrimo, Tacitus; *Omnia quae dixerat, feceratque, arte quadam ostentator.* Indiget certe res haec arte nonnulla, ne taedium & contemptum pariat: Ita tamen, ut ostentatio quaequam, licet usque ad vanitatis primum gradum, vitium sit potius in ethicis, quam in politicis. Sicut enim dici solet de calumnia, audacter calumniare semper aliquid haeret: sic dici possit de jactantia, (nisi plane deformis fuerit & ridicula,) audacter te vendita, semper aliquid haeret. Haerebit certe apud populum, licet prudentiores subrideant. Itaque existimatio parta apud plurimos, paucorum fastidium abunde compensabit. Quod si ista, de qua loquimur, sui ostentatio decenter & cum judicio regatur; exempli gratia; si nativum quendam pectoris candorem & ingenuitatem prae se ferat: aut si illis temporibus adhibeatur, vel cum pericula circumstent (ut apud viros militares in bellis,) vel

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vel cum alii invidia flagrent: aut si verba quae ad laudes proprias pertinent, tanquam aliud agenti excidisse videantur; minimeque vel serio vel prolixè nimis iis insistatur: aut si ita quis se laudibus honestet, ut simul etiam censuris & jocis erga se non abstineat: aut si denique hoc facit non sponte, sed tanquam laceffitus, & aliorum insolentiis & contumeliis provocatus: non parvum certe haec res existimationi hominis cumulum adjicit. Neque sane exiguus est eorum numerus; qui, cum natura sint magis solidi & minime ventosi, atque propterea hac arte, honori suo velificandi careant, moderationis suae, nonnulla cum dignitatis jactura, dant poenas.

VERUM hujusmodi ostentationem virtutis, utcunque aliquis infirmiore judicio, & nimium fortasse ethicus, improbaverit: illud nemo negarit, dandam saltem esse operam, ut virtus per incuriam justo suo pretio non fraudetur, & minoris, quam revera est, aestimetur. Haec vero in virtute aestimanda, pretii diminutio, tribus modis solet contingere: Primo, quando quis, in rebus gerendis, se & operam suam, offert & obtrudit, non vocatus aut accersitus: Hujusmodi enim officiis, remunerationis loco esse solet, si non repudientur. Secundo, quando quis in principio rei gerendae viribus suis nimium abutitur; & quod sensim erat praestandum, uno impetu effundit: Id quod rebus bene administratis praeproperam conciliat gratiam, in fine autem satietatem inducit. Tertio, quando quis virtutis suae fructum in laudibus, plausu, honore, gratia, sibi praebitis, nimis cito & leviter sentit, atque in iis sibi complacet: de quo prudens habetur monitum; Cave ne insuetus rebus majoribus videaris, si haec te res parva, sicuti magna, delectat.

DEFECTUUM enimvero sedula occultatio, minoris haudquaquam momenti est, quam virtutum prudens & artificiosa ostentatio. Defectus autem occultantur & latent maxime, triplici quadam industria, & quasi tribus latebris: Cautione, praetextu & confidentia. Cautionem dicimus, quando iis rebus prudenter abstinemus, quibus pares non sumus: Ubi contra ingenia audacula & inquieta, se facile ingerunt, sine judicio, rebus quibus non insueverunt; & proinde defectus suos proprios publicant & quasi proclamant. Praetextum dicimus, cum sagaciter & prudenter viam nobis sternimus & munimus, qua benigna & commoda de vitiis & defectibus nostris fiat interpretatio; quasi aliunde provenientius, aut alio tendentibus, quam vulgo existimatur. Etenim, de latebris vitiorum non male poeta:

Saepe latet vitium proximitate boni.

QUARE, si quem defectum in nobis ipsis perceperimus, opera danda, ut personam & praetextum virtutis finitimae mutuemur, sub cujus umbra lateat. Verbi gratia, tardo gravitas praetexenda, ignavo lenitas, & sic de caeteris. Illud etiam utile, probabilem aliquam causam obtendere, & in vulgus spargere, qua adducti, ultimas vires nostras promere refugiamus; ut quod non possimus, nolle videamur. Quod ad confidentiam attinet, impudens certe est remedium, sed tamen certissimum atque efficacissimum: nempe, ut quis ea omnino contemnere, & vilipendere se profiteatur, quae revera assequi non possit: Mercatorum prudentium more, quibus solenne est & proprium, ut pretium mercium suarum attollant, aliorum deprimant. Est tamen & aliud confidentiae genus, hoc ipso impudentius; nimirum, perfricta fronte defectus suos etiam opinioni obtrudere & venditare, quasi in iis, quibus maxime destituitur, se eminere credat: Atque ut hoc facilius caeteris imponat, se in iis rebus, quibus revera plurimum pollet, fingat diffidentem: Quemadmodum fieri videmus in poetis. Poeta enim carmina sua

recitante;

recitante, si unum aliquem versiculum non admodum dixerit probandum, audias illico: Atque hic versus pluris mihi constitit, quam reliquorum plurimi. Tum vero alium quempiam versum adducet, quasi sibi suspectum, & de eo, quid putes, sciscitabitur, quem satis norit, inter plurimos esse optimum, & censurae minime obnoxium. Ante omnia vero ad hoc, quod nunc agitur, ut scilicet specimen sui quis edat coram aliis illustre, & jus suum in omnibus retineat, nil magis interesse judico, quam ne quis per nimiam suam naturae bonitatem & suavitatem, se exarmet, & injuriis & contumeliis exponat: quin potius in omnibus aliquos animi liberi & generosi, & non aculei minus quam mellis intra se gestantis, igniculos subinde emittat. Quae quidem munita vitae ratio, una cum prompto & parato ad se a contumeliis vindicandum animo, aliquibus ex accidente imponitur, & necessitate quadam inevitabili, propter aliquid infixum in persona aut fortuna sua; veluti fit in deformibus, & spuris & ignominia aliqua mulctatis; unde hujusmodi homines, si virtus non desit, felices plerunque evadunt.

Quod vero ad se declarandum attinet; id alia res omnino est ab ostentatione sui, de qua diximus. Neque enim ad virtutes aut defectus hominum refertur; sed ad actiones vitae particulares. Qua in parte nihil invenitur magis politicum, quam ut mediocritas quaedam fervetur, prudens & sana, in sensa animi, circa actiones particulares, aperiendo, aut recondendo. Licet enim profunda taciturnitas, & consiliorum occultatio, & is rerum gerendarum modus, qui omnia caecis & (ut modernae linguae potius loquuntur) furdis artibus & mediis operatur, res sit & utilis, & mirabilis: tamen non raro evenit, ut (quod dicitur) dissimulatio errores pariat, qui dissimulatorem ipsum illaqueant. Nam videmus, viros politicos, maxime omnium insignes, libere & indissimulanter fines, quos peterent, palam proferre non dubitasse. Sic L. Sylla manifesto prae se tulit, *se, omnes mortales vel felices vel infelices fieri, cupere, prout sibi essent vel amici vel inimici*. Sic Caesar, cum primum profectus est in Gallias, nil veritus est profiteri: *se malle primum esse in villa obscura, quam secundum Romae*. Idem Caesar, coepto jam bello, dissimulatorem minime egit, si audiamus, quid Cicero de illo praedicet. *Alter (Caesarem innuens) non recusat, sed quodammodo postulat, ut, (ut est,) sic appelletur tyrannus*. Similiter videmus, in epistola quadam Ciceronis ad Atticum, quam minime fuerit Augustus Caesar dissimulatus; qui in ipso ingressu ad res gerendas, cum adhuc senatui esset in deliciis, solitus tamen erat in concionibus apud populum jurare illa formula: Ita parentis honores consequi liceat. Illud autem non minus quiddam erat, quam ipsa tyrannis. Verum est, ad invidiam paululum leniendam, solitum eum simul ad statuam Julii Caesaris, quae in rostris posita erat, manum protendere. Homines autem ridebant, & plaudebant, & admirabantur, & inter se ita loquebantur: Quid hoc est? Qualis adolescens? Sed tamen nihil malitiae in eo suspicabantur, qui tam candide & ingenue, quod sentiret, loqueretur. Et isti quidem, quos nominavimus, prospera omnia consecuti sunt: Pompeius contra, qui ad eosdem tendebat fines, sed viis magis umbris & obscuris, (sicut Tacitus de eo loquitur, *Occultior, non melior*: atque Sallustius similiter idem insinuat, *Ore probo, animo inverecondo*;) id prorsus agebat, & innumeris technis moliebatur, ut cupiditates suas & ambitionem alte recondendo, interim rem publicam in anarchiam & confusionem redigeret, quo illa se necessario in sinus ejus conjiceret; atque hoc pacto summa rerum ad eum deferretur, quasi invitum & renitentem. Cum vero hoc se putaret consequutum, factus consul solus (quod nunquam cuiquam contigisset)

contigisset) nihilo plus ad fines suos proficiebat, eo quod etiam illi, qui proculdubio eum fuissent adjuturi, quid vellet non perciperent. Adeo ut tandem coactus sit, tritam & vulgarem inire viam, ut scilicet, praetextu se Caesari opponendi, arma & exercitum compararet. Adeo lenta, casibus obnoxia, & plerunque infelicia solent esse ea consilia, quae profunda dissimulatione obteguntur! Qua de re, idem sensisse videtur Tacitus, cum simulationis artificia tanquam inferioris subsellii prudentiam constituit, prae artibus politicis: illam Tiberio, has vero Augusto Caesari attribuens. Etenim, de Livia verba faciens, sic loquitur; *Quod fuisset illa cum artibus mariti, & simulatione filii, bene composita.*

Quod ad animum flectendum & effingendum attinet; totis viribus certe incumbendum, ut animus reddatur occasionibus & opportunitatibus obsequens, neque ullo modo erga eas durus aut renitens. Neque enim majus fuerit impedimentum ad res gerendas, quam illud; idem manebat, neque idem decebat: videlicet, cum homines iidem sint, & natura sua utantur, postquam occasiones se mutaverint. Bene itaque Livius, cum Catonem Majorem introducit, tanquam fortunae suae architectum peritissimum, illud subjungit; quod ei fuerit ingenium versatile. Atque hinc fit, quod ingenia gravia & solennia, & mutare nescia, plus plerunque habeant dignitatis, quam felicitatis. Hoc vero vitium in aliquibus a natura penitus insitum est, qui suoapte ingenio sunt viscosi & nodosi, & ad versandum inepti. At in aliis consuetudine obtinuit (quae est altera natura) atque opinione quadam, (quae in animos hominum facile obrepit) ut minime mutandam sibi putent rerum gerendarum rationem, quam prius bonam & prosperam sint experti. Prudenter enim observat Macchiavellus in Fabio Maximo; *Quod pristinum suum & inveteratum cunctandi & belli trahendi morem retinere mordicus voluerit, cum natura belli esset alia, & acriora postularet consilia.* In aliis porro idem vitium ex inopia judicii progignitur; cum homines periodos rerum & actionum non tempestive discernant; sed tum demum se vertant, postquam opportunitas jam elapsa sit. Tale quidpiam in Atheniensibus suis redarguit Demosthenes, eos aiens esse *rusticis similes, qui in ludo gladiatorio se probantes, semper post plagam acceptam in eam partem munendam scutum transferunt, qua percussi sunt; non prius.* In aliis rursus hoc ipsum contingit, quia operam, in via ea, quam semel ingressi sunt, collocatam, perdere gravantur, nec receptui canere sciunt; sed potius se occasionibus superiores fore constantia sua confidunt. Verum ista animi viscositas & renitentia, a quacunque illa tandem radice pullularit, rebus gerendis & fortunae hominum est damnosissima: Nihilque magis politicum, quam animi rotas reddere cum rotis fortunae concentricas, & simul volubiles. Atque de praeceptis duobus summariis, circa fortunae architecturam, haecenus. Praecepta autem sparsa haud pauca sunt; nos tamen perpauca deligemus, pro modo exempli.

PRIMUM praeceptum est; faber fortunae, amusse sua perite utatur, eamque rite applicet; hoc est, animum assuefaciat, ut rerum omnium pretium & valorem aestimet, prout ad fortunam & fines suos magis aut minus conducant; hocque curet sedulo, non perfunctorie. Mira enim res, sed verissima; inveniuntur plurimi, quorum mentis pars logica (si ita loqui licet) est bona, mathematica pessima: videlicet, qui de rerum consequentiis satis firmiter judicant; de pretiis vero imperitissime. Hinc fit, ut alii privata & secreta cum principibus colloquia, alii auras populares, tanquam magna adepti, admirentur; cum sit utrumque saepenumero res & invidia & periculo

plena: Alii autem res metiuntur ex difficultate atque opera sua in eis impenſa; fieri oportere exiſtimantes, ut quantum moverint tantum etiam promoverint: ſicut Caefar de Catone Uticenſi, veluti per ironiam, dixit, narrando, quam laborioſus fuerit & affiduus, & quaſi indefatigabilis, neque tamen multum ad rem: *Omnia* (inquit) *magno ſtudio agebat*. Hinc etiam illud accidit, ut homines ſaepius ſe ipſos fallant; qui, ſi magni alicujus aut honorati viri opera utantur, ſibi omnia proſpera promittunt; cum illud verum ſit, non grandiffima quaeque inſtrumenta, ſed aptiſſima citius & felicius opus quodque perficere. Atque ad mathematicam veram animi informandam, operae pretium eſt, illud inprimis noſſe & deſcriptum habere, quid ad cujuſque fortunam conſtituendam & promovendam primum ſtatui debeat, quid ſecundum, & ſic deinceps. Primo loco emendationem animi pono; animi enim impedimenta & nodos tollendo & complanando, citius viam fortunae aperueris, quam fortunae auxiliis animi impedimenta ſuſtuleris. Secundo loco opes pono, & pecuniam: Quam ſummo loco plurimi fortasſe collocaverint, cum tanti ſit ad omnia uſus. Verum eam opinionem, ſimilem ob cauſam abjudico, atque Macchiavellus fecit, in alia re, non multum ab ea diſcrepante. Cum enim vetus fuerit ſententia, pecuniam eſſe nervos belli; ille contra, non alios eſſe nervos belli aſſeruit, quam nervos virorum fortium & militarium. Eodem prorsus modo vere aſſeri poſſit; nervos fortunae, non eſſe pecuniam, ſed potius animi vires, ingenium, fortitudinem, audaciam, conſtantiam, moderationem, induſtriam, & ſimilia. Tertio loco colloco famam & exiſtimationem; eo magis, quod illa aeſtus quosdam habeant, & tempora, quibus ſi non opportune utaris, difficile erit rem in integrum reſtituere. Ardua enim res, famam praecipitantem retrovertere. Poſtremo loco pono honores, ad quos certe facilior aditus per unumquodque ex illis tribus, multo magis per omnia conjuncta, datur; quam ſi ab honoribus auſpiceris, & deinde ad reliqua perrexeris. Verum, ut in ordine rerum ſervando haud parum eſt momenti, ita non multo minus in ſervando ordine temporis; cujuſ perturbatione frequentiffime peccatur, dum ad fines tum properatur, quando initia eſſent curanda; atque dum ad maxima quaeque ſubito advolamus, quae in medio poſita ſunt, temere tranſilientes. At illud recte praecipitur; quod nunc inſtat, agamus.

SECUNDUM praeceptum eſt, ut caveamus, ne animi quadam magnitudine, & praefidentia, ad magis ardua, quam par eſt, feramur; neve in adverſum fluvii remigemus. Optimum enim conſilium circa fortunas hominum:

—— *Fatis accede, deisſque.*

Circumſpiciamus in omnes partes, & obſervemus, qua res pateant, qua clauſae & obſtructae ſint, qua proclives, qua arduae; neque viribus noſtris, ubi non patet aditus commodus, abutamur. Hoc ſi fecerimus, & a repulſa nos immunes praeftabimus, & in negotiis ſingulis nimis diu non haerebimus, & moderationis laudem reportabimus, & pauciores offendemus, & denique felicitatis opinionem acquiremus; dum quae ſponte fortasſe eventura fuiſſent, noſtrae induſtriae accepta ferentur.

TERTIUM praeceptum cum proxime praecedente nonnihil pugnare videri poſſit; licet, probe intellectum, minime. Illud hujusmodi eſt; ut occaſiones non ſemper expectemus, ſed eas quandoque provocemus & ducamus. Quod etiam innuit Demotheſenes; magniloquentia quadam. *Et quemadmodum receptum eſt, ut exercitum ducat imperator, ſic a cordatis*

viris

viris res ipsae ducendae, ut quae ipsis videntur, ea gerantur, & non ipsi persequi eventus tantum cogantur. Etenim, si diligenter attendamus, duas observabimus, easque discrepantes species, eorum, qui rebus gerendis & negotiis tractandis pares habeantur. Alii siquidem occasionibus commode sciunt uti, sed nihil ex se moluntur, aut excogitant; alii toti sunt in machinando, qui occasiones, quae opportune incidunt, non arripiunt. Harum facultatum altera, alteri non conjuncta, manca omnino & imperfecta censenda est.

QUARTUM est praeceptum; ut nihil suscipiamus, in quo necesse sit, temporis plurimum infumere; verum ut vericulus ille aurem semper vellicet:

Sed fugit interea, fugit irreparabile tempus.

Neque alia subest causa, cur ii, qui professionibus laboriosis, aut rebus similibus se addixerunt, veluti jurisconsulti, oratores, theologi doctiores, librorum scriptores, & hujusmodi, in fortuna sua constituenda & promovenda, minus sint solertes, quam quod tempore (alias scilicet infumpto) indigent ad particularia pernosceda, opportunitates captandas, & machinas, quae ad fortunam suam spectent, comminiscendas & meditandas. Quinetiam in aulis principum & rebus publicis eos reperias, & ad fortunam suam promovendam, & ad aliorum invadendam, maxime efficaces, qui nullo publico munere funguntur, sed in hoc, de quo loquimur, ambitu vitae, perpetuo occupantur.

QUINTUM est praeceptum; ut naturam quodammodo imitemur, quae nihil facit frustra. Id quod factu non erit admodum difficile, si negotia nostra omnium generum perite commisceamus & contexamus. In singulis enim actionibus ita animus est instituendus & praeparandus, atque intentiones nostrae aliae aliis substernendae & subordinandae; ut, si in aliqua re voti compotes in summo gradu fieri non possimus, in secundo tamen liceat consistere, imo vel in tertio: Quod si nec in aliqua omnino parte rei haerere aut consistere possimus, tum vero ad alium quempiam (praeter destinatum) finem, operam impensam flectamus: Sic nec in praesenti aliquem fructum demetere queamus, saltem aliquid ex ea extrahamus, quod in futurum profuit: si vero nihil solidi, nec in praesenti nec in futuro inde elicere detur, satagamus saltem, ut aliquid existimationi nostrae inde accrescat; & alia id genus: rationes semper a nobis ipsis exigendo, quibus constet, nos fructus aliquid, plus minus, ex singulis actionibus & consiliis nostris percepisse: neque ullo modo permittendo, ut tanquam confusi ac consternati animum illico despondeamus, si forte scopum principalem non licuerit attingere. Nihil enim minus convenit viro politico, quam uni rei unice esse intentum. Qui enim hoc facit, occasionum innumerarum jactura multabitur; quae rebus agendis ex obliquo intervenire solent, quaeque fortasse magis fuerint propitiae & commodae ad alia quae postea usui futura sint, quam ad ea, quae in manibus habeamus. Ideoque bene calleamus illam regulam: *Haec oportet facere, & illa non omittere.*

SEXTUM est praeceptum, ut nos rei alicui nimis peremptorie non astringamus: quanquam casui videatur, primo intuitu, minus obnoxia: sed semper habeamus, vel fenestram apertam ad evolandum, vel posticum aliquod secretum ad redeundum.

SEPTIMUM praeceptum, est antiquum illud Biantis; modo non ad perfidiam, sed ad cautionem & moderationem adhibeatur: *Et ames tanquam inimicus futurus, & oderis tanquam amaturus.* Nam utilitates quasque,

mirum

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mirum in modum, prodit & corrumpit, si quis nimium se immerferit amicitiiis infelicibus, molestis & turbidis odiis, aut puerilibus & futilibus aemulationibus.

HÆC exempli loco circa doctrinam de ambitu vitae sufficient: illud enim hominibus in memoriam subinde reducendum est, longe abesse, ut adumbrationes istae, quibus utimur in desideratis, loco justorum tractatum ponantur; sed sint solummodo tanquam schedae aut fimbriae, ex quibus de tela integra iudicium fieri possit. Neque rursus ita desipimus, ut fortunam absque tanto, quantum diximus, molimine minime parari asseramus. Probe enim novimus, eam tanquam sponte in gremium aliquorum defluere: Alii autem eam diligentia sola & assiduitate, (cautione nonnulla aspersa) absque arte multa aut operosa, adipiscuntur. Verum sicut Cicero, oratorem perfectum depingens, non id vult, ut caufidici singuli tales esse debeant, aut possint: ac rursus, sicut in principe aut aulico describendo (quod nonnulli tractandum susceperunt) modulus effingitur, prorsus secundum artis perfectionem, non autem secundum practicam vulgatam: idem & nos in politico instruendo praestitimus; politico (inquam) quoad fortunam propriam.

ENIMVERO, illud utique monendum praecepta, quae circa hanc rem delegimus & proposuimus, omnia ex genere eorum esse, quae bonae artes vocantur. Quod enim ad malas artes attinet: Si quis Macchiavello se dederit in disciplinam, qui praecipit virtutem ipsam non magnopere curandam, sed tantum speciem ejus, in publicum versam: quia virtutis fama & opinio homini adjumento fit, virtus ipsa impedimento: quique alio loco praecipit; ut homo politicus illud tanquam fundamentum prudentiae suae substernat, quod praesupponat, homines non recte nec tuto ad ea quae volumus flecti aut adduci posse, praeterquam solo metu: ideoque det operam ut omnes, quantum in se est, obnoxii sint, atque in periculis & angustiis constituti; ita ut politicus suus videatur esse, quod Itali dicunt, seminator spinarum: Aut si quis axioma illud, quod a Cicerone citatur, amplecti velit: Cadant amici dummodo inimici intercendant; sicut triumviri fecerunt, qui inimicorum interitum amicissimorum exitio redimebant: Aut si quis L. Catilinae imitator esse velit, ut rerumpublicarum incendiarius fiat & perturbator, quo melius in aquis turbidis piscari & fortunam suam expedire possit; ego, (inquit) si in fortunis meis incendium sit excitatum, id non aqua sed ruina restinguam: Aut si quis illud Lysandri ad se transferat, qui dicere solebat; pueros placentis, viros perjuriis alliciendos; cum aliis ejusdem farinae pravis, ac perniciosis dogmatibus; quorum (ut fit in caeteris rebus omnibus) major est numerus, quam rectorum & sanorum: Si quis (inquam) hujusmodi inquinata prudentia delectetur: non ierim inficias, eum (quandoquidem legibus charitatis & virtutis omnibus se ipsum solutum, fortunae solummodo manciparit) posse, majore compendio & celerius fortunam suam promovere. Fit vero in vita, quemadmodum & in via, ut iter brevius sit foedius & coenosius; neque sane, ut per viam meliorem quis incedat, multa circuitione opus est.

TANTUM vero abest, ut homines ad hujusmodi artes pravas se applicare oporteat; ut potius sane (si modo sint apud se, seque sustinere valeant, neque ambitionis turbine & procella in adversum rapiantur) ante oculos proponere debeant; non solum mundi chorographiam generalem illam, quod omnia sint vanitas & vexatio spiritus; verum etiam & illam magis specialem, videlicet, quod ipsum esse, sejunctum a bene esse, maledictionis loco sit; & quo grandius sit esse, eo major sit maledictio; quodque amplissimum

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plissimum virtutis praemium sit ipsa virtus; quemadmodum & ultimum vitii supplicium est vitium ipsum; sicut egregie poeta:

*Quae vobis, quae digna, viri, pro laudibus istis
Praemia posse rear solvi? Pulcherrima primum
Dii moresque dabunt vestri. —*

Et e contra non minus vere ille de sceleratis, *atque eum ulciscuntur mores sui*. Quinetiam mortales, dum in omnes partes cogitationes suas agitant & diffundunt, ut fortunis suis recte prospectum atque consultum sit, interim in mediis illis animi transcurfibus ad divina judicia & providentiam aeternam oculos attollere debent; quae saepissime impiorum machinationes & consilia prava, licet profunda, subvertit & ad nihilum redigit; secundum illud scripturae, *Concepit iniquitatem, & pariet vanitatem*. Imo, etsi injuriis & malis artibus abstineant; attamen haec jugis & irrequieta anhelatio ad ardua fortunae, absque cessatione, & quasi sine sabbato, tributum temporis nostri Deo debitum minime solvit: Qui, ut videre est, facultatum nostrarum decimas, temporis autem septimas, exigit & sibi seponit. Quorsum enim fuerit, os gerere in coeli sublimia erectum; mentem vero humi prostratam, & pulverem instar serpentis comedentem? Quod etiam ethnicos non fugit:

Atque affigit humo divinae particulam aurae.

Quod si in hoc sibi quisquam adblandiatur, quod fortuna sua, utcunque eam malis artibus obtinuerit, recte uti decreverit; sicut de Augusto Caesare & Septimio Severo solitum erat dici, debuisse illos, aut nunquam nasci, aut nunquam mori; tanta in ambitu fortunae suae patrarunt mala, tanta rursus summa adepti, contulerunt bona: intelligat nihilominus hanc malorum per bona compensationem post factum probari; consilium autem hujusmodi merito damnari. Abs re postremo nobis non fuerit, in cursu isto incitato & fervido, versus fortunam nostram, frigidam paulisper aspergere, haustam e dicerio illo non inelegante Caroli Quinti imperatoris, in institutionibus suis ad filium: Imitari fortunam mores mulierum, quae procos plus nimio ambientes, plerumque superbe averfantur. Verum hoc ultimum remedium pertinet ad eos, quibus gustus ex morbo animi corruptus est. Innitantur potius homines lapidi illi, qui theologiae & philosophiae est tanquam angularis; quae idem fere asserunt de eo, quod primum quaeri debet: Etenim theologia edicit: *Primum quaerite regnum Dei, & ista omnia adjicientur vobis*. Philosophia autem simile quiddam jubet: Primum quaerite bona animi, caetera aut aderunt, aut non oberunt. Quamvis autem hoc fundamentum, humanitus jactum, interdum locetur super arenas; quemadmodum videre est in M. Bruto, qui in eam vocem, sub exitum suum, prorupit:

Te colui, virtus, ut rem: ast tu nomen inane es.

At idem fundamentum, divinitus locatum, firmatur semper in petra. Hic autem doctrinam de ambitu vitae, & simul doctrinam generalem de negotiis, concludimus.

C A P. III.

Partitiones doctrinae de imperio sive republica omittuntur; tantum additus sit ad desiderata duo, doctrinam de proferendis finibus imperii, & doctrinam de iustitia universali, sive de fontibus juris.

VENIO jam ad artem imperii, sive doctrinam de republica administranda: Sub qua etiam oeconomica continetur, ut familia sub civitate. In hac parte, sicut jam antea dixi, silentium mihi imperavi. Neque tamen prorsus diffidere debui, quin possim de illa fortasse non imperite aut inutiliter differere: utpote qui longa experientia edoctus, & per tot munerum & honorum gradus ad amplissimum regni magistratum, favore majestatis tuae indulgentissimo, nullo merito meo evectus fuerim, eundemque magistratum per annos quatuor integros gesserim: & quod pluris est, majestatis tuae mandatis & colloquiis per annos octodecim continuos assueverim; (quod etiam e stipite aliquo politicum exculpere potuisset:) quique etiam inter omnes artes, plurimum temporis in historiis & legibus contriverim. Quae omnia non jactantia ad posteros refero, sed quia ad literarum dignitatem nonnihil pertinere putem, quod homo quispiam ad literas potius quam ad aliud quicquam natus, & ad res gerendas, nescio quo fato, contra genium suum abreptus, ad civilia tamen munera tam honorifica & ardua sub rege prudentissimo assumptus fuerit. Verum, si quid circa politicam posthac parturiet otium meum, erit fortasse proles, aut abortiva aut posthuma. Interim, ne, scientiis omnibus jam veluti in subselliis suis collocatis, sedes haec tam excelsa omnino vacet, decrevi duas tantum civilis scientiae portiones, quae ad arcana imperii non pertinent, sed sunt naturae magis communis, ut desiderata notare; earumque, more nostro, exempla proponere.

CUM artes imperii tria officia politica complectantur; primo, ut imperium conservetur: secundo, ut beatum efficiatur & florens: tertio, ut amplificetur, finesque ejus longius proferantur: de duobus primis officiis, maxima ex parte, egregie a nonnullis tractatum est, de tertio filetur. Illud itaque inter desiderata reponemus, & more nostro exemplum ejus proponemus, eam doctrinae partem consulem paludatum, sive doctrinam de proferendis imperii finibus, nominantes.

Exemplum tractatus summarii de proferendis finibus imperii.

Dictum Themistoclis sibi ipsi applicatum, incivile certe fuit & inflatum; fin de aliis atque in genere prolatum fuisset, prudentem sane observationem & pergravem censuram complecti videatur. Rogatus in convivio, ut citharam pulsaret, respondit, fidibus se nescire; caeterum posse oppidum parvum in magnam civitatem evehere. Ista certe verba, ad sensum politicum translata, facultates duas multum inter se discrepantes, in iis, qui rerum gubernacula tractant, optime describunt & distinguunt. Etenim, si regum consiliarios, senatores, aliosque ad negotia publica admotos, qui usquam fuerunt, attente intueamur, reperientur profecto (licet rarissime) nonnulli, qui regnum aut civitatem e parvis ampla efficere possint; fidicines tamen sint valde imperiti: E contra autem alii quamplurimi, in cithara aut lyra, (hoc est, aulicis tricis) miri artifices, qui, tantum abest, ut rempublicam amplificare possint, ut potius a natura comparati videantur ad statum reipublicae beatum & florentem labefactandum & evertendum. Sane, artes illae degeneres

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degeneres & praestigiae, quibus saepenumero consiliarii, atque rerum potentes, & gratiam apud principes suos, & famam in vulgus, reportant, haud aliud nomen merentur, quam peritiae cujusdam fidiculariae, utpote cum sint res magis gratae in praesens, & artificibus ipsis ornamento, quam ad rerum publicarum, quarum sunt ministri, opes & amplitudinem utiles aut accommodae. Occurrent proculdubio & alii consiliarii, atque reipublicae gubernatores, minime spernendi, qui sint negotiis pares, possintque res commode administrare, easque a manifestis praecipitiis & incommodis conservare; a virtute tamen illa rerum publicarum erectrice & amplificatrice longo intervallo absunt.

VERUM, qualescunque demum fuerint operarii, conjiciamus oculos in opus ipsum; qualis nimirum censeretur debet vera regnorum & rerum publicarum magnitudo, & quibus artibus obtineri possit: Dignum profecto argumentum, quod principes perpetuo in manibus habeant, & diligenter meditentur; quo nec vires suas in majus aestimantes, inceptis se vanis & nimis arduis implicent; nec rursus easdem plus aequo despicientes, ad consilia pusillanimitatis & meticulosae se demittant.

MAGNITUDO imperiorum, quoad molem & territorium, mensurae subijcitur; quoad redditus calculis. Numerus civium & capita censu; urbium & oppidorum multitudo & amplitudo, tabulis excipi possunt: Attamen non reperitur inter civilia res errori magis obnoxia, quam verum & intrinsecum excipere valorem, circa vires & copias imperii alicujus. Assimilatur regnum coelorum non glandi, aut nuci alicui grandiori, sed grano sinapis, quod inter grana est minimum; quod tamen habet interim intra se proprietatem quandam & spiritum innatum, quo se & citius attollat, & latius diffundat: Eodem modo invenire est regna & status, ambitu quidem & regionum tractu valde ampla, quae tamen ad fines ulterius proferendos, aut latius imperandum sunt minus apta; alia contra dimensione satis exigua, quae tamen bases, in quibus maximae monarchiae inaedificentur, esse possint.

I. URBES munitae, plena armamentaria, equorum propagines generosae, currus armati, elephantum, machinae atque tormenta bellica omnigena, & similia; sunt certe ista universa, nihil aliud, quam ovis induta pelle leonina, nisi gens ipsa stirpe sua & ingenio sit fortis & militaris. Imo, nec numerus ipse copiarum multum juvat, ubi milites imbelles sunt & ignavi. Recte enim Virgilius; *Lupus numerum pecorum non curat*. Exercitus Persarum in campis Arbela oculis Macedonum tanquam vastum hominum pelagus subiciebatur; adeo ut duces Alexandri, nonnihil ipso spectaculo perculsi, regem interpellarent, atque ut noctu proelium committeret, ei auctores erant: Quibus ille, nolo (inquit) suffurari victoriam: Ea autem etiam opinione fuit facilius. Tigranes Armenius castrametatus in quodam colle cum exercitu quadringentorum millium, cum spectaret aciem Romanorum, quae quatuordecim millia non excessit, contra se tendentem, in dictorio illo suo sibi complacuit; ecce (inquit) hominum pro legatione nimio plus quam oportet, pro pugna longe minus: Eosdem tamen, priusquam occubisset sol, satis multos ad illum infinita strage profligandum expertus est. Innumera sunt exempla, quam sit multitudinis cum fortitudine congressus impar. Primo igitur pro re certissima & exploratissima decernatur & statuatur, quod caput omnium, quae ad magnitudinem regni aut status spectent, sit, ut populus ipse sit stirpe & ingenio bellicosus. Atque illud magis tritum quam verum, quod nervi belli sint pecuniae, si desint nervi lacertorum in gente molli & effoeminata. Recte enim Croeso ostentanti aurum

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aurum respondit Solon: *At si quis (o rex) venerit, qui melius quam tu ferrum gestet, illi profecto totum hoc cedit aurum.* Quare, quicumque is tandem sit princeps aut status, cujus subditi nativi & indigenae non sint animosi & militares, potentiam suam admodum sobrie aestimet: Atque e contra principes, qui dominantur in gentes animosas & martias, norint illi satis vires suas, si sibi alias non desint. Quod attinet ad copias mercenarias (quod solet adhiberi remedium, cum copiae nativae desint) plena sunt omnia exemplis, quibus liquido patet, quod quicumque status illis innitetur, poterit fortasse pennas ad tempus breve nido majores extendere, sed defluent illae paulo post.

2. BENEDICTIO Judae & Issacharis, in unum nunquam convenient: Nimirum, ut eadem tribus aut gens sit simul & leonis catulus, & asinus procumbens inter sarcinas. Neque unquam fiet, ut populus tributis oppressus, fortis existat & bellicosus. Verum est collationes publico consensu factas, minus animos subditorum dejicere & deprimere, quam quae ex imperio mero indicuntur. Id quod liquido videre est in tributis Germaniae inferioris, quas excisas vocant: Atque aliqua ex parte in iis, quae subsidia nominantur apud Anglos. Etenim notandum est, sermonem jam institui de animis hominum, non de opibus. Tributa autem, quae ex consensu conferuntur, & quae ex imperio imponuntur, etsi eadem res sint, quoad opes exhaustiendas, varie tamen omnino animos subditorum afficiunt. Statuatur igitur & hoc, populum tributis gravatum idoneum ad imperandum non esse.

3. ASPIRANTIBUS ad magnitudinem regnis & statibus, prorsus cavendum, ne nobiles & patricii, atque (quos vocamus) generosi, majorem in modum multiplicentur. Hoc enim eo rem deducit, ut plebs regni sit humilis & abjecta; & nihil aliud fere quam nobilium mancipia & operarii. Simile quiddam fieri videmus in sylvis caeduis; in quibus si major, quam par est, caudicum sive arborum majorum relinquatur numerus, non renascetur sylva sincera & pura; sed major pars in vepres & dumos degenerabit. Eodem modo in nationibus, ubi numerosior justo est nobilitas, erit plebs vilis & ignava: atque eo demum res redibit, ut nec centesimum quodque caput sit ad galeam portandam idoneum: praesertim si peditatum spectes, qui exercitus plerumque est robur praecipuum; unde succedet magna populatio, vires exiguae. Nusquam gentium, hoc quod dico, luculentius comprobatum est, quam exemplis Angliae & Galliae: Quarum Anglia, quamvis territorio & numero incolarum longe inferior, potiores tamen partes fere semper in bellis obtinuit: hanc ipsam ob causam, quod apud Anglos coloni, & inferioris ordinis homines, militiae habiles sint, rustici Galliae non item. Qua in re mirabili quadam & profunda prudentia excogitatum est ab Henrico septimo Angliae rege, (id quod in vitae ejus historia fusius tractavimus) ut praedia minora, atque domus agricolationis instituerentur, quae habeant certum eumque mediocre agri modum annexum, qui distrahi non possit, eo fine, ut ad victum liberaliorem sufficiat; utque agricultura ab iis exerceretur, qui domini fuerint fundi, aut saltem usufructuarii, non conductitii aut mercenarii. Nam ita demum characterem illum, quo antiquam Italiam insignivit Virgilius, merebitur regio aliqua:

— *Terra potens armis, atque ubere gleba.*

Neque praetereunda est illa pars populi, (quae Angliae fere est peculiaris, nec alibi (quod scio) in usu, nisi forte apud Polonos) famuli scilicet nobilium:

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lium: hujus enim generis etiam inferiores, quoad peditatum, agricolis ipsis minime cedunt. Quare certissimum est, quod magnificentia & splendor ille hospitalis, atque famulitia, & veluti satellitia ampla, quae in more sunt apud nobiles & generosos in Anglia, ad potentiam militarem apprime conducant: ubi contra, nobilium obscura & magis privata & in se reducta vitae ratio copias militares minuit.

4. DANDA est omnino opera, ut arbor ista monarchiae, qualis fuit Nebuchadnezzaris, truncum habeat satis amplum & robustum, ad ramos suos & frondes sustentandos: Hoc est, ut numerus indigenarum, ad subditos extraneos cohibendos, satis superque sufficiat. Illi igitur status ad imperii magnitudinem bene comparati sunt, qui jus civitatis facile & libenter largiuntur. Vana siquidem fuerit opinio, posse manipulum hominum, utcunque animis & consilio excellant, regiones nimio plus amplas & spatiosas imperii jugo cohibere & fraenare. Id ad tempus fortasse facere possint, sed diuturnitatem haec res non assequitur. Spartani parci fuerunt, & difficiles in cooprandis novis civibus. Unde, donec intra parvos limites dominati sunt, res eorum firmæ fuerunt & stabiles: At postquam limites suos coepissent proferre, & latius dominari, quam ut stirps Spartanorum, turbam exterorum imperio commode coercere posset, potentia eorum subito corruit. Nulla unquam respublica sinus suos ad novos cives recipiendos tam profuse laxavit, quam respublica Romana. Itaque par erat instituto tam prudenti fortuna, cum in imperium toto orbe amplissimum succreverint. Moris apud eos erat, jus civitatis prompte elargiri; idque in supremo gradu: Hoc est, non solum jus commercii, jus connubii, jus haereditatis; verum etiam jus suffragii, & jus petitionis, sive honorum: Hocque rursus, non singulis tantum personis, sed totis familiis, imo civitatibus, & nonnunquam integris nationibus, communicarunt. Huc adde consuetudinem deducendi colonias, quibus Romanae stirpes in solum exterum transplantabantur. Quae duo instituta si simul componas, dices profecto, non Romanos se diffudisse super universum orbem; sed contra, orbem universum se diffudisse super Romanos: Quae securissima proferendi imperii est ratio. Subit mirari saepius imperium Hispanorum; quod tam paucis indigenis tot regna & provincias amplexari & fraenare possit. Ac certe Hispaniae ipsae pro arboris stemmate satis grandi haberi debent, cum longe ampliorem contineant regionum tractum, quam Romae aut Sparta, sub initiis suis, contigerat. Porro, quanquam jus civitatis satis parce soleant Hispani impertire, quod proximum tamen est, faciunt; quippe qui cujuscunque nationis homines ad militiam suam ordinariam promiscue admittant: Quinetiam summum belli imperium haud raro ad duces natione non Hispanos deferunt. Attamen & illam ipsam videntur non ita pridem, indigenarum paucitatem sensisse, eique succurrere cupiisse; ut ex pragmatica sanctione hoc anno promulgata, cernere est.

5. CERTISSIMUM est, artes mechanicas sedentarias, quae non sub dio, sed sub tecto exercentur, atque manufacturas delicatas, (quae digitum potius, quam brachium requirunt) sua natura militaribus animis esse contrarias. In universum, populi bellicosi ferari gaudent, & pericula quam labores minus exhorrent. Atque in hoc ingenio suo non sunt admodum reprimendi, si animos ipsorum in vigore conservare cordi nobis sit. Magno itaque adjumento Sparta, Athenis, Romae, aliisque antiquis rebuspublicis fuit, quod habuerint non ingenuos, sed servos, plerunque, quorum laboribus istiusmodi opificia expediebantur. Verum mancipiorum usus, post legem Christianam receptam, maxima ex parte abiit in desuetudinem. Huic

vero rei proximum est, ut artes istae alienigenis tantum permittantur; qui propterea alliciendi, aut saltem facile recipiendi sunt. Nativorum autem plebs ex tribus generibus hominum constare debet; nempe, ex agricolis; famulis ingenuis; & artificibus; quorum opera robur & lacertos viriles postulant; cujusmodi sunt fabri ferrarii, lapidarii, lignarii, & similes; non annumerando militiam descriptam.

6. ANTE omnia ad imperii magnitudinem confert, ut gens aliqua armorum studium profiteatur, tanquam decus suum, & institutum vitae primum, & in praecipuo honore habitum. Quae enim a nobis adhuc dicta sunt, ad habilitates tantum erga arma spectant: Quorsum autem habilitas, si non rei ipsi incumbitur, ut producat in actum? Romulus, (ut narrant, aut fingunt) postquam e vivis excefferat, illud civibus suis legavit, ut ante omnia rem militarem colerent, unde in caput orbis terrarum urbs eorum insurgeret. Imperii Spartani fabrica universa (non nimis prudenter quidem, sed diligenter tamen) ad illum finem & scopum composita est & constructa, ut cives sui belligeratores essent. Persarum & Macedonum idem erat institutum, sed non tam constans aut diuturnum. Britanni, Galli, Germani, Gothi, Saxones, Normanni, & nonnulli alii, etiam ad tempus armis se praecipue dediderunt. Turcae idem institutum, lege sua haud paululum extimulati, hodie retinent, sed magna cum militiae suae (ut nunc est) declinatione. In Europa Christiana, gens quae illud adhuc retinet & proficitur, soli sunt Hispani. Verum res est tam liquida & manifesta, unumquemque in eo proficere maxime, in quo plurimum impendit studii, ut verbis non indigeat. Satis sit innuisse, desperandum omnino alicui nationi esse, quae non ex professo arma & militiam colat, iisque praecipue studeat & incumbat, sibi veluti ultro obventuram insignem aliquam imperii magnitudinem: Contra autem, certissimum esse temporis oraculum, nationes illas, quae in armorum professione & studiis diutius permanferint, (id quod Romani Turcaeque potissimum fecere) miros in imperio amplificando facere progressus. Quin & illae, quae bellica gloria per unius tantummodo saeculi spatium florere; inde tamen, unico illo saeculo, eam imperii amplitudinem affecutae sunt, quam longo post tempore, etiam remissa illa armorum disciplina, retinuerunt.

7. PRAECEPTO praecedenti affine est; ut status quis utatur ejusmodi legibus & consuetudinibus, quae iustas illi causas, aut saltem praetextus, arma capeffendi, tanquam in promptu ministrent. Etenim, ea est insita animis hominum iustitiae apprehensio, ut bellum, (quod tot sequuntur calamitates) nisi gravem ob causam, saltem speciosam inferre abstineant. Turcis praesto est semper, & ad nutum, belli causa; propagatio scilicet legis & sectae suae. Romani, quanquam pro magno decore imperatoribus apud eos fuerit, si fines imperii ipsorum protulissent, tamen ob hanc solam causam, ut fines proferrentur, nunquam bella susceperunt. Aspiranti igitur ad imperium nationi illud in more sit: ut sensum habeat vividum & acrem injuriae alicujus, vel subditis suis limitaneis, vel mercatoribus vel publicis ministris, illatae; neque a prima provocatione diutius torpeat aut tardet. Item, prompta sit & alacris ad auxilia mittenda fociis suis & foederatis: Id quod perpetuum erat apud Romanos: adeo ut, si forte in populum foederatum, cui etiam cum aliis foedus defensivum intercederet, hostilis impressio facta esset; atque ille a plurimis suppetias peteret; Romani omnium primi semper adessent, beneficii decus nemini praeripiendum relinquentes. Quod vero attinet ad bella, antiquis temporibus, propter statuum conformitatem quandam, aut correspondentiam tacitam, gesta, non video, in quo jure illa fundata

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fundata sint. Talia fuerunt bella, quae a Romanis suscepta erant ad Graeciam in libertatem vindicandam: talia Lacedaemoniis & Atheniensibus, ad constituendas aut evertendas democratas & oligarchias: talia quandoque illata sunt a rebuspublicis aut principibus, sub praetextu, subditos alienos protegendi, & a tyrannide liberandi. Ad rem praesentem sufficiat, ut illud decernatur: Non esse expectandam statui alicui imperii amplitudinem, nisi ad quamvis occasionem justam se armandi protinus expergiscatur.

8. NULLUM omnino corpus, sive sit illud naturale sive politicum, absque exercitatione sanitatem suam tueri queat. Regno autem, aut reipublicae justum atque honorificum bellum loco salubris exercitationis est. Bellum civile profecto instar caloris febrilis est; at bellum externum instar caloris ex motu, qui valetudini inprimis conducit. Ex pace enim deside atque torpente & emolliuntur animi, & corrumpuntur mores. Sed utcunque res se habeat quatenus ad alicujus status felicitatem, magnitudinis proculdubio interest, ut quasi semper in armis sit. Atque exercitus veteranus, perpetuo tanquam sub vexillis habitus, etsi res sit magni proculdubio sumptus & impensae, attamen ejusmodi est, ut statui alicui quasi arbitrium rerum inter vicinos, aut saltem plurimum existimationis ad omnia conferat. Id quod insigniter cernere est in Hispanis, qui jam per annos centum & viginti exercitum veteranum, ad aliquas partes, licet non semper ad easdem, aluerunt.

9. MARIS dominium, monarchiae quaedam epitome est. Cicero, de Pompeii contra Caesarem apparatu, scribens ad Atticum: *Consilium* (inquit) *Pompeii, plane Themistocleum est: putat enim, qui mari potitur, eum rerum potiri.* Atque Caesarem Pompeius proculdubio delassasset & attrivisset, nisi inani fiducia inflatus, ab illo incepto destitisset. Proelia navalia, quanti fuerint momenti, ex multis exemplis patet. Pugna ad Actium orbis imperium determinavit. Pugna ad insulas Cursolares circulum in naribus Turcae posuit. Multoties certe evenit, ut victoriae navales finem summae belli attulerint. Sed hoc factum est, cum aleae hujusmodi proeliorum totius belli fortuna commissa est. Illud minime dubium, quod qui maris potitur dominio, in magna libertate agit, & tantum, quantum velit, de bello sumere potest: ubi contra, qui terrestribus copiis est superior, nihilominus plurimis angustiis conflictatur. At hodie, atque apud nos Europaeos, si unquam, aut uspiam, potentia navalis (quae quidem huic regno Britanniae in dotem cessit) summi ad rerum fastigia momenti est; tum quia pleraque Europae regna mediterranea simpliciter non sunt, sed maxima ex parte mari cincta; tum etiam, quia utriusque Indiae thesauri & opes, imperio maris, veluti accessorium quiddam existunt.

10. BELLA moderna, veluti in tenebris gesta, cenferi possunt, prae gloria & decore vario, quae in homines militares, priscis temporibus, a rebus bellicis resilire solebant. Habemus hodie, fortasse ad animos faciendos, ordines quosdam honorificos militiae, qui tamen jam facti sunt & armis & togae communes. Etiam in scutis gentilitiis stemmata nonnulla habemus: Insuper hospitia quaedam publica, militibus emeritis & mutilatis destinata, & hujusmodi. Verum, apud veteres, in locis, ubi victoriae partae sunt, extructa trophaea; laudationes funebres, & monumenta magnifica occumbentium in bello. Coronae civicae, militares, singulis concessae. Nomen ipsum imperatoris; quod postea reges maximi a belli ducibus mutuati sunt; redemptum ducum, bellis prospere confectis, celebres triumphi; donativa, atque largitiones ingentes in milites, sub exercituum dimissionem. Haec (inquam) tot & tanta fuerunt, & tam insigni splendore coruscantia, ut pe-

ctoribus

storibus mortalium, etiam maxime conglaciatis, igniculos subdere, eaque ad bellum inflammare, potuerint. Ante omnia vero mos ille triumphandi apud Romanos, non res erat ex pompa, aut spectaculum quoddam inane, sed inter prudentissima plane nobilissimaque instituta numerandus: Utpote qui in se haec tria haberet; ducum decus & gloriam; aerarii ex spoliis locupletationem; & donativa militum. Verum honor triumphi fortasse monarchiis non competit, praeterquam in personis regis ipsius, aut filiorum regis. Quod etiam temporibus imperatorum Romae obtinuit; qui honorem ipsum triumphi, sibi & filiis suis, de bellis, quae praesentes ipsi confecerant, tanquam peculiarem reservarunt: Vestimenta autem solummodo, & insignia triumphalia, aliis ducibus indulserunt.

VERUM, ut sermones hos claudamus; nemo est (ut testatur sacra scriptura) *qui sollicite cogitando, potest apponere ad staturam suam cubitum unum*; in pusillo scilicet corporis humani modulo: Caeterum, in magna regnorum & rerumpublicarum fabrica imperium amplificare & fines proferre, reges penes & dominantes est. Nam prudenter introducendo leges, instituta, & consuetudines, quales jam proposuimus, & alias his similes, posteris, & saeculis futuris, magnitudinis sementem fecerint. Verum ista consilia apud principes raro tractantur, sed res fortunae plerumque committitur.

ATQUE haec habuimus, quae de proferendis imperii finibus in praesentia occurrunt. Verum quorsum ista commentatio; cum monarchia Romana, futura sit inter mundanas (ut creditur) ultima? Nisi quod nobis, instituto nostro fidis, neque uspiam de via declinantibus, (quandoquidem amplificatio imperii fuerit inter officia tria politices tertium) illud omnino praetermittere non licuerit. Restat jam desideratum alterum ex iis, quae posuimus, duobus, nimirum, de iustitia universali, sive de fontibus juris.

QUI de legibus scripserunt, omnes vel tanquam philosophi, vel tanquam jurisconsulti, argumentum illud tractaverunt. Atque philosophi proponunt multa, dictu pulchra, sed ab usu remota. Jurisconsulti autem, suae quisque patriae legum, vel etiam Romanarum, aut Pontificiarum, placitis obnoxii & addicti, iudicio sincero non utuntur, sed tanquam e vinculis sermocinantur. Certe cognitio ista ad viros civiles proprie spectat; qui optime norunt, quid ferat societas humana, quid salus populi, quid aequitas naturalis, quid gentium mores, quid rerumpublicarum formae diversae: ideoque possint de legibus, ex principiis & praeceptis, tam aequitatis naturalis, quam politices, decernere. Quamobrem id nunc agatur, ut fontes iustitiae & utilitatis publicae petantur, & in singulis juris partibus character quidam & idea iusti exhibeatur, ad quam particularium regnorum & rerumpublicarum leges probare, atque inde emendationem moliri, quisque, cui hoc cordi erit & curae, possit. Hujus igitur rei, more nostro, exemplum in uno titulo proponemus.

Exemplum tractatus de iustitia universali, sive de fontibus juris, in uno titulo, per aphorismos.

PROOEMIUM.

Aphorismus I. **I**N societate civili aut lex aut vis valet. Est autem & vis quaedam legem simulans: & lex nonnulla magis vim sapiens, quam aequitatem juris. Triplex est igitur iniustitiae fons, vis mera; illaqueatio malitiosa praetextu legis; & acerbitas ipsius legis.

Aphor.

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Aphor. 2. FIRMAMENTUM juris privati tale est. Qui injuriam facit, re utilitatem aut voluptatem capit, exemplo periculum. Caeteri utilitatis aut voluptatis illius participes non sunt, sed exemplum ad se pertinere putant. Itaque facile coeunt in consensum, ut caveatur sibi per leges; ne injuriae per vices ad singulos redeant. Quod si ex ratione temporum, & communione culpa, id eveniat, ut pluribus & potentioribus, per legem aliquam, periculum creetur, quam caveatur, factio solvit legem; quod & saepe fit.

Aphor. 3. AT jus privatum sub tutela juris publici latet. Lex enim caret civibus, magistratus legibus. Magistratum autem autoritas pendet ex maiestate imperii, & fabrica politicae, & legibus fundamentalibus. Quare, si ex illa parte sanitas fuerit, & recta constitutio, leges erunt in bono usu; sin minus, parum in iis praesidii erit.

Aphor. 4. NEQUE tamen jus publicum ad hoc tantum spectat, ut addatur tanquam custos juri privato, ne illud violetur, atque ut cessent injuriae; sed extenditur etiam ad religionem, & arma, & disciplinam, & ornamenta, & opes, denique ad omnia circa bene esse civitatis.

Aphor. 5. FINIS enim & scopus, quem leges intueri, atque ad quem iussiones & sanctiones suas dirigere debent, non alius est, quam ut cives feliciter degant: Id fiet, si pietate & religione recte instituti; moribus honesti; armis adversus hostes externos tuti; legum auxilio adversus seditiones & privatas injurias muniti; imperio & magistratibus obsequentes; copiis & opibus locupletes & florentes fuerint. Harum autem rerum instrumenta & nervi sunt leges.

Aphor. 6. ATQUE hunc finem optimae leges assequuntur; plurimae vero ipsarum aberrant. Leges enim mirum in modum, & maximo intervallo, inter se differunt: ut aliae excellent, aliae mediocriter se habeant, aliae prorsus vitiosae sint. Dictabimus igitur pro iudicii nostri modulo quasdam tanquam legum leges; ex quibus informatio peti possit, quid in singulis legibus bene aut perperam positum aut constitutum sit.

Aphor. 7. ANTEQUAM vero ad corpus ipsum legum particularium deveniamus; perstringemus paucis virtutes & dignitates legum in genere. Lex bona censei possit, quae sit intimatione certa, praecepto iusta, executione commoda; cum forma politicae congrua, & generans virtutem in subditis.

TITULUS I.

De prima dignitate legum, ut sint certae.

Aphor. 8. LEGIS tantum interest ut certa sit, ut absque hoc nec iusta esse possit. *Si enim incertam vocem det tuba, quis se parabit ad bellum?* Similiter, si incertam vocem det lex, quis se parabit ad parendum? Ut moveat igitur oportet priusquam feriat. Etiam illud recte positum est: Optimam esse legem, quae minimum relinquit arbitrio iudicis: Id quod certitudo ejus praestat.

Aphor. 9. DUPLEX legum incertitudo; altera, ubi lex nulla praescribitur; altera, ubi ambigua & obscura. Itaque de casibus omissis a lege primo dicendum est; ut in his etiam inveniatur aliqua norma certitudinis.

De casibus omissis a lege.

Aphor. 10. ANGUSTIA prudentiae humanae, casus omnes, quos tempus reperit, non potest capere. Non raro itaque se ostendunt casus omissi &

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novi. In hujusmodi casibus triplex adhibetur remedium, five supplementum: vel per processum ad similia; vel per usum exemplorum, licet in legem non coaluerint; vel per jurisdictiones, quae statuunt ex arbitrio boni viri, & secundum discretionem sanam, five illae curiae fuerint praetoriae, five censoriae.

De processu ad similia, & extensionibus legum.

Aphor. 11. IN casibus omissis deducenda est norma legis a similibus; sed caute, & cum judicio: Circa quod servandae sunt regulae sequentes. Ratio prolifica, consuetudo sterilis esto, nec generet casus. Itaque quod contra rationem juris receptum est, vel etiam ubi ratio ejus est obscura, non trahendum est ad consequentiam.

Aphor. 12. BONUM publicum insigne, rapit ad se casus omissos. Quamobrem, quando lex aliqua reipublicae commoda notabiliter & majorem in modum intuetur & procurat, interpretatio ejus extensiva esto, & ampliand.

Aphor. 13. DURUM est, torquere leges, ad hoc, ut torqueant homines. Non placet igitur extendi leges poenales, multo minus capitales, ad delicta nova. Quod si crimen vetus fuerit, & legibus notum, sed prosecutio ejus incidat in casum novum, a legibus non provisum; omnino recedatur a placitis juris, potius quam delicta maneant impunita.

Aphor. 14. IN statutis, quae jus commune (praesertim circa ea, quae frequenter incidunt, & diu coaluerunt) plane abrogant, non placet procedi per similitudinem ad casus omissos. Quando enim respublica tota lege diu caruerit, idque in casibus expressis; parum periculi est, si casus omissi expectent remedium a statuto novo.

Aphor. 15. STATUTA, quae manifesto temporis leges fuere, atque ex occasionibus reipublicae tunc invalescentibus natae; mutata ratione temporum, satis habent, si se in propriis casibus sustinere possint: praeposterum autem esset, si ad casus omissos ullo modo traherentur.

Aphor. 16. CONSEQUENTIAE non est consequentia; sed fisci debet extensio intra casus proximos: alioqui labetur paulatim ad dissimilia, & magis valebunt acumina ingeniorum, quam auctoritates legum.

Aphor. 17. IN legibus & statutis brevioris styli, extensio facienda est liberius. At in illis, quae sunt enumerativa casuum particularium, cautius. Nam ut exceptio firmat vim legis, in casibus non exceptis; ita enumeratio infirmat eam, in casibus non enumeratis.

Aphor. 18. STATUTUM explanatorium claudit rivos statuti prioris; nec recipitur postea extensio in alterutro statuto. Neque enim facienda est superextensio a iudice, ubi semel coepit fieri extensio a lege.

Aphor. 19. SOLENNITAS verborum & actorum, non recipit extensionem ad similia. Perdit enim naturam solennis, quod transit a more ad arbitrium: & introductio novorum, corrumpit majestatem veterum.

Aphor. 20. PROCLIVIS est extensio legis ad casus post-natos, qui in rerum natura non fuerunt tempore legis latae. Ubi enim casus exprimi non poterat, quia tunc nullus erat, casus omissus habetur pro expresso, si similis fuerit ratio.

ATQUE de extensionibus legum, in casibus omissis, haec dicta sint: nunc de usu exemplorum dicendum.

De exemplis, & usu eorum.

Aphor. 21. DE exemplis jam dicendum est, ex quibus jus hauriendum sit, ubi lex deficit. Atque de consuetudine, quae legis species est, deque exemplis quae per frequentem usum, in consuetudinem transferunt, tanquam legem tacitam, suo loco dicemus. Nunc autem de exemplis loquimur, quae raro & sparsim interveniunt, nec in legis vim coaluerunt, quando & qua cautione, norma juris ab ipsis petenda sit, cum lex deficiat.

Aphor. 22. EXEMPLA a temporibus bonis & moderatis petenda sunt, non tyrannicis aut factiosis aut dissolutis. Hujusmodi exempla temporis partus spurii sunt, & magis nocent quam docent.

Aphor. 23. IN exemplis, recentiora habenda sunt pro tutioribus. Quod enim paulo ante factum est, unde nullum sit secutum incommodum, quid ni iterum repetatur? Sed tamen minus habent autoritatis recentia. Et si forte res in melius restitui opus sit, recentia exempla magis saeculum suum sapiunt, quam rectam rationem.

Aphor. 24. AT vetustiora exempla caute & cum delectu recipienda: Decursus siquidem aetatis multa mutat, ut quod tempore videatur antiquum, id perturbatione & inconformitate ad praesentia, sit plane novum. Medii itaque temporis exempla sunt optima, vel etiam talis temporis, quod cum tempore corrente plurimum conveniat; quod aliquando praestat tempus remotius, magis quam in proximo.

Aphor. 25. INTRA fines exempli, vel citra potius se cohibeto, nec illos ullo modo excedito. Ubi enim non adest norma legis, omnia quasi pro suspectis habenda sunt: Itaque ut in obscuris, minimum sequitor.

Aphor. 26. CAVENDUM ab exemplorum fragmentis & compendiis: atque integrum exemplum, & universus ejus processus introspectendus. Si enim incivile sit, nisi tota lege perspecta, de parte ejus judicare, multo magis hoc valere debet in exemplis: Quae ancipitis sunt usus, nisi valde quadrent.

Aphor. 27. IN exemplis plurimum interest, per quas manus transferant & transacta sint. Si enim apud scribas tantum, & ministros justitiae, ex cursu curiae, absque notitia manifesta superiorum, obtinuerint; aut etiam apud errorum magistrum populum; conculcanda sunt & parvi facienda. Sin apud senatores aut judices aut curias principales, ita sub oculis posita fuerint, ut necesse fuerit illa, approbatione judicum saltem tacita, munita fuisse, plus dignationis habent.

Aphor. 28. EXEMPLIS, quae publicata fuerint, utcumque minus fuerint in usu, cum tamen sermonibus & disceptationibus hominum agitata & ventilata extiterint, plus autoritatis tribuendum: Quae vero in scriniis & archivis manserunt tanquam sepulta, & palam in oblivionem transferunt, minus. Exemplum enim sicut aquae, in profluente sanissima.

Aphor. 29. EXEMPLA, quae ad leges spectant, non placet ab historicis peti, sed ab actis publicis & traditionibus diligentioribus. Versatur enim infelicitas quaedam inter historicos vel optimos, ut legibus & actis judicialibus non satis immorentur, aut si forte diligentiam quandam adhibuerint, tamen ab authenticis longe variant.

Aphor. 30. EXEMPLUM, quod aetas contemporanea aut proxima respuit, cum casus subinde recurreret, non facile admittendum est. Neque enim tantum pro illo facit, quod homines illud quandoque usurparunt; quam contra, quod experti reliquerunt.

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Aphor. 31. *EXEMPLA* in consilium adhibentur, non utique jubent, aut imperant. Igitur ita regantur, ut autoritas praeteriti temporis flectatur ad usum praesentis.

ATQUE de informatione ab exemplis, ubi lex deficit haec dicta sint. Jam dicendum de curiis praetoriis & censoriis.

De curiis praetoriis & censoriis.

Aphor. 32. *CURIAE* sunt & jurisdictiones, quae statuant ex arbitrio boni viri & discretionem sana, ubi legis norma deficit. Lex enim, (ut antea dictum est) non sufficit casibus; sed ad ea, quae plerumque accidunt aptatur: sapientissima autem res tempus, (ut ab antiquis dictum est) & novorum casuum quotidie auctor & inventor.

Aphor. 33. *INTERVENIUNT* autem novi casus & in criminalibus, qui poena indigent, & in civilibus qui auxilio. Curias, quae ad priora illa respiciunt, censorias, quae ad posteriora, praetorias appellamus.

Aphor. 34. *HABENTO* curiae censoriae jurisdictionem & potestatem, non tantum nova delicta puniendi, sed etiam poenas a legibus constitutas pro delictis veteribus augendi, si casus fuerint odiosi & enormes, modo non sint capitales. Enorme enim, tanquam novum est.

Aphor. 35. *HABEANT* similiter curiae praetoriae potestatem, tam subveniendi contra rigorem legis, quam supplendi defectum legis. Si enim porrigi debet remedium ei, quem lex praeteriit, multo magis ei, quem vulneravit.

Aphor. 36. *CURIAE* istae censoriae & praetoriae omnino intra casus enormes & extraordinarios se continent, nec jurisdictiones ordinarias invadunt; ne forte tendat res ad supplantationem legis, magis quam ad supplementum.

Aphor. 37. *JURISDICTIONES* istae in supremis tantum curiis resident, nec ad inferiores communicantur. Parum enim abest a potestate leges condendi, potestas eas supplendi, aut extendendi aut moderandi.

Aphor. 38. *AT* curiae illae uni viro ne committantur, sed ex pluribus consent. Nec decreta exeant cum silentio; sed iudices sententiae suae rationes adducant, idque palam, atque adstante corona: ut quod ipsa potestate sit liberum, fama tamen & existimatione sit circumscriptum.

Aphor. 39. *RUBRICAE* sanguinis ne sunt; nec de capitalibus, in quibuscunque curiis, nisi ex lege nota & certa, pronunciato. Indixit mortem Deus ipse prius: postea inflixit. Nec vita eripienda nisi ei, qui se in suam vitam peccare prius nosset.

Aphor. 40. *IN* curiis censoriis calculum tertium dato; ut iudicibus non imponatur necessitas, aut absolvendi aut condemnandi; sed etiam ut non liquere pronunciare possint. Etiam censoria non tantum poena, sed & nota esto: Scilicet, quae non infligat supplicium, sed aut in admonitionem desinat, aut reos ignominia levi & tanquam rubore castiget.

Aphor. 41. *IN* curiis censoriis, omnium magnorum criminum & scelerum, actus inchoati & medii puniuntur; licet non sequatur effectus consummatus: isque sit earum curiarum usus vel maximus: cum & severitatis intersit, initia scelerum puniri; & clementiae, perpetrationem eorum (puniendo actus medios) intercipi.

Aphor. 42. *CAVENDUM* in primis, ne in curiis praetoriis praebeatur auxilium in casibus, quos lex non tam omisit, quam pro levibus contempsit, aut pro odiosis remedio indignos iudicavit.

Aphor.

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Aphor. 43. MAXIME omnium interest certitudinis legum (de qua nunc agimus,) ne curiae praetoriae intumescant & exundent in tantum, ut praetextu rigoris legum mitigandi, etiam robur & nervos iis incidant aut laxent; omnia trahendo ad arbitrium.

Aphor. 44. DECERNENDI contra statutum expressum, sub ullo aequitatis praetextu, curiis praetoriis jus ne esto. Hoc enim si fieret, iudex prorsus transiret in legis latorem, atque omnia ex arbitrio penderent.

Aphor. 45. APUD nonnullos receptum est, ut jurisdictio, quae decernit secundum aequum & bonum, atque illa altera, quae procedit secundum jus strictum, iisdem curiis deputentur: apud alios autem ut diversis: omnino placet curiarum separatio. Neque enim servabitur distinctio casuum, si fiat commixtio jurisdictionum: Sed arbitrium legem tandem trahet.

Aphor. 46. NON sine causa in usum venerat apud Romanos album praetoris, in quo praescripsit & publicavit quomodo ipse jus dicturus esset. Quo exemplo iudices in curiis praetoriis, regulas sibi certas (quantum fieri potest) proponere, easque publice affigere debent. Etenim optima est lex, quae minimum relinquit arbitrio iudicis; optimus iudex, qui minimum sibi.

VERUM de curiis istis fusius tractabimus, cum ad locum de judiciis veniemus; obiter tantum jam locuti de iis, quatenus expediant & suppleant omissa a lege.

De retrospectione legum.

Aphor. 47. EST & aliud genus supplementi casuum omissorum, cum lex legem supervenit, atque simul casus omissos trahit. Id fit in legibus, five statutis quae retrospectunt, ut vulgo loquuntur: Cujus generis leges raro, & magna cum cautione sunt adhibendae: neque enim placet Janus in legibus.

Aphor. 48. QUI verba aut sententiam legis captionem & fraude eludit & circumscribit, dignus est qui etiam a lege sequente innodetur. Igitur in casibus fraudis & evasionis dolosae justum est, ut leges retrospectant, atque alterae alteris in subsidiis sint; ut qui dolos meditatur & eversionem legum praesentium, saltem a futuris metuat.

Aphor. 49. LEGES quae actorum & instrumentorum veras intentiones contra formularum aut solennitatum defectus roborant & confirmant, rectissime praeterita complectuntur: Legis enim, quae retrospectit, vitium vel praecipuum est, quod perturbet. At hujusmodi leges confirmatoriae ad pacem & stabilitum eorum, quae transacta sunt, spectant. Cavendum tamen est, ne convellantur res judicatae.

Aphor. 50. DILIGENTER attendendum, ne eae leges tantum ad praeterita respicere putentur, quae antea infirmant: sed & eae quae futura prohibent & restringunt, cum praeteritis necessario connexae. Veluti, si quae lex artificibus aliquibus interdicat, ne mercimonia sua in posterum vendant: haec sonat in posterum, sed operatur in praeteritum: Neque enim illis alia ratione victum quaerere jam integrum est.

Aphor. 51. LEX declaratoria omnis, licet non habet verba de praeterito, tamen ad praeterita, ipsa vi declarationis, omnino trahitur. Non enim tum incipit interpretatio cum declaratur, sed efficitur tanquam contemporanea ipsi legi. Itaque leges declaratorias ne ordinato, nisi in casibus ubi leges cum justitia retrospectere possint.

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HIC vero eam partem absolvimus, quae tractat de incertitudine legum ubi invenitur lex nulla. Jam dicendum est de altera illa parte, ubi scilicet lex extat aliqua, sed perplexa & obscura.

De obscuritate legum.

Aphor. 52. OBSCURITAS legum a quatuor rebus originem ducit: vel ab accumulatione legum nimia, praesertim admixtis obsoletis: vel a descriptione earum ambigua, aut minus perspicua & dilucida: vel a modis enucleandi juris neglectis, aut non bene institutis: vel denique a contradictione & vacillatione judiciorum.

De accumulatione legum nimia.

Aphor. 53. DICIT Propheta; *pluet super eos laqueos.* Non sunt autem peiores laquei, quam laquei legum, praesertim poenaliū; si numero immensae & temporis decursu inutiles, non lucernam pedibus praebeant, sed retia potius obijciant.

Aphor. 54. DUPLEX in usum venit statuti novi condendi ratio. Altera, statuta priora circa idem subjectum confirmat & roborat; dein nonnulla addit aut mutat. Altera abrogat & delet cuncta, quae ante ordinata sunt, & de integro legem novam & uniformem substituit. Placet posterior ratio. Nam ex priore ratione, ordinationes deveniunt complicatae & perplexae: & quod instat agitur sane, sed corpus legum interim redditur vitiosum. In posteriore autem major certe est adhibenda diligentia, dum de lege ipsa deliberatur; & antea scilicet evolvenda & pensitanda, antequam lex feratur: Sed optime procedit per hoc legum concordia in futurum.

Aphor. 55. ERAT in more apud Athenienses, ut contraria legum capita (quae antinomias vocant) quotannis a sex viris examinarentur, & quae reconciliari non poterant, proponerentur populo, ut de illis certum aliquid statueretur. Ad quorum exemplum ii, qui potestatem in singulis politis legum condendarum habent, per triennium aut quinquennium, aut prout videbitur, antinomias retractant. Eae autem a viris ad hoc delegatis, prius inspiciantur & praeparentur, & demum comitiis exhibeantur; ut quod placuerit per suffragia stabiliatur & figatur.

Aphor. 56. NEQUE vero contraria legum capita reconciliandi & omnia (ut loquuntur) salvandi, per distinctiones subtiles & quaesitas, nimis sedula aut anxiosa cura esto. Ingenii enim haec tela est: Atque utcunque modestiam quandam & reverentiam prae se ferat, inter noxia tamen censenda est; utpote quae reddat corpus universum legum varium & male confutum. Melius est prorsus ut succumbant deteriora, & meliora stent sola.

Aphor. 57. OBSOLETAE leges & quae abierunt in desuetudinem, non minus quam antinomiae proponantur a delegatis ex officio tollendae. Cum enim statutum expressum regulariter desuetudine non abrogetur, fit ut ex contemptu legum obsoletarum fiat nonnulla auctoritatis jactura etiam in reliquis: Et sequitur tormenti illud genus Mezentii, ut leges vivae in complexu mortuarum perimantur. Atque omnino cavendum est a gangraena in legibus.

Aphor. 58. QUIN & in legibus & statutis obsoletis, nec noviter promulgatis, curiis praetoriis interim contra eas decernendi jus esto. Licet enim non male dictum sit, neminem oportere legibus esse sapientiores, tamen intelligatur hoc de legibus, cum evigilent non cum dormitent. Contra recentiora vero statuta (quae juri publico nocere deprehenduntur) non utique

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que praetoribus, sed regibus & sanctoribus consiliis, & supremis potestatibus, auxilium praebendi jus esto: earum executionem per edicta aut acta suspendendo, donec redeant comitia, aut hujusmodi coetus, qui potestatem habeant eas abrogandi; ne salus populi interim periclitetur.

De novis digestis legum.

Aphor. 59. QUOD si leges aliae super alias accumulatae, in tam vasta excreverint volumina, aut tanta confusione laboraverint, ut eas de integro retractare, & in corpus sanum & habile redigere ex usu sit; id ante omnia agito, atque opus ejusmodi opus heroicum esto: Atque authores talis operis inter legis latores & instauratores rite & merito numerantur.

Aphor. 60. HUIUSMODI legum expurgatio & digestum novum, quinque rebus absolvitur. Primo, omittantur obsoleta, quae Justinianus antiquas fabulas vocat. Deinde ex antinomii recipiantur probatissimae, aboleantur contrariae. Tertio homionomiae, sive leges quae idem sonant, atque nil aliud sunt quam iterationes ejusdem rei, expungantur; atque una quaequam ex iis, quae maxime est perfecta, retineatur vice omnium. Quarto, si quae legum nihil determinent, sed quaestiones tantum proponant, easque relinquant indecisas, similiter faceant. Postremo, quae verbosae inveniuntur & nimis prolixae, contrahantur magis in arctum.

Aphor. 61. OMNINO vero ex usu fuerit, in novo digesto legum, leges pro jure communi receptas, quae tanquam immemorales sunt in origine sua, atque ex altera parte statuta de tempore in tempus superaddita, seorsum digerere & componere: Cum in plurimis rebus, non eadem sit, in jure dicendo, juris communis & statutorum interpretatio & administratio. Id quod fecit Trebonianus in digesto & codice.

Aphor. 62. VERUM, in hujusmodi legum regeneratione, atque structura nova veterum legum atque librorum, legis verba prorsus & textum retineto, licet per centones & portiones exiguas eas excerpere necesse fuerit: Ea deinde ordine contextito. Etsi enim fortasse commodius, atque etiam, si ad rectam rationem respicias, melius hoc transigi posset per textum novum, quam per hujusmodi confarcinationem, tamen in legibus non tam stylus & descriptio, quam autoritas, & hujus patronus antiquitas spectanda est. Alias videri possit hujusmodi opus scholasticum potius quiddam & methodus, quam corpus legum imperantium.

Aphor. 63. CONSULTUM fuerit in novo digesto legum, vetera volumina non prorsus deleri & in oblivionem cedere, sed in bibliothecis saltem manere; licet usus eorum vulgaris & promiscuus prohibeatur. Etenim in causis gravioribus, non abs re fuerit, legum praeteritarum mutationes, & series consulere & inspicere; ac certe solenne est, antiquitatem praesentibus aspergere. Novum autem hujusmodi corpus legum ab iis, qui in politiis singulis habent potestatem legislatariam, prorsus confirmandum est: ne forte praetextu veteres leges digerendi, leges novae imponantur occulto.

Aphor. 64. OPTANDUM esset, ut hujusmodi legum instauratio illis temporibus suscipiatur, quae antiquioribus, quorum acta & opera retractant, literis & rerum cognitione praestiterint. Quod secus in opere Justiniani evenit. Infelix res namque est, cum ex judicio & delectu aetatis minus prudentis & eruditae antiquorum opera mutilentur & recomponantur. Veruntamen saepe necessarium est, quod non optimum.

ATQUE de legum obscuritate, quae a nimia & confusa earum accumulatione fit, haec dicta sint. Jam de descriptione earum ambigua & obscura, dicendum.

De

De descriptione legum perplexa & obscura.

Aphor. 65. DESCRIPTIO legum obscura oritur, aut ex loquacitate & verbositate earum; aut rursus ex brevitate nimia; aut ex prologo legis cum ipso corpore legis pugnante.

Aphor. 66. DE obscuritate vero legum quae ex earum descriptione prava oritur, jam dicendum est. Loquacitas, quae in perscribendo leges in usum venit, & prolixitas non placet. Neque enim, quod vult & capiat, ullo modo assequitur, sed contrarium potius. Cum enim casus singulos particulares verbis appositis & propriis persequi & exprimere contendat, majorem inde sperans certitudinem; e contra quaestiones multiplices parit de verbis; ut difficilius procedat interpretatio secundum sententiam legis, (quae sanior est & verior) propter strepitum verborum.

Aphor. 67. NEQUE propterea nimis concisa & affectata brevitatis gratia, & tanquam magis imperatoria, probanda est; praesertim his saeculis, ne forte sit lex instar regulae Lesbiae. Mediocritas ergo affectanda est; & verborum exquirenda generalitas bene terminata; quae licet casus comprehensos non sedulo persequatur, attamen non comprehensos satis perspicue excludat.

Aphor. 68. IN legibus tamen atque edictis ordinariis & politicis, in quibus, ut plurimum, nemo juris consultum adhibet, sed suo sensui confidit, omnia fusius explicari debent, & ad captum vulgi, tanquam digito monstrari.

Aphor. 69. NEQUE nobis prologi legum, qui inepti olim habiti sunt, & leges introducunt disputantes non jubentes, utique placerent, si priscos mores ferre possemus. Sed prologi isti legum plerumque (ut nunc sunt tempora) necessario adhibentur, non tam ad explicationem legis, quam instar suasionis, ad perferendam legem in comitiis, & rursus ad satisfaciendum populo. Quantum fieri potest tamen prologi evitentur, & lex incipiat a jussione.

Aphor. 70. INTENTIO & sententia legis, licet ex praefationibus & praecambulis (ut loquuntur) non male quandoque eliciatur; attamen latitudo aut extensio ejus ex illis minime peti debet. Saepe enim praecambulum, arripit nonnulla ex maxime plausibilibus & speciosis ad exemplum, cum lex tamen multo plura complectatur: aut contra, lex restringit & limitat complura, cujus limitationis rationem in praecambulo inferi non fuerit opus. Quare dimensio & latitudo legis ex corpore legis petenda: Nam praecambulum, saepe aut ultra aut citra cadit.

Aphor. 71. EST vero genus perscribendi leges valde vitiosum. Cum scilicet casus, ad quem lex collimat, fuse exprimitur in praecambulo: Deinde ex vi verbi (talis) aut hujusmodi relativi, corpus legis retro vertitur in praecambulum, unde praecambulum inseritur & incorporatur ipsi legi: Quod & obscurum est, & minus tutum; quia non eadem adhiberi consuevit diligentia in ponderandis & examinandis verbis praecambuli, quae adhibetur in corpore ipsius legis.

HANC partem de incertitudine legum, quae ex mala descriptione ipsarum ortum habet, fusius tractabimus, quando de interpretatione legum postea agemus. Atque de descriptione legum obscura haec dicta sint: jam de modis enucleandi juris dicendum.

De modis enucleandi juris, & tollendi ambigua.

Aphor. 72. MODI enucleandi juris, & tollendi dubia, quinque sunt. Hoc enim fit, aut per perscriptiones judiciorum; aut per scriptores authenticos;

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ticos; aut per libros auxiliares; aut per praelectiones; aut per responsa, five consulta prudentum. Haec omnia, si bene instituantur, praesto erunt magna legum obscuritati subsidia.

De perscriptione judiciorum.

Aphor. 73. ANTE omnia, judicia reddita in curiis supremis & principalibus, atque causis gravioribus, praesertim dubiis, quaeque aliquid habent difficultatis aut novitatis, diligenter & cum fide excipiunto. Judicia enim anchorae legum sunt, ut leges reipublicae.

Aphor. 74. MODUS hujusmodi judicia excipiendi, & in scripta referendi, talis esto. Casus praecise, judicia ipsa exacte perscribito: rationes judiciorum, quas adduxerunt judices, adjicito: casuum, ad exemplum adductorum, auctoritatem, cum casibus principalibus, ne commisceto: de advocatorum perorationibus, nisi quidpiam in iis fuerit admodum eximium, fileto.

Aphor. 75. PERSONAE, quae hujusmodi judicia excipiant, ex advocatis maxime doctis sunt, & honorarium liberale ex publico excipiunto. Judices ipsi ab hujusmodi perscriptionibus abstinento: ne forte opinionibus propriis addicti, & auctoritate propria freti, limites referendarii transcendant.

Aphor. 76. JUDICIA illa, in ordine & serie temporis, digerito; non per methodum & titulos. Sunt enim scripta ejusmodi, tanquam historiae, aut narrationes legum. Neque solum acta ipsa, sed & tempora ipsorum, judici prudenti lucem praebent.

De scriptoribus authenticis.

Aphor. 77. Ex legibus ipsis, quae jus commune constituunt; deinde, ex constitutionibus five statutis; tertio loco, ex judiciis perscriptis, corpus juris tantummodo constituitur. Praeter illa, alia authentica, aut nulla sunt, aut parce recipiuntur.

Aphor. 78. NIHIL tam interest certitudinis legum, (de qua nunc tractamus) quam ut scripta authentica intra fines moderatos coerceantur, & faceffat multitudo enormis auctorum & doctorum in jure; unde laceratur sententia legum, judex fit attonitus, processus immortales, atque advocatus ipse, cum tot libros perlegere & vincere non possit, compendia sectatur. Glossa fortasse aliqua bona; & ex scriptoribus classicis pauci, vel potius scriptorum paucorum pauculae portiones, recipi possint pro authenticis. Reliquorum nihilominus maneat usus nonnullus in bibliothecis, ut eorum tractatus inspiciant judices, aut advocati, cum opus fuerit: sed in causis agendis, in foro citare eos non permittitur, nec in auctoritatem transeunto.

De libris auxiliaribus.

Aphor. 79. AT scientiam juris, & practicam, auxiliaribus libris ne mudanto, sed potius instruunto. Ii sex in genere sunt. Institutiones. De verborum significatione. De regulis juris. Antiquitates legum. Summae. Agendi formulae.

Aphor. 80. PRAEPARANDI sunt juvenes & novitii, ad scientiam & ardua juris, altius & commodius haurienda & imbibenda, per institutiones. Institutiones illas ordine claro & perspicuo componito. In illis ipsis universum jus privatum percurrito: non alia omittendo, in aliis plus satis immorando, sed ex singulis quaedam breviter delibando, ut ad corpus legum perlegendum accessuro, nil se ostendat prorsus novum, sed levi aliqua no-

tione praeceptum. Jus publicum in institutionibus ne attingito; verum illud ex fontibus ipsis hauriatur.

Aphor. 81. COMMENTARIUM de vocabulis juris conficito. In explicatione ipsorum, & sensu reddendo, ne curiose nimis aut laboriose versator: Neque enim hoc agitur, ut definitiones verborum quaerantur exacte, sed explicationes tantum, quae legendis juris libris viam aperiant faciliorem. Tractatum autem istum per literas alphabeti ne digerito. Id indici alicui relinquito: sed collocentur simul verba, quae circa eandem rem versantur; ut alterum alteri sit iuvamento ad intelligendum.

Aphor. 82. AD certitudinem legum facit (si quid aliud) tractatus bonus & diligens de diversis regulis juris. Is dignus est, qui maximis ingeniis, & prudentissimis jurisconsultis committatur. Neque enim placent, quae in hoc genere extant. Colligendae autem sunt regulae, non tantum notae & vulgatae, sed & aliae magis subtiles & reconditae, quae ex legum & rerum judicatarum harmonia extrahi possint; quales in rubricis optimis quandoque inveniuntur: suntque dictamina generalia rationis, quae per materias legis diversas percurrunt, & sunt tanquam saburra juris.

Aphor. 83. AT singula juris seita aut placita, non intelligantur pro regulis, ut fieri solet satis imperite. Hoc enim si reciperetur, quot leges, tot regulae: Lex enim nil aliud, quam regula imperans. Verum eas pro regulis habeto, quae in forma ipsa iustitiae haerent; unde, ut plurimum, per jura civilia diversarum rerum publicanum eadem regulae fere reperiuntur, nisi forte propter relationem ad formas politiarum variant.

Aphor. 84. POST regulam brevi & solido verborum complexu enunciatam, adjiciantur exempla, & decisiones casuum, maxime luculentae ad explicationem; distinctiones & exceptiones ad limitationem; cognata ad ampliationem ejusdem regulae.

Aphor. 85. RECTE jubetur ut non ex regulis jus sumatur; sed ex jure quod est, regula fiat: Neque enim ex verbis regulae petenda est probatio, ac si esset textus legis. Regula enim legem (ut acus nautica polos) indicat, non statuit.

Aphor. 86. PRAETER corpus ipsum juris, juvabit etiam antiquitates legum invisere; quibus licet evanuerit authoritas, manet tamen reverentia. Pro antiquitatibus autem legum habeantur scripta circa leges & judicia; five illa fuerint edita, five non, quae ipsum corpus legum tempore praecesserunt. Earum siquidem jactura facienda non est. Itaque ex iis utilissima quaecque excerpito (multa enim inveniuntur inania & frivola;) eaque in unum volumen redigito: ne antiquae fabulae, ut loquitur Trebonianus, cum legibus ipsis misceantur.

Aphor. 87. PRACTICAE vero plurimum interest, ut jus universum digeratur ordine in locos & titulos; ad quos subito (prout dabitur occasio) recurrere quis possit, veluti in promptuarium paratum ad praesentes usus. Hujusmodi libri summarum, & ordinant sparsa, & abbreviant fusa & prolixa in lege. Cavendum autem est, ne summae istae reddant homines promptos ad practicam, cessatores in scientia ipsa. Earum enim officium est tale, ut ex iis recolatur jus, non perdiscatur. Summae autem omnino magna diligentia, fide, & judicio sunt conficiendae, ne furtum faciant legibus.

Aphor. 88. FORMULAS agendi diversas in unoquoque genere colligito. Nam & practicae hoc interest; & certe pandunt illae oracula & occulta legum. Sunt enim non pauca, quae latent in legibus. At in formulis agendi, melius & fufius perspiciuntur; instar pugni, & palmae.

De responsis & consultis.

Aphor. 89. DUBITATIONES particulares, quae de tempore in tempus emergunt, dirimendi & solvendi aliqua ratio iniri debet. Durum enim est, ut ii, qui ab errore cavere cupiant, ducem viae non inveniant, verum ut actus ipsi periclitentur, neque sit aliquis ante rem peractam juris praenoscendi modus.

Aphor. 90. RESPONSA prudentum, quae petentibus dantur de jure, five ab advocatis five a doctoribus, tanta valere autoritate, ut ab eorum sententia judici recedere non sit licitum, non placet. Jura a juratis iudicibus sumuntur.

Aphor. 91. TENTARI judicia per causas & personas fictas, ut eo modo experiantur homines, qualis futura sit legis norma, non placet. Deducor enim majestatem legum, & pro praevericatione quapiam censenda est. Judicia autem aliquid habere ex scena, deforme est.

Aphor. 92. JUDICUM igitur solummodo tam judicia, quam responsa & consulta sunt. Illa de litibus pendentibus; haec de arduis juris quaestionibus in thesi. Ea consulta, five in privatis rebus five in publicis, a iudicibus ipsis ne poscito, (id enim si fiat, iudex transeat in advocatum,) sed a principe, aut statu. Ab illis ad iudices demandentur. Iudices vero, tali autoritate freti, disceptationes advocatorum, vel ab his, quorum interest, adhibitorum, vel a iudicibus ipsis, si opus sit, assignatorum, & argumenta ex utraque parte, audiunt; & re deliberata jus expediunt & declarant. Consulta hujusmodi inter judicia referunt & edunt, & paria autoritatis sunt.

De praelectionibus.

Aphor. 93. PRAELECTIONES de jure, atque exercitationes eorum, qui juris studiis incumbunt, & operam dant, ita instituuntur & ordinantur, ut omnia tendant ad quaestiones & controversias de jure sedandas potius quam excitandas. Ludus enim (ut nunc fit) fere apud omnes instituitur & aperitur, ad altercationes, & quaestiones de jure multiplicandas, tanquam ostendendi ingenii causa. Atque hoc vetus est malum. Etenim etiam apud antiquos gloriae fuit, tanquam perfectas & factiones, quaestiones complures de jure magis fovere quam extinguere. Id ne fiat, provideto.

De vacillatione judiciorum.

Aphor. 94. VACILLANT judicia, vel propter immaturam & praefestimam sententiam; vel propter aemulationem curiarum; vel propter malam & imperitam percriptionem judiciorum, vel propter viam praebitam ad rescissionem eorum nimis facilem & expeditam. Itaque providendum est, ut judicia emanent, matura deliberatione prius habita, atque ut curiae se invicem reveantur, atque ut judicia perscribantur fideliter & prudenter: utque via ad rescindenda judicia, sit arcta, confragosa, & tanquam muricibus strata.

Aphor. 95. SI judicium redditum fuerit de casu aliquo in aliqua curia principali, & similis casus intervenerit in alia curia, ne procedito ad iudicium, antequam fiat consultatio in collegio aliquo iudicum majore. Iudicia enim reddita si forte rescindi necesse sit, saltem sepeliuntur cum honore.

Aphor. 96. UT curiae de iurisdictione digladiantur & conflidentur, humanum quiddam est; eoque magis, quod per ineptam quandam sententiam (quod boni & strenui sit iudicis, ampliare iurisdictionem curiae) alatur plane

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ista intemperies, & calcar addatur, ubi fraeno opus est. Ut vero ex hac animorum contentione, curiae, judicia utrobique reddita (quae nil ad jurisdictionem pertinent) libenter rescindant, intolerabile malum, & a regibus, aut senatu, aut politia, plane vindicandum. Pessimi enim exempli res est, ut curiae, quae pacem subditis praestant, inter se duella exerceant.

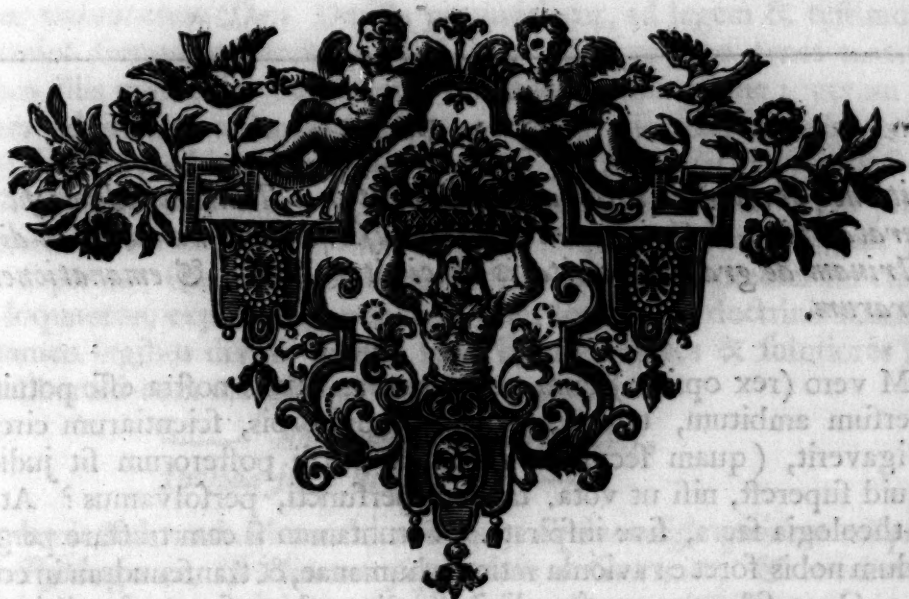
Aphor. 97. NON facilis esto aut proclivis ad judicia rescindenda aditus per appellationes, aut impetitiones de errore, aut revifus, & similia. Receptum apud nonnullos est, ut lis trahatur ad forum superius, tanquam res integra; judicio inde dato seposito, & plane suspensio. Apud alios vero, ut iudicium ipsum maneat in suo vigore, sed executio ejus tantum cesset. Neutrum placet, nisi curiae, in quibus iudicium redditum sit, fuerint humiles, & inferioris ordinis: Sed potius, ut & iudicium stet, & procedat ejus executio; modo cautio detur a defendente de damnis & expensis, si iudicium fuerit rescissum.

ATQUE hic titulus de certitudine legum, ad exemplum digesti reliqui (quod meditatur) sufficiet. Jam vero doctrinam civilem (quatenus eam nobis tractare visum est) conclusimus. Atque una cum ea philosophiam humanam: sicut etiam cum philosophia humana philosophiam in genere. Tandem igitur paululum respirantes, atque ad ea, quae praetervecti sumus, oculos retroflectentes, hunc tractatum nostrum non abfimilem esse censemus sonis illis & praeludiis, quae praetentant musici, dum fides ad modulationem concinnant: quae ipsa quidem auribus ingratum quiddam & asperum exhibent: at in causa sunt, ut quae sequuntur omnia sint suaviora: sic nimirum nos in animum induximus, ut in cithara musarum concinnanda, & ad harmoniam veram redigenda, operam navaremus, quo ab aliis postea pulsantur chordae, meliore digito aut plectro. Sane, cum nobis ante oculos proponamus temporum horum statum, in quibus literae jam tertio ad mortales videntur rediisse: & una diligenter intueamur quam variis jam nos inviserint instructae praesidiis & auxiliis: qualia sunt ingeniorum nostri temporis complurium acumen & sublimitas: eximia illa monumenta scriptorum veterum, quae veluti tot faces nobis praelucent: ars typographica, libros cujuscunque fortunae hominibus larga manu suppeditans; oceani sinus laxati, & orbis ex omni parte peragratus, unde experimenta plurima priscis ignota comparuerunt, & ingens accessit naturali historiae cumulus; otium, quo ingenia optima in regnis & provinciis Europae ubique abundant, cum negotiis minus his in locis implicentur homines, quam aut Graeci, propter populares statum, aut propter ditionum amplitudinem Romani solebant: pax, qua fruitur hoc tempore Britannia, Hispania, Italia, etiam nunc Gallia, & aliae regiones non paucae; consumptio & exinanitio omnium quae videntur excogitari aut dici posse circa controversias religionis, quae tot ingenia jam diu diverterunt a caeterarum artium studiis; summa & excellens majestatis tuae eruditio, cui (tanquam Phoenici volucres) aggregant se undique ingenia: proprietas denique illa inseparabilis, quae tempus ipsum sequitur, ut veritatem indices parturiat: haec (inquam) cum cogitamus, non possumus non in eam spem animum erigere, ut existimemus, tertiam hanc literarum periodum duas illas priores, apud Graecos & Romanos, longo intervallo superaturam; modo saltem homines, & vires suas atque defectus etiam virium suarum probe & prudenter nosse velint; atque alii ab aliis inventionis lampada, non contradictionis torres accipiant, atque inquisitionem veritatis pro incepto nobili, non pro delectamento aut ornamento putent: atque opes ac magnificentiam impendant in res solidas & eximias, non in pervulgatas & obvias.

Ad

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Ad labores meos quod attinet, si cui libeat in eorum reprehensione, aut sibi, aut aliis placere, veterem certe & ultimae patientiae petitionem exhibebunt illi: Verbera, sed audi. Reprehendant homines, quantum libuerit, modo attendant & perpendant, quae dicuntur. Appellatio sane legitima fuerit, (licet res fortasse minus ea indigeat) si a primis cogitationibus hominum ad secundas provocetur, & ab aevo praesenti ad posteros. Veniamus nunc ad eam scientiam, qua caruerunt duae illae praeae temporum periodi, (neque enim tanta illis felicitas concessa est) sacram dico & divinitus inspiratam theologiam, cunctorum laborum ac peregrinationum humanarum sabbatum ac portum nobilissimum.



FRANCISCI

Baronis de VERULAMIO,

Vice-Comitis SANCTI ALBANI,

De Dignitate & Augmentis SCIENTIARUM,

LIBER NONUS:

AD REGEM SUUM.

CAP. I.

Partitiones theologiae inspiratae omittuntur: Tantum aditus fit ad desiderata tria; doctrinam de legitimo usu rationis humanae in divinis; doctrinam de gradibus unitatis in civitate Dei; & emanationes scripturarum.

JAM vero (rex optime) cum carina parva, qualis nostra esse potuit, universum ambitum, tam veteris quam novi orbis, scientiarum circumnavigaverit, (quam secundis ventis & cursu posterorum sit iudicium) quid superest, nisi ut vota, tandem perfuncti, persolvamus? At restat adhuc theologia sacra, five inspirata. Veruntamen si eam tractare pergamus, exeundum nobis foret e navicula rationis humanae, & transeundum in ecclesiae navem: Quae sola acu nautica divina pollet ad cursum recte dirigendum. Neque enim sufficient amplius stellae philosophiae, quae hactenus praecipue nobis affulserunt: Itaque par foret, silentium quoque in hac re colere. Quamobrem partitiones legitimas circa eam omitemus: pauca tamen pro tenuitate nostra, etiam in hanc conferemus, loco votorum. Id eo magis facimus, quia in corpore theologiae nullam prorsus regionem, aut tractum plane desertum aut incultum, invenimus: tanta fuit hominum diligentia in seminandis, aut tritico, aut zizaniis.

TRES igitur proponemus theologiae appendices, quae non de materia per theologiam informata, aut informanda, sed tantummodo de modo informationis, tractent. Neque tamen circa eos tractatus, (ut in reliquis consuevimus) vel exempla subjungemus, vel praecepta dabimus. Id theologis relinquemus: Sunt enim illa (ut diximus) instar votorum tantum.

I. PRAEROGATIVA Dei totum hominem complectitur; nec minus ad rationem, quam ad voluntatem humanam, extenditur: ut homo scilicet in universum se abneget, & accedat Deo. Quare, sicut legi divinae obedire tenemur,

nemur, licet reluctetur voluntas; ita & verbo Dei fidem habere, licet reluctetur ratio. Etenim, si ea duntaxat credamus, quae sunt rationi nostrae consentanea, rebus assentimur, non auctori; quod etiam suspectae fidei testibus praestare solemus. At fides illa, quae *Abrahamo imputabatur ad justitiam*, de huiusmodi re extitit, quam irrisui habebat Sarah: Quae in hac parte imago quaedam erat rationis naturalis. Quanto igitur mysterium aliquod divinum fuerit magis absonum & incredibile; tanto plus in credendo exhibetur honoris Deo, & fit victoria fidei nobilior. Etiam & peccatores, quo magis conscientia sua gravantur, & nihilominus fidem de salute sua in Dei misericordia collocant, eo Deum majore afficiunt honore; omnis autem desperatio Deo pro contumelia est. Quinetiam, si attente rem perpendamus, dignius quiddam est credere quam scire, qualiter nunc scimus. In scientia enim mens humana patitur a sensu, qui a rebus materiatis refilit; in fide autem anima patitur ab anima, quae est agens dignius. Aliter se res habet in statu gloriae: tunc siquidem cessabit fides, atque *cognoscemus, sicut & cogniti sumus*.

CONCLUDAMUS igitur theologiam sacram ex verbo & oraculis Dei, non ex lumine naturae aut rationis dictamine, hauriri debere. Scriptum est enim, *coeli enarrant gloriam Dei*: At nusquam scriptum invenitur, *coeli enarrant voluntatem Dei*. De illa pronuntiatur, ad legem & testimonia, si non fecerint secundum verbum istud, &c. Neque hoc tenet tantum in grandibus illis mysteriis, de Deitate, creatione, redemptione; verum pertinet etiam ad interpretationem perfectiorem legis moralis; *diligite inimicos vestros; benefacite his, qui oderunt vos, &c. Ut sitis filii Patris vestri, qui in coelis est, qui pluit super justos & injustos*. Quae certe verba plausum illum merentur: Nec vox hominem sonat. Siquidem vox est, quae lumen naturae superat. Quinetiam videmus poetas ethnicos, praesertim cum pathetice loquantur, exposulare non raro cum legibus & doctrinis moralibus; (quae tamen legibus divinis multo sunt indulgentiores & solutiores) ac si naturae libertati cum malignitate quadam repugnent:

— Et quod natura remittit,
Invida jura negant. —

Ita Dendamis Indus ad Alexandri nuntios: *Se inaudisse quidem aliquid de nomine Pythagorae, & aliorum sapientum e Graecia; & credere illos fuisse viros magnos; vitio tamen illo laborasse, quod scilicet nimia in reverentia & veneratione habuissent rem quampiam phantasticam, quam legem & morem vocitabant*. Quare, nec illud dubitandum, magnam partem legis moralis sublimiorem esse, quam quo lumen naturae ascendere possit. Veruntamen, quod dicitur, habere homines, etiam ex lumine & lege naturae, notiones nonnullas virtutis, vitii, justitiae, injuriae, boni, mali; id verissimum est. Notandum tamen lumen naturae duplici significatione accipi. Primo, quatenus oritur ex sensu, inductione, ratione, argumentis, secundum leges coeli ac terrae: Secundo, quatenus animae humanae interno affulget instinctu, secundum legem conscientiae; quae scintilla quaedam est, & tanquam reliquiae pristinae & primitivae puritatis. In quo posteriore sensu praecipue particeps est anima lucis nonnullae, ad perfectionem intuendam & discernendam legis moralis; quae tamen lux non prorsus clara sit, sed ejusmodi, ut potius vitia quadantenus redarguat, quam de officiis plene informet. Quare religio, sive mysteria spectes sive mores, pendet ex revelatione divina.

ATTAMEN

ATTAMEN usus rationis humanae in spiritualibus multiplex sane existit, ac late admodum patet. Neque enim sine causa est, quod Apostolus religionem appellaverit *Rationalem cultum Dei*. Recordetur quis ceremonias & typos veteris legis: Fuerunt illae rationales & significativae, longe discrepantes a ceremoniis idololatriae & magiae, quae tanquam surdae & mutae erant, nihil docentes plerumque, imo ne innuentes quidem. Praecipue Christiana fides, ut in omnibus, sic in hoc ipso eminet, quod auream fervet mediocritatem circa usum rationis & disputationis, (quae rationis proles est) inter leges ethnicorum & Mahometi, quae extrema sectantur. Religio siquidem ethnicorum fidei aut confessionis constantis nihil habebat; contra in religione Mahometi omnis disputatio interdicta est: Ita ut altera erroris vagi & multiplicis; altera vasmae cujusdam & cauta impositurae, faciem prae se ferat; cum sancta fides Christiana rationis usum & disputationem (sed secundum debitos fines) & recipiat, & rejiciat.

HUMANAE rationis usus, in rebus ad religionem spectantibus, duplex est: alter in explicatione mysterii; alter in illationibus, quae inde deducuntur. Quod ad mysteriorum explicationem attinet, videmus non dedignari Deum ad infirmitatem captus nostri se demittere; mysteria sua ita explicando, ut a nobis optime ea possint percipi; atque revelationes suas in rationis nostrae syllepses & notiones veluti inoculando; atque inspirationes ad intellectum nostrum aperiendum sic accommodando, quemadmodum figura clavis aptatur figurae ferae. Qua tamen in parte nobis ipsis deesse minime debemus: Cum enim Deus ipse opera rationis nostrae in illuminationibus suis utatur; etiam nos eandem in omnes partes versare debemus, quo magis capaces simus ad mysteria recipienda & imbibenda; modo animus, ad amplitudinem mysteriorum pro modulo suo dilatetur, non mysteria ad angustias animi constringantur.

QUANTUM vero ad illationes; nosse debemus, relinqui nobis usum rationis & ratiocinationis (quoad mysteria) secundarium quendam & respectivum, non primitivum & absolutum. Postquam enim articuli & principia religionis jam in sedibus suis fuerint locata, ita ut a rationis examine penitus eximantur; tum demum conceditur ab illis illationes derivare ac deducere, secundum analogiam ipsorum. In rebus quidem naturalibus hoc non tenet. Nam & ipsa principia examini subjiuntur; per inductionem, inquam, licet minime per syllogismum: Atque eadem illa nullam habent cum ratione repugnantiam, ut ab eodem fonte, tum primae propositiones tum mediae, deducantur. Aliter fit in religione; ubi & primae propositiones authypostatatae sunt, atque per se subsistentes: Et rursus, non reguntur ab illa ratione, quae propositiones consequentes deducit. Neque tamen hoc fit in religione sola, sed etiam in aliis scientiis, tam gravioribus quam levioribus, ubi scilicet propositiones primariae placita sint, non posita: Siquidem & in illis rationis usus absolutus esse non potest. Videmus enim in ludis, puta schaccorum, aut similibus, primas ludi normas & leges mere positivas esse & ad placitum; quas recipi, non in disputationem vocari, prorsus oporteat: Ut vero vincas & perite lusum instituas, id artificiosum est & rationale: Eodem modo fit & in legibus humanis; in quibus haud paucae sunt maximae, (ut loquuntur) hoc est, placita mera juris, quae auctoritate magis quam ratione nituntur; neque in disceptationem veniunt: Quid vero sit iustissimum, non absolute, sed relative; (hoc est ex analogia illarum maximarum;) id demum rationale est, & latum disputationi campum praebet. Talis igitur est secundaria illa ratio, quae in theologia sacra locum habet, quae scilicet fundata est super placita Dei.

SICUT

Lib. IX. DE AUGMENTIS SCIENTIARUM. 265

SICUT vero rationis humanae in divinis usus est duplex, ita & in eodem usu duplex excessus. Alter, cum in modum mysterii curiosius, quam par est, inquiritur. Alter, cum illationibus aequa tribuitur autoritas, ac principiis ipsis. Nam & Nicodemi discipulus videri possit, qui pertinacius quaerit; *Quomodo posset homo nasci, cum sit senex?* Et discipulus Pauli ne utique censeretur, qui non quandoque in doctrinis suis inferat; *Ego, non Dominus*: Aut illud, *Secundum consilium meum*: Siquidem illationibus plerisque stylus iste conveniet. Itaque nobis res salubris videtur & imprimis utilis, si tractatus instituat sobrius & diligens, qui de usu rationis humanae in theologicis utiliter praecipiat, tanquam divina quaedam dialectica: Utpote quae futura sit instar opiatae cujusdam medicinae, quae non modo speculationum, quibus schola interdum laborat, inania consopiat; verum etiam controversiarum furores, quae in ecclesia tumultus cient, nonnihil mitiget. Ejusmodi tractatum inter desiderata ponimus; & sophronem sive de legitimo usu rationis humanae in divinis nominamus.

2. INTEREST admodum pacis ecclesiae, ut foedus Christianorum, a Salvatore praescriptum in duobus illis capitibus, quae nonnihil videntur discrepantia, bene & clare explicetur: Quorum alterum sic definit; *Qui non est nobiscum, est contra nos*: Alterum autem sic; *Qui contra nos non est, nobiscum est*. Ex his liquido patet, esse nonnullos articulos, in quibus qui dissentit, extra foedus statuendus sit: alios vero, in quibus dissentire liceat salvo foedere. Vincula enim communionis Christianae ponuntur, *Una fides, unum baptisma, &c.* Non unus ritus, una opinio. Videmus quoque tunicam Salvatoris inconsutilem extitisse; vestem autem ecclesiae verificolorem. Paleae in arista separandae sunt a frumento; at zizania in agro non protinus evellenda. Moses, cum certantem reperisset Aegyptium cum Israelita, non dixit, *Cur certatis?* Sed gladio evaginato Aegyptium interfecit: At cum Israelitas duos certantes vidisset, quamvis fieri non potuit, ut utrique causa justa contingeret, ita tamen eos alloquitur; *Fratres estis, cur certatis?* His itaque perpensis, magni videatur res & momenti & usus esse, ut definiatur, qualia sint illa & quanta latitudinis, quae ab ecclesiae corpore homines penitus divellant, & a communione fidelium eliminant. Quod si quis putet, hoc jam pridem factum esse, videat ille etiam atque etiam, quam sincere & moderate. Illud interim verisimile est, cum qui pacis mentionem fecerit, reportaturum responsum illud Jehu ad nuntium, (*Nunquid pax est Jehu? Quid tibi & paci? Transi & sequere me*: Cum non pax, sed partes, plerisque cordi sint. Nobis nihilominus visum est tractatum de gradibus unitatis in civitate Dei, ut salubrem & utilem, inter desiderata reponere.

3. CUM scripturarum sacrarum, circa theologiam informandam tantae sint partes, de earum interpretatione imprimis videndum. Neque nunc de autoritate eas interpretandi loquimur, quae in consensu ecclesiae firmatur, sed de modo interpretandi. Is duplex est; methodicus & solutus. Etenim latices isti divini, qui aquis illis ex puteis Jacobi in infinitum praestant, similibus fere hauriuntur & exhibentur modis, quibus aquae naturales ex puteis solent: Hae siquidem, aut sub primum haustum in cisternas recipiuntur, unde per tubos complures ad usum commode diduci possunt; aut statim in vasa infunduntur, subinde prout opus est utendae. Atque modus ille prior methodicus theologiam nobis tandem peperit scholasticam; per quam doctrina theologica in artem, tanquam in cisternam collecta est; atque inde axiomatum & positionum rivuli in omnes partes sunt distributi.

distributi. At in interpretandi modo soluto duo interveniunt excessus. Alter, ejusmodi praesupponit in scripturis perfectionem, ut etiam omnis philosophia ex earum fontibus peti debeat, ac si philosophia alia quacvis, res profana esset & ethnica. Haec intemperies in schola Paracelsi praecipue, necnon apud alios invaluit: Initia autem ejus a Rabbinis & Cabalisticis defluerunt. Verum istiusmodi homines non id assequuntur quod volunt: Neque enim honorem, ut putant, scripturis deferunt; sed easdem potius deprimunt & polluant. Coelum enim materiatur & terram, qui in verbo Dei quaesiverit, (de quo dictum est; *coelum & terra pertransibunt, verbum autem meum non pertransibit*) is sane transitoria inter aeterna temere persequitur. Quemadmodum enim theologiam in philosophia quaerere perinde est, ac si vivos quaeras inter mortuos: Ita e contra philosophiam in theologia quaerere non aliud est, quam mortuos quaerere inter vivos. Alter autem interpretandi modus (quem pro excessu statuimus) videtur primo intuitu sobrius & castus; sed tamen & scripturas ipsas dedecorat & plurimo ecclesiam afficit detrimento. Is est, (ut verbo dicamus) quando scripturae divinitus inspiratae, eodem, quo scripta humana, explicantur modo. Meminisse autem oportet, Deo scripturarum authori duo illa patere, quae humana ingenia fugiunt: Secreta nimirum cordis, & successiones temporis. Quamobrem, cum scripturarum dictamina talia sint, ut ad cor scribantur, & omnium saeculorum vicissitudines complectantur; cum aeterna & certa praescientia omnium haeresium contradictionum & status ecclesiae varii & mutabilis, tum in communi tum in electis singulis; interpretandae non sunt solummodo secundum latitudinem & obvium sensum loci; aut respiciendo ad occasionem, ex qua verba erant prolata; aut praecise ex contextu verborum praecedentium & sequentium; aut contemplando scopum dicti principalem; sed sic, ut intelligamus complecti eas, non solum totaliter aut collective, sed distributive etiam in clausulis & vocabulis singulis, innumeros doctrinae rivulos & venas, ad ecclesiae singulas partes, & animas fidelium, irrigandas. Egregie enim observatum est, quod responsa Salvatoris nostri, ad quaestiones non paucas, ex iis quae proponebantur, non videntur ad rem, sed quasi impertinentia. Cujus rei causa duplex est: Altera, quod cum cogitationes eorum, qui interrogabant, non ex verbis ut nos homines solemus, sed immediate & ex sese cognovisset, ad cogitationes eorum, non ad verba respondit: Altera, quod non ad eos solum locutus est, qui tunc aderant, sed ad nos etiam, qui vivimus & ad omnis aevi ac loci homines, quibus evangelium fuerit praedicandum: Quod etiam in aliis scripturae locis obtinet.

His itaque praelibatis, veniamus ad tractatum eum, quem desiderari statuimus. Inveniuntur profecto inter scripta theologica, libri controversiarum nimio plures; theologiae ejus, quam diximus positivam, massa ingens; loci communes; tractatus speciales; casus conscientiae; conciones & homiliae; denique prolixi plurimi in libros scripturarum commentarii. Quod desideramus autem est hujusmodi: Collectio scilicet succincta, sana & cum judicio, annotationum & observationum, super textus scripturae particulares; neutiquam in locos communes excurrendo, aut controversias persequendo, aut in artis methodum eas redigendo, sed quae plane sparsae sint & nativae. Res certe in concionibus doctioribus se quandoque ostendens, quae ut plurimum non perennant; sed quae in libros adhuc non coaluit, qui ad posteros transeant. Certe, quemadmodum vina, quae sub primam calcationem molliter defluunt, sunt suaviora, quam quae a torculari exprimuntur;

munantur; quoniam haec ex acino & cute uvae aliquid sapiant. Similiter salubres admodum ac suaves sunt doctrinae, quae ex scripturis leniter expressis emanant, nec ad controversias aut locos communes trahuntur. Huiusmodi tractatum emanationes scripturarum nominabimus.

JAM itaque mihi videor confecisse globum exiguum orbis intellectualis, quam potui fidelissime; una cum designatione & descriptione earum partium, quas, industria & laboribus hominum, aut non constanter occupatas, aut non satis excultas, invenio. Quo in opere, sicubi a sententia veterum recesserim, intelligatur hoc factum esse animo proficiendi in melius, non innovandi aut migrandi in aliud. Neque enim mihi metipsi aut argumento, quod in manibus habeo, constare potui, nisi plane decretum mihi fuisset aliorum inventis, quantum in me fuerit, addere: cum tamen non minus optaverim, etiam inventa mea ab aliis in posterum superari. Quam autem in hac re aequus fuerim, vel ex hoc apparet; quod opiniones meas proposuerim ubique nudas & inermes, neque alienae libertati, per confutationes pugnaces, praejudicare contenderim. Nam in iis quae recte a me posita sunt, subest spes id futurum, ut si in prima lectione emergat scrupulus aut objectio, at in lectione iterata responsum se ultro sit exhibiturum: In iis vero, in quibus mihi errare contigit, certus sum nullam a me illatam esse vim veritati, per argumenta contentiosa; Quorum ea fere est natura, ut erroribus auctoritatem concilient, recte inventis derogent. Siquidem ex dubitatione error honorem acquirit; veritas patitur repulsam. Interim in mentem mihi venit responsum illud Themistoclis, qui, cum ex oppido parvo legatus quidam magna nonnulla perorasset, hominem perstrinxit; amice, verba tua civitatem desiderant. Certe objici mihi rectissime posse existimo, quod verba mea saeculum desiderent: Saeculum forte integrum ad probandum; complura autem saecula ad perficiendum. Attamen, quoniam etiam res quaeque maximae initiis suis debentur, mihi satis fuerit, sevisse posteris & Deo immortalis: Cujus Numen supplex precor, per Filium suum & Servatorem nostrum, ut has & hisce similes, intellectus humani victimas, religione tanquam sale respersas, & gloriae suae immolatas, propitius accipere dignetur.

Novus orbis scientiarum, sive desiderata.

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VINCULA naturae, sive historia mechanica.

HISTORIA inductiva, sive historia naturalis in ordine ad condendam philosophiam.

OCULUS Polyphemi, sive historia literarum.

HISTORIA ad prophetias.

PHILOSOPHIA secundum parabolas antiquas.

LIB. III. PHILOSOPHIA prima sive de axiomatibus scientiarum communibus.

ASTRONOMIA viva.

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CONTINUATIO problematum naturalium.

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MAGIA naturalis, sive deductio formarum ad opera.

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DE euthanasia exteriori.

DE medicinis authenticis.

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DE prolongando curriculo vitae.

DE substantia animae sensibilis.

DE nixibus spiritus in motu voluntario.

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LIB. IX. SOPHRON, five de legitimo usu rationis humanae in divinis.

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P R A E F A T I O.

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D E

V E R U L A M I O,

Summi Angliae Cancellarii,

NOVUM ORGANUM SCIENTIARUM:

S I V E

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P A R S S E C U N D A.

Vol. I.

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Summi Anglice Cancellarii

NOVUM ORGANUM



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PARS SECUNDA

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Vol. I

P R A E F A T I O.

QUI de natura, tanquam de re explorata, pronuntiare ausi sunt, five hoc ex animi fiducia fecerint, five ambitiose & more professorio; maximis illi philosophiam & scientias detrimentis affecere. Ut enim ad fidem faciendam validi, ita etiam ad inquisitionem extinguendam & abrumpendam efficaces fuerunt: Neque virtute propria tantum profuerunt, quantum in hoc nocuerunt, quod aliorum virtutem corruperint & perdidierint. Qui autem contrariam huic viam ingressi sunt, atque nihil prorsus sciri posse asseruerunt, five ex sophistarum veterum odio, five ex animi fluctuatione, aut etiam ex quadam doctrinae copia, in hanc opinionem delapsi sint, certe non contemnendas ejus rationes adduxerunt; veruntamen nec a veris initiis sententiam suam derivarunt, & studio quodam atque affectatione proveci prorsus modum excefferunt. At antiquiores ex Graecis (quorum scripta perierunt) inter pronuntiandi jactantiam & acatalepsiae desperationem prudentius se sustinuerunt: Atque de inquisitionis difficultate & rerum obscuritate, saepius querimonias & indignationes miscentes, & veluti fraenum mordentes, tamen propositum urgere, atque naturae se immiscere non destiterunt: Consentaneum (ut videtur) existimantes, hoc ipsum (videlicet utrum aliquid sciri possit) non disputare sed experiri: Et tamen illi ipsi impetu tantum intellectus usi, regulam non adhibuerunt, sed omnia in acri meditatione & mentis volutatione & agitatione perpetua posuerunt.

NOSTRA autem ratio, ut opere ardua, ita dictu facilis est. Ea enim est, ut certitudinis gradus constituamus, sensum per reductionem quandam tueamur, sed mentis opus, quod sensum subsequitur, plerunque rejiciamus; novam autem & certam viam, ab ipsis sensuum perceptionibus menti aperiamus & muniamus. Atque hoc proculdubio viderunt & illi, qui tantas dialecticae partes tribuerunt. Ex quo liquet, illos intellectui adminicula quaesivisse, mentis autem processum nativum & sponte moventem, suspectum habuisse. Sed serum plane rebus perditis hoc adhibetur remedium; postquam mens ex quotidiana vitae consuetudine, & auditionibus, & doctrinis inquinatis occupata, & vanissimis idolis obsessa fuerit. Itaque ars illa dialecticae, fero (ut diximus) cavens, neque rem ullo modo restituens, ad errores potius figendos, quam ad veritatem aperiendam valuit. Restat unica salus ac sanitas, ut opus mentis universum de integro resumatur; ac mens, jam ab ipso principio, nullo modo sibi permittatur, sed perpetuo regatur; ac res, veluti per machinas conficiatur. Sane si homines opera mechanica nudis manibus, absque instrumentorum vi & ope aggressi essent, quemadmodum opera intellectualia nudis fere mentis viribus tractare non dubitarunt; parvae admodum fuissent res, quas movere & vincere potuissent, licet operas enixas, atque etiam conjunctas praestitissent. Atqui si paulisper morari, atque in hoc ipsum exemplum, veluti in speculum intueri velimus; exquiramus (si placet) si forte obeliscus aliquis, magnitudine insignis, ad triumphum vel hujusmodi magnificentiae decus transferendus esset, atque id homines nudis manibus aggredierentur, annon hoc magnae cujusdam esse de mentiae, spectator quispiam rei sobrius fateretur? Quod si numerum augerent operariorum, atque hoc modo se valere posse confiderent, annon tanto magis?

magis? Sin autem delectum quendam adhibere vellent, atque imbecilliores separare, & robustis tantum & vigentibus uti, atque hinc saltem se voti compotes fore sperarent, annon adhuc eos impensius delirare diceret? Quin etiam, si hoc ipso non contenti, artem tandem athleticam consulere statuerent, ac omnes deinceps manibus, & lacertis & nervis ex arte bene unctis & medicatis adesse juberent, annon prorsus eos dare operam, ut cum ratione quadam & prudentia insanirent, clamaret? Atque homines tamen simili malefano impetu & conspiratione inutili, feruntur in intellectualibus; dum ab ingeniorum vel multitudine & consensu, vel excellentia & acumine, magna sperant; aut etiam dialectica (quae quaedam athletica censi possit) mentis nervos roborant: Sed interim, licet tanto studio & conatu, (si quis vere judicaverit) intellectum nudum applicare non desinunt. Manifestissimum autem est, in omni opere magno, quod manus hominis praestat, sine instrumentis & machinis, vires nec singulorum intendi, nec omnium coire posse.

ITAQUE ex his quae diximus praemissis, statuimus duas esse res de quibus homines plane monitos volumus, ne forte illae eos fugiant aut praetereant. Quarum prima hujusmodi est; fieri fato quodam (ut existimamus) bono, ad extinguendas & depellendas contradictiones & tumores animorum, ut & veteribus honor & reverentia intacta & imminuta maneant, & nos destinata perficere, & tamen modestiae nostrae fructum percipere possimus. Nam nos, si profiteamur, nos meliora afferre quam antiqui, eandem quam illi viam ingressi; nulla verborum arte efficere possimus, quin inducatur quaedam ingenii vel excellentiae vel facultatis comparatio sive contentio; non ea quidem illicita aut nova; (quidni enim possimus pro jure nostro, neque eo ipso alio, quam omnium, si quid apud eos non recte inventum aut positum sit, reprehendere aut notare?) sed tamen utcunque justa aut permixta. Nihilominus impar fortasse fuisset ea ipsa contentio, ob virium nostrarum modum. Verum quum per nos illud agatur, ut alia omnino via intellectui aperiatur, illis intentata & incognita, commutata jam ratio est; cessant studium & partes; nosque indicis tantummodo personam sustinemus; quod mediocris certe est authoritatis, & fortunae cujusdam potius, quam facultatis & excellentiae. Atque haec moniti species ad personas pertinet, altera ad res ipsas.

Nos siquidem de deturbanda ea, quae nunc floret philosophia, aut si quae alia sit, aut erit hac emendatior aut auctior, minime laboramus. Neque enim officimus, quin philosophia ista recepta & aliae id genus, disputationes alant, sermones orment, ad professoria munera & vitae civilis compendia adhibeantur & valeant. Quin etiam aperte significamus & declaramus, eam quam nos adducimus philosophiam, ad istas res admodum utilem non futuram. Non praesto est; neque in transitu capitur; neque ex praenotionibus intellectui blanditur; neque ad vulgi captum, nisi per utilitatem & effecta descendet.

SINT itaque (quod felix faustumque sit utrique parti) duae doctrinarum emanationes, ac duae dispensationes; duae similiter contemplantium sive philosophantium tribus ac veluti cognationes; atque illae neutiquam inter se inimicae aut alienae, sed foederatae & mutuis auxiliis devinctae: sit denique alia scientias colendi alia inveniendi ratio. Atque quibus prima potior & acceptior est ob festinationem, vel vitae civilis rationes, vel quod illam alteram ob mentis infirmitatem capere & complecti non possint; (id quod longe plurimis accidere necesse est) optamus, ut iis feliciter & ex vo-

to succedat quod agunt; atque ut quod sequuntur teneant. Quod si cui mortalium cordi & curae sit, non tantum inventis haerere, atque iis uti, sed ad ulteriora penetrare; atque non disputando adversarium, sed opere naturam vincere; denique non belle & probabiliter opinari, sed certo & ostensive scire; tales tanquam veri scientiarum filii, nobis (si videbitur) se adjungant; ut omissis naturae atriiis, quae infiniti contriverunt, aditus aliquando ad interiora patefiat. Atque ut melius intelligamur, utque illud ipsum quod volumus, ex nominibus impositis magis familiariter occurrat; altera ratio sive via, anticipatio mentis; altera interpretatio naturae, a nobis appellari consuevit.

Est etiam quod petendum videtur. Nos certe cogitationem suscepimus & curam adhibuimus, ut quae a nobis proponuntur, non tantum vera essent, sed etiam ad animos hominum (licet miris modis occupatos & interclusos) non incommode aut aspere accederent. Veruntamen aequum est, ut ab hominibus impetremus, (in tanta praesertim doctrinarum & scientiarum restauratione) ut qui de hisce nostris aliquid, sive ex sensu proprio, sive ex autoritatum turba, sive ex demonstrationum formis, (quae nunc tanquam leges quaedam judiciales invaluerunt) statuere aut existimare velit; ne id in transitu & velut aliud agendo, facere se posse speret; sed ut rem pernoscant; nostram, quam describimus & munimus, viam ipse paulatim teneat; subtilitati rerum quae in experientia signata est assuescat; pravyos denique, atque alte haerentes mentis habitus, tempestiva & quasi legitima mora corrigat; atque tum demum (si placuerit) postquam in potestate sua esse coeperit, iudicio suo utatur.



PARTIS SECUNDAE

Summa, digesta in

APHORISMOS.

APHORISMI de interpretatione Naturae, & regno
HOMINIS.

APHORISMUS I.

HOMO naturae minister & interpres tantum facit & intelligit, quantum de naturae ordine, re vel mente observaverit: nec amplius scit aut potest.

II. NEC manus nuda, nec intellectus sibi permissus, multum valet; instrumentis & auxiliis res perficitur; quibus opus est, non minus ad intellectum quam ad manum. Atque ut instrumenta manus motum aut cient aut regunt; ita & instrumenta mentis, intellectui aut suggerunt aut cavent.

III. SCIENTIA & potentia humana in idem coincidunt, quia ignoratio causae destituit effectum. Natura enim non nisi parendo vincitur: Et quod in contemplatione instar causae est; id in operatione instar regulae est.

IV. AD opera nil aliud potest homo, quam ut corpora naturalia admoveat & amoveat: reliqua natura intus transigit.

V. SOLENT se immiscere naturae (quoad opera) mechanicus, mathematicus, medicus, alchymista & magus: sed omnes (ut nunc sunt res,) conatu levi, successu tenui.

VI. INSANUM quiddam esset & in se contrarium, existimare ea quae adhuc nunquam facta sunt, fieri posse, nisi per modos adhuc nunquam tentatos.

VII. GENERATIONES mentis & manus numerosae admodum videntur in libris & opificiis. Sed omnis ista varietas sita est in subtilitate eximia & derivationibus paucarum rerum, quae innotuerunt; non in numero axiomatum.

VIII. ETIAM opera quae jam inventa sunt, casui debentur & experientiae, magis quam scientiis: Scientiae enim quas nunc habemus, nihil aliud sunt quam quaedam concinnationes rerum antea inventarum; non modi inveniendi aut designationes novorum operum.

IX. CAUSA vero & radix fere omnium malorum in scientiis ea una est; quod dum mentis humanae vires falso miramur & extollimus, vera ejus auxilia non quaeramus.

X. SUBTILITAS naturae subtilitatem sensus & intellectus multis partibus superat; ut pulchrae illae meditationes, & speculationes humanae & causationes, res malefanae sint, nisi quod non adsit qui advertat.

XI. SICUT

XI. SICUT scientiae, quae nunc habentur, inutiles sunt ad inventionem operum; ita & logica quae nunc habetur, inutilis est ad inventionem scientiarum.

XII. LOGICA, quae in usu est, ad errores (qui in notionibus vulgaribus fundantur) stabiliendos & figendos valet, potius quam ad inquisitionem veritatis; ut magis damnosa sit quam utilis.

XIII. SYLLOGISMUS ad principia scientiarum non adhibetur, ad media axiomata frustra adhibetur, cum sit subtilitati naturae longe impar: Assensum itaque confringit non res.

XIV. SYLLOGISMUS ex propositionibus constat, propositiones ex verbis, verba notionum tesserae sunt. Itaque si notiones ipsae, (id quod basis rei est) confusae sint & temere a rebus abstractae; nihil in iis, quae superstruuntur est firmitudinis: Itaque spes est una in inductione vera.

XV. IN notionibus nil sani est nec in logicis, nec in physicis; non substantia, non qualitas, agere, pati, ipsum esse, bonae notiones sunt; multo minus grave, leve, densum, tenue, humidum, ficcum, generatio, corruptio, attrahere, fugare, elementum, materia, forma & id genus; sed omnes phantasticae & male terminatae.

XVI. NOTIONES infimarum specierum, hominis, canis, columbae, & prehensionum immediatarum sensus, calidi, frigidi, albi, nigri, non fallunt magnopere; quae tamen ipsae a fluxu materiae & commissione rerum quandoque confunduntur; reliquae omnes (quibus homines hactenus usi sunt) aberrationes sunt, nec debitis modis a rebus abstractae & excitatae.

XVII. NEC minor est libido & aberratio in constituendis axiomatibus, quam in notionibus abstrahendis; idque in ipsis principiis, quae ab inductione vulgari pendent. At multo major est in axiomatibus, & propositionibus inferioribus, quae educit syllogismus.

XVIII. QUAE adhuc inventa sunt in scientiis, ea huiusmodi sunt, ut notionibus vulgaribus fere subjaceant: Ut vero ad interiora & remotiora naturae penetretur, necesse est ut tam notiones quam axiomata, magis certa & munita via a rebus abstrahantur; atque omnino melior & certior intellectus adoperatio in usum veniat.

XIX. DUAE viae sunt atque esse possunt, ad inquirendam & invenendam veritatem. Altera a sensu & particularibus advolat ad axiomata maxime generalia, atque ex iis principiis eorumque immota veritate judicat & invenit axiomata media: Atque haec via in usu est. Altera a sensu & particularibus excitat axiomata, ascendendo continenter & gradatim, ut ultimo loco perveniatur ad maxime generalia; quae via vera est, sed intentata.

XX. EANDEM ingreditur viam (priorem scilicet) intellectus sibi permissus, quam facit ex ordine dialecticae. Gestit enim mens exilire ad magis generalia ut acquiescat: Et post parvam moram fastidit experientiam; Sed haec mala demum aucta sunt a dialectica ob pompas disputationum.

XXI. INTELLECTUS sibi permissus, in ingenio sobrio & patiente & gravi, (praesertim si a doctrinis receptis non impediatur) tentat nonnihil illam alteram viam, quae recta est, sed exiguo profectu; cum intellectus, nisi regatur & juvetur, res inaequalis sit, & omnino inhabilis ad superandam rerum obscuritatem.

XXII. UTRAQUE via orditur a sensu & particularibus, & acquiescit in maxime generalibus: sed immensum quiddam discrepant; cum altera perstringat tantum experientiam & particularia cursim; altera in iis rite & ordine versetur; altera rursus jam a principio constituat generalia quaedam abstracta,

abstracta, & inutilia; altera gradatim exurgat ad ea quae revera naturae sunt notiora.

XXIII. NON leve quiddam interest inter humanae mentis idola, & divinae mentis ideas, hoc est, inter placita quaedam inania, & veras signaturas, atque impressiones factas in creaturis, prout inveniuntur.

XXIV. NULO modo fieri potest, ut axiomata per argumentationem constituta ad inventionem novorum operum valeant; quia subtilitas naturae subtilitatem argumentandi multis partibus superat. Sed axiomata a particularibus rite & ordine abstracta, nova particularia rursus facile indicant, & designant; itaque scientias reddunt activas.

XXV. AXIOMATA, quae in usu sunt, ex tenui & manipulari experientia, & paucis particularibus, quae ut plurimum occurrunt, fluxere; & sunt fere ad mensuram eorum facta & extensa: ut nil mirum sit, si ad nova particularia non ducant. Quod si forte instantia aliqua non prius animadversa aut cognita se offerat, axioma distinctione aliqua frivola salvatur, ubi emendari ipsum verius foret.

XXVI. RATIONEM humanam, qua utimur ad naturam, anticipationes naturae, (quia res temeraria est & praematura,) at illam rationem quae debitis modis elicitur a rebus, interpretationem naturae, docendi gratia, vocare consuevimus.

XXVII. ANTICIPATIONES satis firmae sunt ad consensum; quandoquidem, si homines etiam insanirent ad unum modum & conformiter, illi satis bene inter se congruere possent.

XXVIII. QUIN longe validiores sunt ad subeundum assensum anticipationes, quam interpretationes; quia ex paucis collectae, iisque maxime, quae familiariter occurrunt, intellectum statim perstringunt, & phantasiam implent; ubi contra, interpretationes, ex rebus admodum variis & multum distantibus sparsim collectae, intellectum subito percutere non possunt; ut necesse sit eas, quoad opiniones duras & absonas, fere instar mysteriorum fidei, videri.

XXIX. IN scientiis, quae in opinionibus & placitis fundatae sunt, bonus est usus anticipationum & dialecticae; quando opus est assensum subjugare, non res.

XXX. NON, si omnia omnium aetatum ingenia coterint, & labores contulerint & transmiserint, progressus magnus fieri poterit in scientiis per anticipationes: quia errores radicales, & in prima digestionem mentis, ab excellentia functionum & remedium sequentium non curantur.

XXXI. FRUSTRA magnum expectatur augmentum in scientiis ex superinductione & insitione novorum super vetera; sed instauratio facienda est ab imis fundamentis, nisi libeat perpetuo circumvolvi in orbem, cum exili & quasi contemnendo progressu.

XXXII. ANTIQUIS authoribus suis constat honos, atque adeo omnibus; quia non ingeniorum aut facultatum inducitur comparatio, sed viae; nosque non iudicis, sed indicis personam sustinemus.

XXXIII. NULLUM (dicendum enim est aperte) recte fieri potest iudicium nec de via nostra, nec de iis quae secundum eam inventa sunt, per anticipationes, rationem scilicet quae in usu est, quia non postulandum est ut ejus rei iudicio stetur, quae ipsa in iudicium vocatur.

XXXIV. NEQUE etiam tradendi aut explicandi ea, quae adducimus, facilis est ratio; quia, quae in se nova sunt, intelligentur tamen ex analogia veterum.

XXXV.

XXXV. DIXIT Borgia de expeditione Gallorum in Italiam, eos venisse cum creta in manibus, ut diversoria notarent; non cum armis, ut percurrerent: Itidem & nostra ratio est; ut doctrina nostra animos idoneos & capaces subintret: Confutationum enim nullus est usus; ubi de principiis & ipsis notionibus, atque etiam de formis demonstrationum dissentimus.

XXXVI. RESTAT vero nobis modus tradendi unus & simplex, ut homines ad ipsa particularia & eorum series & ordines adducamus; & ut illi rursus imperent sibi ad tempus abnegationem notionum, & cum rebus ipsis consuescere incipiant.

XXXVII. RATIO eorum, qui acatalepsiam tenuerunt, & via nostra, initiis suis quodammodo consentiunt; exitu immensum disjunguntur & opponuntur. Illi enim, nihil sciri posse, simpliciter asserunt; nos non multum sciri posse in natura, ea, quae nunc in usu est; via: Verum illi exinde auctoritatem sensus & intellectus destruunt: nos auxilia iisdem excogitantis & subministramus.

XXXVIII. IDOLA & notiones falsae quae intellectum humanum jam occuparunt, atque in eo alte haerent, non solum mentes hominum ita obsident, ut veritati aditus difficilis pateat; sed etiam dato & concessio aditu, illa rursus in ipsa instauratione scientiarum occurrent, & molesta erunt; nisi homines praemoniti, adversus ea se, quantum fieri potest, muniant.

XXXIX. QUATUOR sunt genera idolorum quae mentes humanas obsident. Iis (docendi gratia) nomina imposuimus; ut primum genus, idola tribus; secundum, idola specus; tertium, idola fori; quartum, idola theatri, vocentur.

XL. EXCITATIO notionum & axiomatum per inductionem veram, est certe proprium remedium ad idola arcenda & summovenda; sed tamen indicatio idolorum magni est usus. Doctrina enim de idolis similiter se habet ad interpretationem naturae, sicut doctrina de sophisticis elenchis ad dialecticam vulgarem.

XLI. IDOLA tribus sunt fundata in ipsa natura humana, atque in ipsa tribu seu gente hominum. Falso enim asseritur, sensum humanum esse mensuram rerum; quin contra, omnes perceptiones, tam sensus quam mentis, sunt ex analogia hominis, non ex analogia universi. Estque intellectus humanus instar speculi inaequalis ad radios rerum, qui suam naturam naturae rerum immiscet, eamque distorquet & inficit:

XLII. IDOLA specus sunt idola hominis individui. Habet enim unusquisque (praeter aberrationes naturae humanae in genere) specum sive cavernam quandam individuum, quae lumen naturae frangit & corrumpit; vel propter naturam cuiusque propriam & singularem; vel propter educationem & conversationem cum aliis; vel propter lectionem librorum, & auctoritates eorum quos quisque colit & miratur; vel propter differentias impressionum, prout occurrunt in animo praeoccupato & praedisposito, aut in animo aequo & sedato, vel ejusmodi, ut plane spiritus humanus (prout disponitur in hominibus singulis) sit res varia, & omnino perturbata & quasi fortuita. Unde bene Heraclitus, homines scientias quaerere in minoribus mundis, & non in majore sive communi.

XLIII. SUNT etiam idola tanquam ex contractu & societate humani generis ad invicem, quae idola fori propter hominum commercium & consortium appellamus. Homines enim per sermones sociantur; at verba ex captu vulgi imponuntur. Itaque mala & inepta verborum impositio, miris modis intellectum obsidet: Neque definitiones aut explicationes, quibus homines do-

Ati se munire & vindicare in nonnullis consueverunt, rem ullo modo restitunt. Sed verba plane vim faciunt intellectui, & omnia turbant; & homines ad inanes & innumeras controversias & commenta deducunt.

XLIV. SUNT denique idola quae immigrarunt in animos hominum ex diversis dogmatibus philosophiarum, ac etiam ex perversis legibus demonstrationum; quae idola theatri nominamus; quia quot philosophiae receptae aut inventae sunt, tot fabulas productas & actas censemus, quae mundos effecerunt fictitios & scenicos. Neque de his quae jam habentur, aut etiam de veteribus philosophiis & sectis tantum loquimur, cum complures aliae ejusmodi fabulae componi & concinnari possint; quandoquidem errorum prorsus diversorum causae sint nihilominus fere communes. Neque rursus de philosophiis universalibus tantum hoc intelligimus, sed etiam de principiis & axiomatibus compluribus scientiarum, quae ex traditione & fide & neglectu invaluerunt. Verum de singulis istis generibus idolorum, fusius & distinctius dicendum est, ut intellectui humano cautum sit.

XLV. INTELLECTUS humanus ex proprietate sua facile supponit majorem ordinem, & aequalitatem in rebus quam invenit: Et cum multa sint in natura monodica & plena imparitatis, tamen affingit parallela & correspondentia, & relativa quae non sunt. Hinc commenta illa, *In coelestibus omnia moveri per circulos perfectos*, lineis spirales & draconibus (nisi nomine tenus) prorsus rejectis. Hinc elementum ignis cum orbe suo introductum est ad constituendam quaternionem cum reliquis tribus, quae subjiciuntur sensui. Etiam elementis (quae vocant) imponitur ad placitum, decupla proportio excessus, in raritate ad invicem; & hujusmodi somnia. Neque vanitas ista tantum valet in dogmatibus, verum etiam in notionibus simplicibus.

XLVI. INTELLECTUS humanus in iis quae semel placuerunt, (aut quia recepta sunt & credita, aut quia delectant,) alia etiam omnia trahit ad suffragationem & consensum cum illis: Et licet major sit instantiarum vis & copia, quae occurrunt in contrarium; tamen eas aut non observat aut contemnit, aut distinguendo summovet & rejicit, non sine magno & pernicioso praejudicio, quo prioribus illis syllepsibus autoritas maneat inviolata. Itaque recte respondit ille, qui cum suspensa tabula in templo ei monstraretur eorum, qui vota solverant, quod naufragii periculo elapsi sint, atque interrogando premeretur, anne tum quidem deorum numen agnosceret: Quaesivit denuo, *At ubi sunt illi depicti qui post vota nuncupata perierint?* Eadem ratio est fere omnis superstitionis, ut in astrologicis, in somniis, ominibus, nemesibus & hujusmodi; in quibus homines delectati hujusmodi vanitatibus, advertunt eventus ubi implentur; ast ubi fallunt, licet multo frequentius, tamen negligunt & praetereunt. At longe subtilius serpit hoc malum in philosophiis & scientiis; in quibus quod semel placuit, reliqua (licet multo firmiora & potiora) inficit, & in ordinem redigit. Quinetiam licet abfuerit ea, quam diximus, delectatio & vanitas, is tamen humano intellectui error est proprius & perpetuus, ut magis moveatur & excitetur affirmativis, quam negativis; cum rite & ordine aequum se utrique praebere debeat; quin contra in omni axioma vero constituendo, major est vis instantiae negativae.

XLVII. INTELLECTUS humanus illis, quae simul & subito mentem ferire & subire possunt, maxime movetur; a quibus phantasia impleri & inflari consuevit; reliqua vero modo quodam, licet imperceptibili, ita se habere fingit & supponit, quomodo se habent pauca illa quibus mens obside-

tur;

tur; ad illum vero transcursum, ad instantias remotas & heterogeneas, per quas axiomata tanquam igne probantur, tardus omnino intellectus est, & inhabilis, nisi hoc illi per duras leges, & violentum imperium imponatur.

XLVIII. GLISCIT intellectus humanus, neque consistere aut acquiescere potis est, sed ulterius petit; at frustra. Itaque incogitabile est ut sit aliquid extremum aut extimum mundi, sed semper quasi necessario occurrit ut sit aliquid ulterius. Neque rursus cogitari potest quomodo aeternitas deflexerit ad hunc diem; cum distinctio illa quae recipi consuevit, quod sit infinitum a parte ante & a parte post, nullo modo constare possit; quia inde sequeretur, quod sit unum infinitum alio infinito majus, atque ut consumatur infinitum & vergat ad finitum. Similis est subtilitas de lineis semper divisibilibus, ex impotentia cogitationis. At majore cum pernicie intervenit haec impotentia mentis in inventione causarum: Nam cum maxime universalis in natura positiva esse debeant, quemadmodum inveniuntur, neque sunt revera causabilia; tamen intellectus humanus nescius acquiescere, adhuc appetit notiora. Tum vero ad ulteriora tendens, ad proximiora recidit, videlicet ad causas finales; quae sunt plane ex natura hominis, potius quam universi: atque ex hoc fonte philosophiam miris modis corruerunt. Est autem aequae imperiti & leviter philosophantis, in maxime universalibus causam requirere, ac in subordinatis & subalternis causam non desiderare.

XLIX. INTELLECTUS humanus luminis ficci non est; sed recipit infusionem a voluntate & affectibus; id quod generat *ad quod vult scientias*: Quod enim mavult homo verum esse, id potius credit. Rejicit itaque difficilia, ob inquirendi impatientiam; sobria, quia coarctant spem; altiora naturae, propter superstitionem; lumen experientiae, propter arrogantiam & fastum, ne videatur mens versari in vilibus & fluxis; paradoxa, propter opinionem vulgi; denique innumeris modis, iisque interdum imperceptibilibus, affectus intellectum imbuunt & inficit.

L. AR longe maximum impedimentum & aberratio intellectus humani provenit a stupore & incompetencia & fallaciis sensuum; ut ea quae sensum feriant, illis, quae sensum immediate non feriunt, licet potioribus, praeponderent. Itaque contemplatio fere desinit cum aspectu; adeo ut rerum invisibilium exigua aut nulla sit observatio. Itaque omnis operatio spirituum in corporibus tangibilibus inclusorum latet, & homines fugit. Omnis etiam subtilior metaschematismus in partibus rerum crassiorum, (quam vulgo alterationem vocant, cum sit revera latio per minima) latet similiter: & tamen nisi duo ista, quae diximus explorata fuerint & in lucem producta, nihil magni fieri potest in natura quoad opera. Rursus ipsa natura aëris communis & corporum omnium, quae aërem tenuitate superant, (quae plurima sunt) fere incognita est. Sensus enim per se res infirma est & aberrans; neque organa ad amplificandos sensus aut acuendos multum valent; sed omnis verior interpretatio naturae conficitur per instantias, & experimenta idonea & apposita; ubi sensus de experimento tantum, experimentum de natura & re ipsa judicat.

LI. INTELLECTUS humanus fertur ad abstracta propter naturam propriam; atque ea quae fluxa sunt, fingit esse constantia. Melius autem est naturam secare, quam abstrahere; id quod Democriti schola fecit, quae magis penetravit in naturam quam reliquae. Materia potius considerari debet, & ejus schematismi & metaschematismi, atque actus purus & lex actus sive motus; formae enim commenta animi humani sunt, nisi libeat leges illas actus formas appellare.

LII. Hujus-

LII. HUIUSMODI itaque sunt idola, quae vocamus idola tribus; quae ortum habent aut ex aequalitate substantiae spiritus humani; aut ex praerogatione ejus; aut ab angustiis ejus; aut ab inquieto motu ejus; aut ab infusione affectuum; aut ab incompetencia sensuum; aut ab impressionis modo.

LIII. IDOLA specus ortum habent ex propria cujusque natura & animi & corporis; atque etiam ex educatione, & consuetudine & fortuitis. Quod genus, licet sit varium & multiplex, tamen ea proponemus, in quibus maxima cautio est, quaeque plurimum valent ad polluendum intellectum, ne sit purus.

LIV. ADAMANT homines scientias & contemplationes particulares; aut quia auctores & inventores se earum credunt; aut quia plurimum in illis operae posuerunt, iisque maxime assueverunt. Hujusmodi vero homines, si ad philosophiam & contemplationes universales se contulerint, illas ex prioribus phantasiis detorquent & corrumpunt; id quod maxime conspicuum cernitur in Aristotele, qui naturalem suam philosophiam, logicae suae prorsus mancipavit, ut eam fere inutilem & contentiosam reddiderit. Chymicorum autem genus, ex paucis experimentis fornacis, philosophiam constituerunt phantasticam, & ad pauca spectantem: Quinetiam Gilbertus, postquam in contemplationibus magnetis se laboriosissime exercuisset, confinxit statim philosophiam consentaneam rei apud ipsum praepollenti.

LV. MAXIMUM & velut radicale discrimen ingeniorum, quoad philosophiam & scientias illud est; quod alia ingenia sint fortiora & aptiora ad notandas rerum differentias; alia, ad notandas rerum similitudines. Ingenia enim constantia & acuta, figere contemplationes, & morari & haerere in omni subtilitate differentiarum possunt: Ingenia autem sublimia & discursiva, etiam tenuissimas & catholicas rerum similitudines & agnoscunt & componunt: Utrumque autem ingenium facile labitur in excessum, prestando aut gradus rerum aut umbras.

LVI. REPERIUNTUR ingenia alia in admirationem antiquitatis, alia in amorem & amplexum novitatis effusa; pauca vero ejus temperamenti sunt, ut modum tenere possint, quin aut quae recte posita sunt ab antiquis convellant, aut ea contemnant quae recte afferantur a novis. Hoc vero magno scientiarum & philosophiae detrimento fit, quum studia potius sint antiquitatis & novitatis quam judicia: Veritas autem non a felicitate temporis alicujus, quae res varia est; sed a lumine naturae & experientiae, quod aeternum est, petenda est. Itaque abneganda sunt ista studia; & videndum, ne intellectus ab illis ad consensum abripiatur.

LVII. CONTEMPLATIONES naturae & corporum in simplicitate sua, intellectum frangunt & comminuunt: Contemplationes vero naturae & corporum in compositione & configuratione sua, intellectum stupefaciunt & solvunt. Id optime cernitur in schola Leucippi & Democriti, collata cum reliquis philosophiis. Illa enim ita versatur in particulis rerum, ut fabricas fere negligat: reliquae autem ita fabricas intuentur attonitae, ut ad simplicitatem naturae non penetrent: Itaque alternandae sunt contemplationes istae, & vicissim sumendae; ut intellectus reddatur simul penetrans & capax; & evitentur ea quae diximus incommoda, atque idola ex iis provenientia.

LVIII. TALIS itaque esto prudentia contemplativa in arcendis & summovendis idolis specus; quae aut ex praedominantia, aut ex excessu compositionis & divisionis, aut ex studiis erga tempora, aut ex objectis largis & minutis,

minutis, maxime ortum habent. Generaliter autem pro suspecto habendum unicuique rerum naturam contemplanti, quicquid intellectum suum potissimum capit & detinet; tantoque major adhibenda in huiusmodi placitis est cautio, ut intellectus servetur aequus & purus.

LIX. At idola fori omnium molestissima sunt; quae ex foedere verborum & nominum se insinuant in intellectum. Credunt enim homines, rationem suam verbis imperare. Sed fit etiam ut verba vim suam super intellectum retorqueant & reflectant, quod philosophiam & scientias reddidit sophisticas & inactivas. Verba autem plerumque ex captu vulgi induntur, atque per lineas, vulgari intellectui maxime conspicuas, res secant. Quum autem intellectus acutior, aut observatio diligentior, eas lineas transferre velit, ut illae sint magis secundum naturam; verba obstrepunt. Unde fit ut magnae & solennes disputationes hominum doctorum, saepe in controversias circa verba & nomina definant; a quibus (ex more & prudentia mathematicorum) incipere consultius foret, easque per definitiones in ordinem redigere. Quae tamen definitiones, in naturalibus & materiatis, huic malo mederi non possunt; quoniam & ipsae definitiones ex verbis constant, & verba gignunt verba: adeo ut necesse sit, ad instantias particulares, earumque series & ordines recurrere; ut mox dicemus, quum ad modum & rationem constituendi notiones & axiomata deventum fuerit.

LX. IDOLA quae per verba intellectui imponuntur, duorum generum sunt: Aut enim sunt rerum nomina, quae non sunt, (quemadmodum enim sunt res, quae nomine carent, per inobservationem; ita sunt & nomina quae carent rebus, per suppositionem phantasticam;) aut sunt nomina rerum quae sunt, sed confusa & male terminata, & temere & inaequaliter a rebus abstracta. Prioris generis sunt, fortuna, primum mobile, planetarum orbis, elementum ignis & huiusmodi commenta, quae a vanis & falsis theoriis ortum habent. Atque hoc genus idolorum facilius ejicitur, quia per constantem abnegationem & antiquationem theoriarum exterminari possunt.

At alterum genus perplexum est, & alte haerens; quod ex mala & imperita abstractione excitatur. Exempli gratia accipiat aliquod verbum, (Humidum, si placet) & videamus quomodo sibi constent, quae per hoc verbum significantur: & invenietur verbum istud, Humidum, nihil aliud quam nota confusa diversarum actionum, quae nullam constantiam aut reductionem patiuntur. Significat enim & quod circa aliud corpus facile se circumfundit; & quod in se est indeterminabile, nec consistere potest; & quod facile cedit undique; & quod facile se dividit & dispergit; & quod facile se unit & colligit; & quod facile fluit & in motu ponitur; & quod alteri corpori facile adhaeret, idque madefacit; & quod facile reducit in liquidum, sive colliquatur, cum antea consisteret. Itaque quum ad huius nominis praedicationem & impositionem ventum sit; si alia accipias, flamma humida est; si alia accipias, aer humidus non est; si alia, pulvis minutus humidus est; si alia, vitrum humidum est, ut facile appareat istam notionem ex aqua tantum, & communibus & vulgaribus liquoribus, absque ulla debita verificatione, temere abstractam esse.

IN verbis autem, gradus sunt quidam pravitatis & erroris. Minus vitiosum genus est nominum substantiae alicujus, praesertim specierum infimarum, & bene deductarum; (nam notio cretae, luti bona; terrae, mala;) vitiosius genus est actionum, ut generare, corrumpere, alterare: vitiosissimum qualitatum, (exceptis objectis sensus immediatis) ut gravis, levis, tenuis, densi, &c. Et tamen in omnibus istis fieri non potest, quin sint aliae

notiones aliis paulo meliores, prout in sensum humanum incidit rerum copia.

LXI. At idola theatri innata non sunt, nec occulto insinuata in intellectum; sed ex fabulis theoriarum & perversis legibus demonstrationum, plane indita & recepta. In his autem confutationes tentare & suscipere consentaneum prorsus non est illis, quae a nobis dicta sunt. Quum enim nec de principiis consentiamus, nec de demonstrationibus; tollitur omnis argumentatio. Id vero bono fit fato, ut antiquis suus constet honos. Nihil enim illis detrahitur, quum de via omnino quaestio sit. Claudus enim (ut dicitur) in via, antevertit cursorem extra viam. Etiam illud manifesto liquet, currenti extra viam, quo habilior sit & velocior, eo majorem contingere aberrationem.

NOSTRA vero inveniendi scientias ea est ratio, ut non multum ingeniorum acumini & robori relinquatur; sed quae ingenia & intellectus fere exaequet. Quemadmodum enim ad hoc ut linea recta fiat, aut circulus perfectus describatur, multum est in constantia & exercitatione manus, si fiat ex vi manus propria, sin autem adhibeatur regula, aut circinus, parum aut nihil; omnino similis est nostra ratio. Licet autem confutationum particularium nullus sit usus; de sectis tamen & generibus hujusmodi theoriarum non nihil dicendum est; atque etiam paulo post de signis exterioribus, quod se male habeant; & postremo de causis tantae infelicitatis, & tam diuturni & generalis in errore consensus; ut ad vera minus difficilis sit aditus, & intellectus humanus volentius expurgetur, & idola dimittat.

LXII. IDOLA theatri, five theoriarum, multa sunt, & multo plura esse possunt, & aliquando fortasse erunt. Nisi enim, per multa jam saecula, hominum ingenia circa religionem & theologiam occupata fuissent; atque etiam politicae civiles (praesertim monarchiae) ab istiusmodi novitatibus, etiam in contemplationibus, essent avercae; ut cum periculo & detrimento fortunarum suarum in illas homines incumbant, non solum praemio destituti, sed etiam contemptui & invidiae expositi; complures aliae proculdubio philosophiarum & theoriarum sectae, similes illis quae magna varietate olim apud Graecos floruerunt, introductae fuissent. Quemadmodum enim super phaenomena aetheris, plura themata coeli confingi possunt; similiter, & multo magis, super phaenomena philosophiae fundari possunt & constitui varia dogmata. Atque hujusmodi theatri fabulae habent etiam illud, quod in theatro poetarum usu venit; ut narrationes fictae ad scenam narrationibus ex historia veris concinniores sint & elegantiores, & quales quis magis vellet.

In genere autem, in materiam philosophiae fumitur aut multum ex paucis, aut parum ex multis; ut utrinque philosophia super experientiae & naturalis historiae nimis angustam basin fundata sit, atque ex paucioribus quam par est, promunciet. Rationale enim genus philosophantium ex experientia arripiunt varia & vulgaria, eaque neque certo comperta, nec diligenter examinata & pensitata; reliqua in meditatione atque ingenii agitatione ponunt.

EST & aliud genus philosophantium, qui in paucis experimentis sedulo & accurate elaborarunt, atque inde philosophias educere & confingere ausi sunt; reliqua miris modis ad ea detorquentes.

EST & tertium genus eorum, qui theologiam & traditiones ex fide & veneratione immiscunt; inter quos vanitas nonnullorum, ad petendas & derivandas scientias, a spiritibus scilicet & geniis, deflexit; ita ut stirps errorum,

rum, & philosophia falsa, genere triplex fit: Sophistica, empirica, & superstitiosa.

LXIII. PRIMI generis exemplum in Aristotele maxime conspicuum est: Qui philosophiam naturalem dialectica sua corrumpit; quum mundum ex categoriis effecerit; animae humanae, nobilissimae substantiae, genus ex vocibus secundae intentionis tribuerit; negotium denso & rari, per quod corpora subeunt majores & minores dimensiones sive spatia, per frigidam distinctionem actus & potentiae transegerit, motum singulis corporibus unicum & proprium, & si participant ex alio motu, id aliunde moveri, asseruerit, & innumera alia, pro arbitrio suo, naturae rerum imposuerit; magis ubique sollicitus quomodo quis respondendo se explicet, & aliquid reddatur in verbis positivum, quam de interna rerum veritate. Quod etiam optime se ostendit in comparatione philosophiae ejus, ad alias philosophias, quae apud Graecos celebrabantur. Habent enim homiōmera Anaxagorae, atomi Leucippi & Democriti, coelum & terra Parmenidis, lis & amicitia Empedoclis, resolutio corporum in adiaphoram naturam ignis, & replicatio eorundem ad densum Heracliti, aliquid ex philosopho naturali; & rerum naturam & experientiam, & corpora sapiunt; ubi Aristotelis physica, nihil aliud quam dialecticae voces plerumque sonet; quam etiam in metaphysicis sub solenniore nomine, & ut magis scilicet realis, non nominalis, retractavit. Neque illud quenquam moveat, quod in libris ejus de animalibus, & in problematibus, & in aliis suis tractatibus, versatio frequens fit in experimentis. Ille enim prius decreverat; neque experientiam ad constituenda decreta & axiomata rite consuluit; sed postquam pro arbitrio suo decrevisset, experientiam ad sua placita tortam circumducit, & captivam; ut hoc etiam nomine magis accusandus sit, quam sectatores ejus moderni (scholasticorum philosophorum genus) qui experientiam omnino deseruerunt.

LXIV. At philosophiae genus empiricum placita magis deformia & monstrosa educit, quam sophisticum aut rationale genus; quia non in luce notionum vulgarium, (quae licet tenuis sit & superficialis, tamen est quodammodo universalis, & ad multa pertinens) sed in paucorum experimentorum angustiis & obscuritate fundatum est. Itaque talis philosophia, illis, qui in hujusmodi experimentis quotidie versantur, atque ex ipsis phantasiam contaminarunt, probabilis videtur & quasi certa: caeteris, incredibilis & vana. Cujus exemplum notabile est in chymicis, eorumque dogmatibus; alibi autem vix hoc tempore invenitur, nisi forte in philosophia Gilberti. Sed tamen circa hujusmodi philosophias cautio nullo modo praetermittenda erat; quia mente jam praevidemus & auguramur, si quando homines, nostris monitis excitati, ad experientiam se serio contulerint (valere jussis doctrinis sophisticis,) tum demum propter praematuram & praeproperam intellectus festinationem, & saltum sive volatum ad generalia, & rerum principia, fore, ut magnum ab hujusmodi philosophiis periculum immineat; cui malo etiam nunc obviam ire debemus.

LXV. At corruptio philosophiae ex superstitione, & theologia admista, latius omnino patet, & plurimum mali infert, aut in philosophias integras, aut in earum partes. Humanus enim intellectus non minus impressionibus phantasiae est obnoxius, quam impressionibus vulgarium notionum. Pugna enim genus philosophiae & sophisticum illaqueat intellectum; at illud alterum phantasticum & tumidum, & quasi poeticum, magis blanditur intellectui. Inest enim homini quaedam intellectus ambitio, non minor quam voluntatis; praesertim in ingeniis altis & elevatis.

HUJUS

HUJUS autem generis exemplum inter Graecos illucescit, praecipue in Pythagora, sed cum superstitione magis crassa & onerosa conjunctum; at periculosius & subtilius in Platone, atque ejus schola. Invenitur etiam hoc genus mali in partibus philosophiarum reliquarum, introducendo formas abstractas, & causas finales, & causas primas; omittendo saepissime medias, & hujusmodi. Huic autem rei summa adhibenda est cautio. Pessima enim res est errorum apotheosis, & pro peste intellectus habenda est, si vanis accedat veneratio. Huic autem vanitati, nonnulli ex modernis summa levitate ita indulserunt, ut in primo capitulo Geneseos, & in libro Job, & aliis scripturis sacris, philosophiam naturalem fundare conati sint; inter *viva quaerentes mortua*. Tantoque magis haec vanitas inhibenda venit, & coercenda, quia ex divinorum & humanorum malefana admistione, non solum educitur philosophia phantastica, sed etiam religio haeretica. Itaque salutare admodum est, si mente sobria fidei tantum dentur quae fidei sunt.

LXVI. Et de malis autoritatibus philosophiarum, quae ut in vulgaribus notionibus, aut in paucis experimentis, aut in superstitione fundatae sunt, jam dictum est. Dicendum porro est & de vitiosa materia contemplationum, praesertim in philosophia naturali. Inficitur autem intellectus humanus ex intuitu eorum, quae in artibus mechanicis fiunt, in quibus corpora per compositiones aut separationes ut plurimum alterantur; ut cogitet, simile quiddam etiam in natura rerum universali fieri. Unde fluxit commentum illud elementorum, deque illorum concursu, ad constituenda corpora naturalia. Rursus, quum homo naturae libertatem contempletur, incidit in species rerum, animalium, plantarum, mineralium; unde facile in eam labitur cogitationem, ut existimet, esse in natura quasdam formas rerum primarias, quas natura educere molitur; atque reliquam varietatem ex impedimentis & aberrationibus naturae in opere suo conficiendo, aut ex diversarum specierum conflictu, & transplantatione alterius in alteram, provenire. Atque prima cogitatio qualitates primas elementares, secunda proprietates occultas & virtutes specificas, nobis peperit; quarum utraque pertinet ad inania contemplationum compendia, in quibus acquiescit animus, & a solidioribus avertitur. At medici, in secundis rerum qualitatibus & operationibus, attrahendi, repellendi, attenuandi, inspissandi, dilatandi, astringendi, discutiendi, maturandi, & hujusmodi, operam praestant meliorem; atque nisi ex illis duobus (quae dixi) compendiis (qualitatibus scilicet elementaribus, & virtutibus specificis) illa altera (quae recte notata sunt) corrumpere, reducendo illa ad primas qualitates, earumque mixturas subtiles & incommensurabiles; aut ea non producendo, cum majore & diligentiore observatione, ad qualitates tertias & quartas, sed contemplationem intempestive abrumpendo; illi multo melius profecissent. Neque hujusmodi virtutes (non dico eadem, sed similes) in humani corporis medicinis tantum exquirendae sunt; sed etiam in caeterorum corporum naturalium mutationibus.

SED multo adhuc majore cum malo fit, quod quiescentia rerum principia, ex quibus; & non moventia, per quae res fiunt, contemplantur & inquirent. Illa enim ad sermones, ista ad opera spectant. Neque enim vulgares illae differentiae motus, quae in naturali philosophia recepta notantur, generationis, corruptionis, augmentationis, diminutionis, alterationis & lationis, ullius sunt pretii. Quippe hoc sibi volunt; si corpus, alias non mutatum, loco tamen moveatur, hoc lationem esse; si manente & loco & specie, qualitate mutetur, hoc alterationem esse; si vero ex illa mutatione moles ipsa, & quantitas corporis non eadem maneat, hoc augmentationis & diminutionis

nis motum esse; si eatenus mutantur, ut speciem ipsam & substantiam mutant, & in alia migrent, hoc generationem & corruptionem esse. At ista mere popularia sunt, & nullo modo in naturam penetrant; suntque mensurae & periodi tantum, non species motus. Innuunt enim illud, *Hucusque*, & non, *Quomodo*, vel *Ex quo fonte*. Neque enim de corporum appetitu, aut de partium eorum processu, aliquid significant; sed tantum quum motus ille rem aliter ac prius, crasso modo, sensui exhibeat, inde divisionem suam auspicantur. Etiam quum de causis motuum aliquid significare volunt, atque divisionem ex illis instituere, differentiam motus naturalis & violenti, maxima cum socordia, introducunt; quae & ipsa omnino ex notione vulgari est; cum omnis motus violentus etiam naturalis revera sit, scilicet cum externum efficiens naturam alio modo in opere ponet, quam quo prius.

At hisce omissis; si quis (exempli gratia) observaverit, inesse corporibus appetitum contactus ad invicem, ut non patiantur unitatem naturae prorsus dirimi aut abscindi, ut vacuum detur; aut si quis dicat, inesse corporibus appetitum se recipiendi in naturalem suam dimensionem vel tensuram, ut si ultra eam, aut citra eam, comprimantur aut distraherentur, statim in veterem sphaeram & exporrectionem suam se recuperare & remittere moliantur; aut si quis dicat, inesse corporibus appetitum congregationis ad massas conaturalium suorum, densorum videlicet versus orbem terrae, tenuiorum & rariorem versus ambitum coeli; haec & huiusmodi vere physica sunt genera motuum. At illa altera plane logica sunt & scholastica, ut ex hac collatione eorum manifesto liquet.

NEQUE minus etiam malum est, quod in philosophiis & contemplationibus suis, in principiis rerum atque ultimitatibus naturae investigandis & tractandis, opera infumatur; cum omnis utilitas & facultas operandi, in mediis consistat. Hinc fit, ut abstrahere naturam homines non desinant, donec ad materiam potentialem & informem ventum fuerit; nec rursus secare naturam desinant, donec perventum fuerit ad atomum; quae, etiamsi vera essent, tamen ad juvandas hominum fortunas parum possunt.

LXVII. DANDA est etiam cautio intellectui, de intemperantiis philosophiarum, quoad assensum praebendum aut cohibendum; quia huiusmodi intemperantiae videntur idola figere & quodammodo perpetuare, ne detur aditus ad ea summovenda.

DUPLEX autem est excessus; alter eorum, qui facile pronunciant & scientias reddunt positivas & magistrales; alter eorum, qui acatalepsiam introduxerunt, & inquisitionem vagam sine termino. Quorum primus intellectum deprimit, alter enervat. Nam Aristotelis philosophia, postquam caeteras philosophias (more Ottomanorum erga fratres suos) pugnacibus confutationibus contrucidasset; de singulis pronunciavit; & ipse rursus quaestiones ex arbitrio suo subornat, deinde conficit; ut omnia certa sint & decreta: Quod etiam apud successiones suas valet, & in usu est.

At Platonis schola acatalepsiam introduxit, primo tanquam per jocum & ironiam, in odium veterum sophistarum, Protagorae, Hippiae, & reliquorum, qui nihil tam verebantur, quam ne dubitare de re aliqua viderentur. At nova academia acatalepsiam dogmatizavit, & ex professo tenuit: Quae licet honestior ratio sit, quam pronunciandi licentia, quum ipsi pro se dicant, se minime confundere inquisitionem, ut Pyrrho fecit & Ephetici, sed habere quod sequantur ut probabile, licet non habeant quod teneant ut verum; tamen postquam animus humanus de veritate inveniendi semel desperaverit,

omnino omnia fiunt languidiora: Ex quo fit, ut defleant homines potius ad amoenas disputationes & discursus, & rerum quasdam peragrationes, quam in severitate inquisitionis se sustineant. Verum quod a principio diximus, & perpetuo agimus, sensui & intellectui humano, eorumque infirmitati, autoritas non est deroganda, sed auxilia praebenda.

LXVIII. ATQUE de idolorum singulis generibus, eorumque apparatu, jam diximus; quae omnia constanti & solenni decreto sunt abneganda & renuncianda, & intellectus ab iis omnino liberandus est & expurgandus, ut non alius fere sit aditus ad regnum hominis, quod fundatur in scientiis, quam ad regnum coelorum; *in quod nisi sub persona infantis, intrare non datur.*

LXIX. AT pravae demonstrationes, idolorum veluti munitiones quaedam sunt & praesidia; eaeque, quas in dialecticis habemus, id fere agunt, ut mundum plane cogitationibus humanis, cogitationes autem verbis addicant & mancipient. Demonstrationes vero potentia quadam philosophiae ipsae sunt & scientiae. Quales enim eae sunt, ac prout rite aut male institutae, tales sequuntur philosophiae & contemplationes. Fallunt autem, & incompetentes sunt eae, quibus utimur in universo illo processu, qui a sensu & rebus ducit ad axiomata & conclusiones. Qui quidem processus quadruplex est, & vitia ejus totidem. Primo, impressiones sensus ipsius vitiosae sunt; sensus enim & destituit & fallit. At destitutionibus substitutiones, fallaciis rectificationes debentur. Secundo, notiones ab impressionibus sensuum male abstrahuntur; & interminatae & confusae sunt, quas terminatas & bene finitas esse oportuit. Tertio, inductio mala est, quae per enumerationem simplicem principia concludit scientiarum, non adhibitis exclusionibus & solutionibus, sive separationibus naturae debitae. Postremo, modus ille inveniendi & probandi, ut primo principia maxime generalia constituentur, deinde media axiomata ad ea applicentur & probentur, errorum mater est & scientiarum omnium calamitas. Verum de istis, quae jam obiter perstringimus, fusius dicemus, quum veram interpretandae naturae viam, absolutis istis expiationibus & expurgationibus mentis, proponemus.

LXX. SED demonstratio longe optima est experientia; modo haereat in ipso experimento. Nam si traducatur ad alia, quae similia existimantur, nisi rite & ordine fiat illa transductio, res fallax est. At modus experiendi, quo homines nunc utuntur, caecus est & stupidus. Itaque cum errant & vagantur nulla via certa, sed ex occurfu rerum tantum consilium capiunt, circumferuntur ad multa, sed parum promovent; & quandoque gestiunt, quandoque distrahuntur; & semper inveniunt quod ulterius quaerant. Fere autem ita fit, ut homines leviter & tanquam per ludum experiantur, variando paululum experimenta jam cognita; &, si res non succedat, fastidiendo & conatum deferendo. Quod si magis serio & constanter ac laboriose ad experimenta se accingant; tamen in uno aliquo experimento eruendo operam collocant; quemadmodum Gilbertus in magnete, chymici in auro. Hoc autem faciunt homines, instituto non minus imperito, quam tenui. Nemo enim alicujus rei naturam in ipsa re feliciter perferutatur; sed amplianda est inquisitio ad magis communia.

QUOD si etiam scientiam quandam & dogmata ex experimentis moliantur; tamen semper fere studio praepropero & intempestivo defleant ad praxin: non tantum propter usum & fructum ejusmodi praxeos; sed ut in opere aliquo novo veluti pignus sibi arripiant, se non inutiliter in reliquis versaturos: atque etiam aliis se venditent, ad existimationem meliorem comparandam

parandam de iis in quibus occupati sunt. Ita fit, ut more Atalantæ, de via decedant ad tollendum aureum pomum; interim vero cursum interrumpant, & victoriam emittant e manibus. Verum in experientiae vero curriculo, eo-que ad nova opera producendo, divina prudentia omnino & ordo pro exemplari sumenda sunt. Deus autem primo die creationis lucem tantum creavit, eique operi diem integrum attribuit; nec aliquid materiati operis eo die creavit. Similiter & ex omnimoda experientia, primum inventio causarum & axiomatum verorum elicienda est; & lucifera experimenta, non fructifera quaerenda. Axiomata autem recte inventa & constituta praxin non strictim, sed confertim instruunt; & operum agmina ac turmas post se trahunt. Verum de experiendi viis, quæ non minus quam viæ judicandi obfessæ sunt & interclusæ, postea dicemus: Impresensiarum de experientia vulgari, tanquam de mala demonstratione, tantum loquuti. Jam vero postulat ordo rerum, ut de iis, quorum paulo ante mentionem fecimus, signis, (quod philosophiæ & contemplationes in usu male se habeant,) & de causis rei primo intuitu tam mirabilis & incredibilis, quædam subjungamus. Signorum enim notio præparat assensum: Causarum vero explicatio tollit miraculum: Quæ duo ad extirpationem idolorum ex intellectu faciliorem & clementiorem multum juvant.

LXXI. SCIENTIÆ, quas habemus, fere a Graecis fluxerunt. Quæ enim scriptores Romani, aut Arabes, aut recentiores addiderunt; non multa, aut magni momenti sunt; & qualiacunque sint, fundata sunt super basin eorum quæ inventa sunt a Graecis. Erat autem sapientia Graecorum professoria, & in disputationes effusa: quod genus inquisitioni veritatis adversissimum est. Itaque nomen illud sophistarum, quod per contemptum ab iis, qui se philosophos haberi voluerunt, in antiquos rhetores rejectum & traductum est, Gorgiam, Protagoram, Hippiam, Polum; etiam universo generi competit, Platoni, Aristoteli, Zenoni, Epicuro, Theophrasto; & eorum successoribus, Chrysippo, Carneadi, reliquis. Hoc tantum intèrat; quod prius genus vagum fuerit & mercenarium, civitates circumcurfando, & sapientiam suam ostentando, & mercedem exigendo; alterum vero solennius & generosius, quippe eorum qui sedes fixas habuerunt, & scholas aperuerunt, & gratis philosophati sunt. Sed tamen utrumque genus (licet caetera dispar) professorium erat, & ad disputationes rem deducebat, & sectas quasdam atque hæreses philosophiæ instituebat & propugnabat; ut essent fere doctrinae eorum (quod non male cavillatus est Dionysius in Platonem) *Verba otiosorum senum ad imperitos juvenes*. At antiquiores illi ex Graecis, Empedocles, Anaxagoras, Leucippus, Democritus, Parmenides, Heraclitus, Xenophanes, Philolaus, reliqui, (nam Pythagoram, ut superstitiosum, omittimus) scholas (quod novimus) non aperuerunt; sed majore silentio, & severius & simplicius, id est, minore cum affectatione & ostentatione, ad inquisitionem veritatis se contulerunt. Itaque & melius, ut arbitramur, se gesserunt; nisi quod opera eorum a levioribus istis, qui vulgari captui & affectui magis respondent ac placent, tractu temporis extincta sint: tempore (ut fluvio) leviora & magis inflata ad nos devehente, graviora & solida mergente. Neque tamen isti a nationis vitio prorsus immunes erant; sed in ambitionem & vanitatem sectæ condendæ, & auræ popularis captandæ, nimium propendebant. Pro desperata autem habenda est veritatis inquisitio, cum ad hujusmodi inania deflectat. Etiam non omitendum videtur iudicium illud sive vaticinium potius sacerdotis Aegyptii de Graecis: *Quod semper pueri essent; neque haberent antiquitatem scientiæ,*

tiae, aut scientiam antiquitatis. Et certe habent id quod puerorum est; ut ad garriendum prompti sint, generare autem non possint: Nam verbosa videtur sapientia eorum, & operum sterilis. Itaque ex ortu & gente philosophiae, quae in usu est, quae capiuntur signa bona non sunt.

LXXII. NEQUE multo meliora sunt signa, quae ex natura temporis & aetatis capi possunt, quam quae ex natura loci & nationis. Angusta enim erat & tenuis notitia per illam aetatem, vel temporis, vel orbis: quod longe pessimum est, praesertim iis qui omnia in experientia ponunt. Neque enim mille annorum historiam, quae digna erat nomine historiae, habebant; sed fabulas & rumores antiquitatis. Regionum vero tractuumque mundi exiguum partem noverant; cum omnes hyperboreos, Scythas; omnes occidentales, Celtas indistincte appellarent: nil in Africa ultra citimam Aethiopiae partem, nil in Asia ultra Gangem; multo minus novi orbis provincias, ne per auditum fane aut famam aliquam certam & constantem, nosset; imo & plurima climata & zonae, in quibus populi infiniti spirant & degunt, tanquam inhabitabiles ab illis pronunciata sint: quinetiam peregrinationes Democriti, Platonis, Pythagorae, non longinquae profecto sed potius suburbanae, ut magnum aliquid celebrarentur. Nostri autem temporibus, & novi orbis partes complures, & veteris orbis extrema undique innotescunt; & in infinitum experimentorum cumulus excrevit. Quare si ex nativitatis aut geniturae tempore (astrologorum more) signa capienda sint, nil magni de istis philosophiis significari videtur.

LXXIII. INTER signa nullum magis certum aut nobile est, quam quod ex fructibus. Fructus enim & opera inventa, pro veritate philosophiarum velut sponsores & fidejussores sunt. Atque ex philosophiis istis Graecorum & derivationibus earum per particulares scientias, jam per tot annorum spatia, vix unum experimentum adduci potest, quod ad hominum statum levandum & juvandum spectet, & philosophiae speculationibus ac dogmatibus vere acceptum referri possit. Idque Celsus ingenue ac prudenter fatetur; nimirum, experimenta medicinae primo inventa fuisse, ac postea homines circa ea philosophatos esse, & causas indagasse & assignasse; non ordine inverso evenisse, ut ex philosophia & causarum cognitione, ipsa experimenta inventa aut deprompta essent. Itaque mirum non erat, apud Aegyptios (qui rerum inventoribus divinitatem & consecrationem attribuerunt) plures fuisse brutorum animalium imagines, quam hominum: quia bruta animalia, per instinctus naturales, multa inventa pepererunt; ubi homines, ex sermonibus & conclusionibus rationalibus, pauca aut nulla exhibuerint.

At chymicorum industria nonnulla peperit; sed tanquam fortuito & obiter, aut per experimentorum quandam variationem, (ut mechanici solent) non ex arte aut theoria aliqua; nam ea, quam confinxerunt, experimenta magis perturbat quam juvat. Eorum etiam, qui in magia (quam vocant) naturali versati sunt, pauca reperiuntur inventa; eaque levia & imposturae propiora. Quocirca, quemadmodum in religione cavetur, ut fides ex operibus monstretur; idem etiam ad philosophiam optime traducitur, ut ex fructibus judicetur, & vana habeatur quae sterilis sit: idque eo magis, si loco fructuum uvae & olivae, producat disputationum & contentionum carduos & spinas.

LXXIV. CAPIENDA etiam sunt signa ex incrementis & progressibus philosophiarum & scientiarum. Quae enim in natura fundata sunt, crescunt & augentur: quae autem in opinione, variantur non augentur. Itaque si istae doctrinae plane instar plantae a stirpibus suis revulsae non essent, sed

sed utero naturae adhaerent, atque ab eadem alerentur, id minime eventurum fuisset, quod per annos bis mille jam fieri videmus: nempe, ut scientiae suis haereant vestigiis, & in eodem fere statu maneant, neque augmentum aliquod memorabile sumpserint; quin potius in primo authore maxime floruerint, & deinceps declinaverint. In artibus autem mechanicis, quae in natura & experientiae luce fundatae sunt, contra evenire videmus: quae (quamdiu placent) veluti spiritu quodam repletae, continuo vegetant & crescunt; primo rudes, deinde commodae, postea excultae & perpetuo auctae.

LXXXV. ETIAM aliud signum capiendum est; (si modo signi appellatio huic competat; cum potius testimonium sit, atque adeo testimoniorum omnium validissimum;) hoc est, propria confessio authorum, quos homines nunc sequuntur. Nam & illi qui tanta fiducia de rebus pronunciant; tamen per intervalla cum ad se redeunt, ad querimonias de naturae subtilitate, rerum obscuritate, humani ingenii infirmitate se convertunt. Hoc vero si simpliciter fieret, alios fortasse, qui sunt timidiore, ab ulteriori inquisitione detertere, alios vero, qui sunt ingenio alacriori & magis fidenti, ad ulteriorem progressum acuere & incitare, possit. Verum non satis illis est, de se confiteri, sed quicquid sibi ipsis aut magistris suis incognitum aut intantum fuerit, id extra terminos possibilis ponunt; & tanquam ex arte, cognitu aut factu impossibile pronunciant: summa superbia & invidia suorum inventorum infirmitatem, in naturae ipsius calumniam & aliorum omnium desperationem vertentes. Hinc schola academiae novae, quae acatalepsiam ex professo tenuit, & homines ad sempiternas tenebras damnavit. Hinc opinio, quod formae sive verae rerum differentiae, (quae revera sunt leges actus puri) inventu impossibiles sint & ultra hominem. Hinc opiniones illae in activa & operativa parte; calorem solis & ignis toto genere differre; ne scilicet homines putent se per opera ignis, aliquid simile iis, quae in natura fiunt, educere & formare posse. Hinc illud: Compositionem tantum opus hominis, missionem vero opus solius naturae esse: ne scilicet homines sperent aliquam ex arte corporum naturalium generationem aut transformationem. Itaque ex hoc signo homines sibi persuaderi facile patientur, ne cum dogmatibus non solum desperatis, sed etiam desperationi devotis, fortunas suas & labores misceant.

LXXXVI. NEQUE illud signum praetermittendum est, quod tanta fuerit inter philosophos olim dissensio, & scholarum ipsarum varietas: Quod satis ostendit viam a sensu ad intellectum non bene munitam fuisse, cum eadem materia philosophiae (natura scilicet rerum) in tam vagos & multiplices errores abrepta fuerit & distracta. Atque licet hisce temporibus dissensiones & dogmatum diversitates circa principia ipsa, & philosophias integras, ut plurimum extinctae sint, tamen circa partes philosophiae, innumerae manent quaestiones & controversiae; ut plane appareat, neque in philosophiis ipsis, neque in modis demonstrationum aliquid certi aut fani esse.

LXXXVII. QUOD vero putant homines, in philosophia Aristotelis magnum utique consensum esse; cum post illam editam, antiquorum philosophiae cessaverint & exoleverint; ast apud tempora, quae sequuta sunt, nil melius inventum fuerit; adeo ut illa tam bene posita & fundata videatur, ut utrumque tempus ad se traxerit: Primo, quod de cessatione antiquarum philosophiarum post Aristotelis opera edita homines cogitant, id falsum est; diu enim postea, usque ad tempora Ciceronis, & saecula sequentia, manserunt opera veterum philosophorum. Sed temporibus insequentibus, ex

inundatione Barbarorum in imperium Romanum, postquam doctrina humana velut naufragium perpeffa esset; tum demum philosophiae Aristotelis & Platonis tanquam tabulae ex materia leviori & minus solida per fluctus temporum servatae sunt. Illud etiam de consensu fallit homines, si acutius rem introspeciant. Verus enim consensus is est, qui ex libertate iudicii (re prius explorata) in idem conveniente consistit. At numerus longe maximus eorum qui in Aristotelis philosophiam consenserunt, ex praepudicio & auctoritate aliorum se illi mancipavit; ut sequacitas sit potius & coitio, quam consensus. Quod si fuisset ille verus consensus & late patens, tantum abest, ut consensus pro vera & solida auctoritate haberi debeat, ut etiam violentam praesumptionem inducat in contrarium. Pessimum enim omnium est augurium, quod ex consensu capitur in rebus intellectualibus: exceptis divinis & politicis, in quibus suffragiorum jus est. Nihil enim multis placet, nisi imaginationem feriat, aut intellectum vulgarium notionum nodis astringat, ut supra dictum est. Itaque optime traducitur illud Phocionis a moribus ad intellectualia; *Ut statim se examinare debeant homines, quid erraverint aut peccaverint; si multitudo consentiat & complaudat.* Hoc signum igitur ex averfissimis est. Itaque quod signa veritatis & sanitatis philosophiarum & scientiarum, quae in usu sunt male se habeant; five capiantur ex originibus ipsarum, five ex fructibus, five ex progressibus, five ex confessionibus authorum, five ex consensu; jam dictum est.

LXXVIII. JAM vero veniendum ad causas errorum, & tam diuturnae in illis per tot saecula morae; quae plurimae sunt & potentissimae: ut tollatur omnis admiratio, haec quae adducimus homines hucusque latuisse & fugisse; & maneat tantum admiratio, illa nunc tandem alicui mortalium in mentem venire potuisse, aut cogitationem cujuscumque subiisse: quod etiam (ut nos existimamus) felicitatis magis est cujusdam, quam excellentis alicujus facultatis; ut potius pro temporis partu haberi debeat, quam pro partu ingenii.

PRIMO autem tot saeculorum numerus, vere rem reputanti, ad magnas angustias recidit: Nam ex viginti quinque annorum centuriis, in quibus memoria & doctrina hominum fere versatur, vix sex centuriae seponi & excerpti possunt, quae scientiarum feraces, earumve proventui utiles fuerunt. Sunt enim non minus temporum quam regionum eremi & vastitates. Tres enim tantum doctrinarum revolutiones & periodi recte numerari possunt: Una, apud Graecos; altera apud Romanos; ultima, apud nos, occidentales scilicet Europae nationes: quibus singulis vix duae centuriae annorum merito attribui possunt. Media mundi tempora, quoad scientiarum segetem uberem aut laetam infelicia fuerunt. Neque enim causa est ut vel Arabum vel scholasticorum mentio fiat: qui per intermedia tempora scientias potius contriverunt numerosis tractatibus, quam pondus earum auxerunt. Itaque prima causa tam pusilli in scientiis profectus, ad angustias temporis erga illas propitii rite & ordine refertur.

LXXIX. AT secundo loco se offert causa illa magni certe per omnia momenti: ea videlicet quod per illas ipsas aetates, quibus hominum ingenia & literae maxime vel etiam mediocriter floruerint, naturalis philosophia minimam partem humanae operae sortita sit. Atque haec ipsa nihilominus pro magna scientiarum matre haberi debet. Omnes enim artes & scientiae ab hac stirpe revulsae, poliuntur fortasse & in usum effinguntur; sed nil admodum crescunt. At manifestum est, postquam Christiana fides recepta fuisset & adolevisset, longe maximam ingeniorum praestantissimorum partem

ad theologiam se contulisse; atque huic rei & amplissima praemia propofita, & omnis generis adjumenta copiosissime subministrata fuisse: Atque hoc theologiae studium praecipue occupasse tertiam illam partem five periodum temporis apud nos Europaeos occidentales; eo magis, quod sub idem fere tempus & literae florere, & controversiae circa religionem pullulare, coeperint. At aevo superiori, durante periodo illa secunda, apud Romanos, potissimae philosophorum meditationes & industriae in morali philosophia (quae ethnicis vice theologiae erat) occupatae & consumptae fuerunt: Etiam summa ingenia illis temporibus ut plurimum ad res civiles se applicuerunt, propter magnitudinem imperii Romani, quod plurimorum hominum opera indigebat. At illa aetas, qua naturalis philosophia apud Graecos maxime florere visa est, particula fuit temporis minime diuturna; cum & antiquioribus temporibus septem illi qui sapientes nominabantur, omnes, (praeter Thaletem) ad moralem philosophiam & civilia se applicuerint; & posterioribus temporibus, postquam Socrates philosophiam de coelo in terras deduxisset, adhuc magis invaluerit moralis philosophia, & ingenia hominum a naturali averterit.

At ipsissima illa periodus temporis, in qua inquisitiones de natura viguerunt, contradictionibus & novorum placitorum ambitione corrupta est & inutilis reddita. Itaque quandoquidem per tres istas periodos, naturalis philosophia majorem in modum neglecta aut impedita fuerit, nil mirum si homines parum in ea re profecerint, cum omnino aliud egerint.

LXXX. ACCEDIT & illud, quod naturalis philosophia in iis ipsis viris, qui ei incubuerint, vacantem & integrum hominem, praesertim his recentioribus temporibus vix nata sit; nisi forte quis monachi alicujus in cellula, aut nobilis in villula lucubrantis, exemplum adduxerit: Sed facta est demum naturalis philosophia instar transitus cujusdam & pontifernii ad alia.

ATQUE magna ista scientiarum mater mira indignitate ad officia ancillae detrusa est; quae medicinae aut mathematices operibus ministret, & rursus, quae adolescentium immatura ingenia lavet & imbuat velut tinctura quadam prima, ut aliam postea feliciter & commodius excipiant. Interim nemo expectet magnum progressum in scientiis, (praesertim in parte earum operativa) nisi philosophia naturalis ad scientias particulares producta fuerit, & scientiae particulares rursus ad naturalem philosophiam reductae. Hinc enim fit, ut astronomia, optica, musica, plurimae artes mechanicae, atque ipsa medicina, atque (quod quis magis miretur) philosophia moralis & civilis & scientiae logicae, nil fere habeant altitudinis in profundo; sed per superficiem & varietatem rerum tantum labantur: quia postquam particulares istae scientiae dispertitae & constitutae fuerint, a philosophia naturali non amplius alantur; quae ex fontibus & veris contemplationibus, motuum, radiorum, sonorum, texturae & schematismi corporum, affectuum, & prehensionum intellectualium, novas vires & augmenta illis impertiri poterit. Itaque minime mirum est, si scientiae non crescant, cum a radicibus suis sint separatae.

LXXXI. RURSUS se ostendit alia causa potens & magna, cur scientiae parum promoverint. Ea vero haec est; quod fieri non possit, ut recte procedatur in curriculo, ubi ipsa meta non recte posita sit & defixa. Meta autem scientiarum vera & legitima, non alia est quam ut dotetur vita humana novis inventis & copiis. At turba longe maxima nihil ex hoc sapit, sed meritoria plane est & professoria; nisi forte quandoque eveniat, ut artifex aliquis acrioris ingenii & gloriae cupidus, novo alicui invento det operam;

quod

quod fere fit cum facultatum dispendio. At apud plerisque tantum abest, ut homines id sibi proponant, ut scientiarum & artium massa augmentum obtineat; ut ex ea quae praesto est massa, nil amplius fumant aut quaerant, quam quantum ad usum professorium, aut lucrum, aut existimationem, aut hujusmodi compendia convertere possint. Quod si quis ex tanta multitudine scientiam affectu ingenuo & propter se expetat; invenietur tamen ille ipse, potius contemplationum & doctrinarum varietatem, quam veritatis severam & rigidam inquisitionem sequi. Rursus, si alius quispiam fortasse veritatis inquisitor sit severior; tamen & ille ipse talem sibi proponet veritatis conditionem, quae menti & intellectui satisfaciat in redditione causarum, rerum quae jampridem sunt cognitae; non eam quae nova operum pignora, & novam axiomatum lucem assequatur. Itaque, si finis scientiarum a nemine adhuc bene positus sit, non mirum est, si in iis quae sunt subordinata ad finem, sequatur aberratio.

LXXXII. QUEMADMODUM autem finis & meta scientiarum male posita sunt apud homines; ita rursus etiam si illa recte posita fuissent, viam tamen sibi delegerunt omnino erroneam & imperviam. Quod stupore quodam animum rite rem reputanti perculserit; non ulli mortalium curae aut cordi fuisse, ut intellectui humano, ab ipso sensu & experientia ordinata & bene condita, via aperiretur & muniretur; sed omnia vel traditionum caliginis, vel argumentorum vertigini & turbini, vel casus & experientiae vagae & inconditae undis & ambagibus, permessa esse. Atque cogitet quis sobrie & diligenter, qualis sit ea via quam in inquisitione & inventione alicujus rei homines adhibere consueverunt. Et primo notabit proculdubio inveniendi modum simplicem & inartificiofum, qui hominibus maxime est familiaris. Hic autem non alius est, quam ut is qui se ad inveniendum aliquid comparat & accingit, primo quae ab aliis circa illa dicta sint, inquirat & evolvat; deinde propriam meditationem addat, atque per mentis multam agitationem, spiritum suum proprium sollicitet, & quasi invocet, ut sibi oracula pandat; quae res omnino sine fundamento est, & in opinionibus tantum volvitur.

AT alius quispiam dialecticam ad inveniendum advocet, quae nomine tenus tantum ad id quod agitur, pertinet. Inventio enim dialecticae non est principiorum & axiomatum praecipuorum, ex quibus artes constant, sed eorum tantum quae illis consentanea videntur. Dialectica enim magis curiosos & importunos, & sibi negotium facessentes, eamque interpellantes de probationibus & inventionibus principiorum, sive axiomatum primorum, ad fidem, & veluti sacramentum cuilibet arti praestandum, notissimo responso rejicit.

RESTAT experientia mera, quae, si occurrat, casus; si quaesita sit, experimentum nominatur. Hoc autem experientiae genus nihil aliud est, quam (quod aiunt) scopae dissolutae & mera palpato, quali homines noctu utuntur omnia pertentando, si forte in rectam viam incidere detur; quibus multo satius & consultius foret diem praestolari, aut lumen accendere, & deinceps viam inire. At contra, verus experientiae ordo primo lumen accendit, deinde per lumen iter demonstrat, incipiendo ab experientia ordinata & digesta, & minime praepostera aut erratica, atque ex ea educendo axiomata, atque ex axiomatibus constitutis rursus experimenta nova, quum nec verbum divinum in rerum massam absque ordine operatum sit.

ITAQUE desinant homines mirari, si spatium scientiarum non confectum sit, cum a via omnino aberraverint; relicta prorsus & deserta experientia, aut in ipsa (tanquam in labyrintho) se intricando & circumcursando; cum
rite

rite institutus ordo, per experientiae sylvas, ad aperta axiomatum, tramite constanti ducat.

LXXXIII. EXCREVIT autem mirum in modum istud malum ex opinione quadam, five aestimatione inveterata, verum tumida & damnosa; minui nempe mentis humanae majestatem, si experimentis & rebus particularebus sensui subjectis, & in materia determinatis, diu ac multum versetur; praesertim quum hujusmodi res ad inquirendum laboriosae, ad meditandum ignobiles, ad dicendum asperae, ad practicam illiberales, numero infinitae, & subtilitate tenues, esse soleant. Itaque jam tandem huc res rediit, ut via vera non tantum deserta, sed etiam interclusa & obstructa sit; fastidita experientia, nedum relicta, aut male administrata.

LXXXIV. RURSUS vero homines a progressu in scientiis detinuit & fere incantavit reverentia antiquitatis, & virorum, qui in philosophia magni habiti sunt, autoritas, atque deinde consensus. Atque de consensu superius dictum est.

DE antiquitate autem opinio, quam homines de ipsa foveant, negligens omnino est, & vix verbo ipsi congrua. Mundi enim senium & grandaevitas pro antiquitate vere habenda sunt; quae temporibus nostris tribui debent, non juniore aetati mundi, qualis apud antiquos fuit. Illa enim aetas respectu nostri, antiqua & major; respectu mundi ipsius, nova & minor fuit. Atque revera quemadmodum majorem rerum humanarum notitiam, & maturius judicium ab homine sene expectamus quam a juvene; propter experientiam, & rerum, quas vidit & audivit & cogitavit, varietatem & copiam; eodem modo & a nostra aetate (si vires suas nosset, & experiri & intendere vellet) majora multo quam a priscis temporibus expectari par est; utpote aetate mundi grandiore, & infinitis experimentis & observationibus aucta & cumulata.

NEQUE pro nihilo aestimandum, quod per longinquas navigationes & peregrinationes (quae saeculis nostris increbuerunt) plurima in natura patuerint & reperta sint, quae novam philosophiae lucem immittere possint. Quin & turpe hominibus foret, si globi materialis tractus, terrarum videlicet, marium, astrorum, nostris temporibus immensum aperti & illustrati sint; globi autem intellectualis fines inter veterum inventa & angustias cohibeantur.

AUTHORES vero quod attinet, summae pusillanimitatis est authoribus infinita tribuere; authori autem authorum, atque adeo omnis autoritatis, temporis, jus suum denegare. Recte enim veritas temporis filia dicitur, non autoritatis. Itaque mirum non est, si fascina ista antiquitatis, & authorum & consensus, hominum virtutem ita ligaverint, ut cum rebus ipsis consuescere (tanquam maleficiati) non potuerint.

LXXXV. NEQUE solum admiratio antiquitatis, autoritatis, & consensus, hominum industriam in iis, quae jam inventa sunt, acquiescere compulit; verum etiam operum ipsorum admiratio, quorum copia jam pridem facta est humano generi. Etenim quum quis rerum varietatem & pulcherrimum apparatus, qui per artes mechanicas ad cultum humanum congestus & introductus est, oculis subjecerit, eo certe inclinabit, ut potius ad opulentiae humanae admirationem, quam ad inopiae sensum accedat; minime advertens primitivas hominis observationes, atque naturae operationes, (quae ad omnem illam varietatem, instar animae sunt, & primi motus) nec multas, nec alte petitas esse; caetera ad patientiam hominum tantum, & subtilem & ordinatum manus vel instrumentorum motum, pertinere. Res enim (exempli gratia) subtilis est certe & accurata confectio horologiorum, talis

scilicet, quae coelestia in rotis, pulsus animalium in motu successivo & ordinato, videatur imitari; quae tamen res ex uno aut altero naturae axioma pendet.

QUOD si quis rursus subtilitatem illam intueatur, quae ad artes liberales pertinet; aut etiam eam, quae ad corporum naturalium praeparationem per artes mechanicas spectat, & huiusmodi res suspiciat; veluti inventionem motuum coelestium in astronomia, concentuum in musica, literarum alphabeti (quae etiam adhuc in regno Sinarum in usu non sunt) in grammatica; aut rursus in mechanicis, factorum Bacchi & Cereris, hoc est, praeparationem vini & cervisiae, panificiorum, aut etiam mensae deliciarum, & distillationum, & similium; ille quoque si secum cogitet & animum advertat, per quantos temporum circuitus (cum haec omnia praeter distillationes antiqua fuerint) haec ad eam quam nunc habemus culturam perducta sint, & (ut jam de horologiis dictum est) quam parum habeant ex observationibus & axiomatibus naturae, atque quam facile, & tanquam per occasiones obvias, & contemplationes incurrentes, ista inveniri potuerint; ille (inquam) ab omni admiratione se facile liberabit, & potius humanae conditionis miserebitur, quod per tot saecula, tanta fuerit rerum & inventorum penuria & sterilitas. Atque haec ipsa tamen, quorum nunc mentionem fecimus, inventa, philosophia & artibus intellectus antiquiora fuerunt: adeo ut, (si verum dicendum sit) cum huiusmodi scientiae rationales & dogmaticae inceperint, inventio operum utilium desierit.

QUOD si quis ab officinis ad bibliothecas se converterit, & immensam quam videmus librorum varietatem in admiratione habuerit, is examinatis & diligentius introspectis ipsorum librorum materiis & contentis, obstupescet certe in contrarium; & postquam nullum dari finem repetitionibus observaverit, quamque homines eadem agant & loquantur, ab admiratione varietatis transibit ad miraculum indigentiae & paucitatis earum rerum, quae hominum mentes adhuc tenuerunt & occuparunt.

QUOD si quis ad intuendum ea, quae magis curiosa habentur quam sana, animum submiserit, & alchymistarum aut magorum opera penitus inspexerit, is dubitabit forsitan, utrum risu, an lacrymis potius, illa digna sint. Alchymista enim spem alit aeternam, atque ubi res non succedit, errores proprios reos substituit; secum accusatorie reputando, se aut artis aut authorum vocabula non satis intellexisse; unde ad traditiones & auriculares susurros animum applicat; aut in practicae suae scrupulis & momentis aliquid titubatum esse; unde experimenta in infinitum repetit; ac interim quum inter experimentorum sortes, in quaedam incidit aut ipsa facie nova, aut utilitate non contemnenda; huiusmodi pignoribus animum pascit, eaque in majus ostentat & celebrat; reliqua spe sustentat. Neque tamen negandum est alchymistas non pauca invenisse, & inventis utilibus homines donasse. Verum fabula illa non male in illos quadrat de sene, qui filiis aurum in vinea defossam (sed locum se nescire simulans) legaverit; unde illi vineae fodiendae diligenter incubuerunt, & aurum quidem nullum reperiunt; sed vindemia ex ea cultura facta est uberior.

AT naturalis magiae cultores, qui per rerum sympathias & antipathias omnia expediunt, ex conjecturis otiosis & supinissimis, rebus virtutes & operationes admirabiles affinxerunt; atque si quando opera exhibuerint, ea illius sunt generis, ut ad admirationem & novitatem, non ad fructum & utilitatem, accommodata sint.

IN superstitiosa autem magia, (si & de hac dicendum sit) illud imprimis animadvertendum est, esse tantummodo certi cujusdam & definiti generis subjecta, in quibus artes curiosae & superstitiosae, per omnes nationes atque aetates, atque etiam religiones, aliquid potuerint aut luserint. Itaque ista missa faciamus. Interim nil mirum est, si opinio copiae causam inopiae dederit.

LXXXVI. ATQUE hominum admirationi quoad doctrinas & artes, per se satis simplici & prope puerili, incrementum accessit ab eorum astu & artificio, qui scientias tractaverunt & tradiderunt. Illi enim ea ambitione & affectatione eas proponunt, atque in eum modum efformatas, ac veluti personatas, in hominum conspectum producunt, ac si illae omni ex parte perfectae essent, & ad exitum perductae. Si enim methodum aspicias & partitiones, illae prorsus omnia complecti & concludere videntur, quae in illud subjectum cadere possunt. Atque licet membra illa male impleta, & veluti capsulae inanes sint; tamen apud intellectum vulgarem scientiae formam & rationem integrae prae se ferunt.

At primi & antiquissimi veritatis inquisitores, meliore fide & fato, cognitionem illam, quam ex rerum contemplatione decerpere & in usum recondere statuebant, in aphorismos, sive breves, easdemque sparsas, nec methodo revinctas sententias, conjicere solebant; neque se artem universam complecti simulabant aut profitebantur. At eo quo nunc res agitur modo, minime mirum est, si homines in iis ulteriora non quaerant, quae pro perfectis & numeris suis jam pridem absolutis traduntur.

LXXXVII. ETIAM antiqua magnum existimationis & fidei incrementum acceperunt, ex eorum vanitate & levitate qui nova proposuerunt; praesertim in philosophiae naturalis parte activa & operativa. Neque enim defuerunt homines vaniloqui & phantastici, qui partim ex credulitate, partim ex impostura, genus humanum promissis onerarunt: vitae prolongationem, senectutis retardationem, dolorum levationem, naturalium defectuum reparationem, sensuum deceptiones, affectuum ligationes & incitationes, intellectualium facultatum illuminationes & exaltationes, substantiarum transmutationes, & motuum ad libitum roborationes & multiplicationes, aëris impressiones & alterationes, coelestium influentiarum deductiones & procurationes, rerum futurarum divinationes, remotarum repraesentationes, occultarum revelationes, & alia complura pollicitando & ostentando. Verum de istis largitoribus non multum aberraverit, qui istiusmodi iudicium fecerit, tantum nimirum in doctrinis philosophiae, inter horum vanitates, & veras artes, interesse, quantum inter res gestas Julii Caesaris, aut Alexandri Magni, & res gestas Amadicii ex Gallia, aut Arthuri ex Britannia, in historiae narrationibus interfit. Inveniuntur enim clarissimi illi imperatores revera majora gessisse, quam umbratiles isti heroes etiam fecisse fingantur; sed modis & viis scilicet actionum minime fabulosis & prodigiosis. Neque propterea aequum est verae memoriae fidem derogari, quod a fabulis illa quandoque laesa sit & violata. Sed interim minime mirum est, si propositionibus novis (praesertim cum mentione operum) magnum sit factum praejudicium per istos impostores, qui similia tentaverunt; cum vanitatis excessus & fastidium, etiam nunc omnem in ejusmodi conatibus magnanimitatem destruxerit.

LXXXVIII. At longe majora a pusillanimitate, & pensorum, quae humana industria sibi proposuit, parvitate & tenuitate, detrimenta in scientias invecta sunt. Et tamen (quod pessimum est) pusillanimitas ista non sine arrogantia & fastidio se offert.

PRIMUM enim, omnium artium illa reperitur cautela jam facta familiaris, ut in qualibet arte authores artis suae infirmitatem in naturae calumniam vertant; & quod ars ipsorum non assequitur, id ex eadem arte impossibile in natura pronunciant. Neque certe damnari potest ars, si ipsa iudicet. Etiam philosophia quae nunc in manibus est, in sinu suo posita quaedam fovet, aut placita, quibus (si diligentius inquiratur) hoc hominibus omnino persuaderi volunt; nil ab arte, vel hominis opere, arduum, aut in naturam imperiosum & validum, expectari debere; ut de heterogenia caloris astri & ignis, & missione, superius dictum est. Quae si notentur accuratius, omnino pertinent ad humanae potestatis circumscriptionem malitiosam, & ad quaesitam & artificiosam desperationem, quae non solum spei auguria turbet, sed etiam omnes industriae stimulos & nervos incidat, atque ipsius experientiae aleas abjiciat; dum de hoc tantum solliciti sint, ut ars eorum perfecta censeatur; gloriae vanissimae & perditissimae dantes operam, scilicet ut quicquid adhuc inventum & comprehensum non sit, id omnino nec inveniri nec comprehendi posse in futurum credatur. At si quis rebus addere se, & novum aliquid reperire conetur, ille tamen omnino sibi proponet & destinabit unum aliquod inventum (nec ultra) perscrutari & eruere; ut magnetis naturam, maris fluxum & refluxum, thema coeli, & huiusmodi, quae secreti aliquid habere videntur, & haecenus parum feliciter tractata sint: Quum summae sit imperitiae rei alicujus naturam in se ipsa perscrutari; quandoquidem eadem natura, quae in aliis videtur latens & occulta, in aliis manifesta sit, & quasi palpabilis; atque in illis admirationem, in his ne attentionem quidem moveat. Ut sit in natura consistentiae, quae in ligno vel lapide non notatur, sed solidi appellatione transmittitur, neque amplius de fuga separationis aut solutionis continuitatis inquiratur: At in aquarum bullis eadem res videtur subtilis & ingeniosa; quae bullae se conjiciunt in pelliculas quasdam, in hemisphaerii formam curiose effictas, ut ad momentum temporis evitetur solutio continuitatis.

ATQUE prorsus illa ipsa quae habentur pro secretis, in aliis habent naturam manifestam & communem; quae nunquam se dabit conspiciendam, si hominum experimenta aut contemplationes in illis ipsis tantum versentur. Generaliter autem & vulgo, in operibus mechanicis habentur pro novis inventis, si quis jampridem inventa subtilius poliat vel ornet, elegantius, vel simul uniat & componat, vel cum usu commodius copulet, aut opus majore, aut etiam minore quam fieri consuevit mole vel volumine exhibeat, & similia.

ITAQUE minime mirum est, si nobilia & genere humano digna inventa in lucem extracta non sint, quum homines huiusmodi exiguis pensis & puerilibus contenti & delectati fuerint; quinetiam in iisdem se magnum aliquid sequutos aut assequutos putaverint.

LXXXIX. NEQUE illud praetermittendum est, quod nata sit philosophia naturalis per omnes aetates adversarium molestum & difficilem; superstitionem nimirum & zelum religionis caecum & immoderatum. Etenim videre est apud Graecos, eos qui primum causas naturales fulminis & tempestatum insuetis adhuc hominum auribus proposuerunt, impietatis in deos eo nomine damnatos: Nec multo melius a nonnullis antiquorum patrum religionis Christianae exceptos fuisse eos, qui ex certissimis demonstrationibus (quibus nemo hodie sanus contradixerit) terram rotundam esse posuerunt, atque ex consequenti antipodas esse asseruerunt.

QUINETIAM ut nunc sunt res, conditio sermonum de natura facta est durior & magis cum periculo, propter theologorum scholasticorum summas & methodos; qui cum theologiam (satis pro potestate) in ordinem redegerint, & in artis formam effinxerint, hoc insuper effecerunt, ut pugnae & spinosa Aristotelis philosophia corpori religionis, plus quam par erat, immisceretur.

EODEM etiam spectant (licet diverso modo) eorum commentationes, qui veritatem Christianae religionis ex principiis & autoritatibus philosophorum deducere & confirmare haud veriti sunt; fidei & sensus conjugium tanquam legitimum multa pompa & solennitate celebrantes, & grata rerum varietate animos hominum permulcentes; sed interim divina humanis impari conditione permiscentes. At in huiusmodi misturis theologiae cum philosophia, ea tantum, quae nunc in philosophia recepta sunt, comprehenduntur; sed nova, licet in melius mutata, tantum non summoventur & exterminantur.

DENIQUE invenias ex quorundam theologorum imperitia aditum alicui philosophiae, quamvis emendatae, pene interclusum esse. Alii siquidem simplicius subverentur, ne forte altior in naturam inquisitio ultra concessum sobrietatis terminum penetret; traducentes & perperam torquentes ea, quae, de divinis mysteriis in scripturis sacris, adversus rimantes secreta divina dicuntur, ad occulta naturae, quae nullo interdicto prohibentur. Alii callidius conjiciunt & animo versant, si media ignorentur, singula ad manum & virgulam divinam (quod religionis, ut putant, maxime intersit) facilius posse referri: quod nihil aliud est, quam Deo per mendacium gratificari velle. Alii ab exemplo metuunt, ne motus & mutationes circa philosophiam in religionem incurrant ac desinant. Alii denique solliciti videntur, ne in naturae inquisitione aliquid inveniri possit, quod religionem (praesertim apud indoctos) subvertat, aut saltem labefactet. At isti duo posteriores metus nobis videntur omnino sapientiam animalem sapere; ac si homines in mentis suae recessibus & secretis cogitationibus, de firmitudine religionis, & fidei in sensum imperio, diffiderent ac dubitarent; & propterea ab inquisitione veritatis in naturalibus periculum illis impendere metuerent. At vere rem reputanti, philosophia naturalis post verbum Dei, certissima superstitionis medicina est; eademque probatissimum fidei alimentum. Itaque merito religioni donatur tanquam fidissima ancilla: cum altera voluntatem Dei, altera potestatem, manifestet. Neque enim erravit ille qui dixit; *Erratis, nescientes scripturas & potestatem Dei*: informationem de voluntate, & meditationem de potestate, nexu individuo commiscens & copulans. Interim minus mirum est, si naturalis philosophiae incrementa cohibita sint; cum religio, quae plurimum apud animos hominum pollet, per quorundam imperitiam & zelum incautum in partem contrariam transierit & abrepta fuerit.

XG. RURSUS in moribus & institutis scholarum, academiarum, collegiorum, & similium conventuum, quae doctorum hominum sedibus & eruditionis culturae destinatae sunt, omnia progressui scientiarum adversa inveniuntur. Lectiones enim & exercitia ita sunt disposita, ut aliud a consuetis haud facile cuiquam in mentem veniat cogitare aut contemplari. Si vero unus aut alter fortasse iudicii libertate uti sustinuerit, is sibi soli hanc operam imponere possit; ab aliorum autem consortio nihil capiet utilitatis. Sin & hoc toleraverit, tamen in capeffenda fortuna industriam hanc & magnanimitatem sibi non levi impedimento fore experietur. Studia enim hominum in ejusmodi locis in quorundam authorum scripta, veluti in carceres

conclusa sunt; a quibus si quis dissentiat, continuo ut homo turbidus & rerum novarum cupidus corripitur. At magnum certe discrimen inter res civiles & artes: Non enim idem periculum a novo motu & a nova luce. Verum in rebus civilibus mutatio etiam in melius suspecta est ob perturbationem; cum civilia auctoritate, consensu, fama & opinione, non demonstratione nitantur. In artibus autem & scientiis tanquam in metalli fodinis, omnia novis operibus & ulterioribus progressibus circumstrepere debent. Atque secundum rectam rationem res ita se habet, sed interim non ita vivitur: sed ista, quam diximus, doctrinarum administratio & politia scientiarum augmenta durius premere consuevit.

XCI. ATQUE insuper licet ista invidia cessaverit; tamen fatis est ad cohibendum augmentum scientiarum, quod huiusmodi conatus & industriae, praemiis careant. Non enim penes eosdem est cultura scientiarum & praemium. Scientiarum enim augmenta a magnis utique ingeniis proveniunt; at pretia & praemia scientiarum sunt penes vulgus aut principes viros, qui (nisi raro admodum) vix mediocriter docti sunt. Quinetiam huiusmodi progressus, non solum praemiis & beneficentia hominum, verum etiam ipsa populari laude destituti sunt. Sunt enim illi supra captum maximae partis hominum, & ab opinionum vulgarium ventis facile obruuntur & extinguuntur. Itaque nil mirum, si res illa non feliciter successerit, quae in honore non fuit.

XCII. SED longe maximum progressibus scientiarum, & novis pensis ac provinciis in iisdem suscipiendis, obstaculum deprehenditur in desperatione hominum & suppositione impossibilis. Solent enim viri prudentes & severi in huiusmodi rebus plane diffidere: Naturae obscuritatem, vitae breviter, sensuum fallacias, iudicii infirmitatem, experimentorum difficultates, & similia secum reputantes. Itaque existimant esse quosdam scientiarum, per temporum & aetatum mundi revolutiones, fluxus & refluxus; cum aliis temporibus crescant & floreat, aliis declinent & jaceant: ita tamen, ut cum ad certum quendam gradum & statum pervenerint, nil ulterius possint.

ITAQUE si quis majora credat aut spondeat, id putant esse cuiusdam impotentis & immaturi animi; atque huiusmodi conatus, initia scilicet laeta, media ardua, extrema confusa habere. Atque cum huiusmodi cogitationes eae sint, quae in viros graves & iudicio praestantes facile cadant; curandum revera est, ne rei optima & pulcherrima amore capti, severitatem iudicii relaxemus aut minuamus; & sedulo videndum, quid spei affulgeat, & ex qua parte se ostendat; atque auris levioribus spei rejectis, eae quae plus firmitudinis habere videntur, omnino discutiendae sunt & pensitandae. Quinetiam prudentia civilis ad consilium vocanda est & adhibenda, quae ex praescripto diffidit, & de rebus humanis in deterius conjicit. Itaque jam & de spe dicendum est; praesertim cum nos promissores non simus, nec vim aut insidias hominum iudiciis faciamus aut struamus, sed homines manu & sponte ducamus. Atque licet longe potentissimum futurum sit remedium ad spem imprimendam, quando homines ad particularia, praesertim in tabulis nostris inveniendi digesta & disposita, (quae partim ad secundam, sed multo magis ad quartam instaurationis nostrae partem pertinent) adducemus; cum hoc ipsum sit non spes tantum, sed tanquam res ipsa: tamen ut omnia clementius fiant, pergendum est in instituto nostro de praeparandis hominum mentibus; cujus praeparationis, ista ostensio spei pars est non exigua. Nam absque ea, reliqua faciunt magis ad contristationem hominum,

num, (scilicet ut deteriore & viliorē habeant de iis, quae jam in usu sunt, opinionem, quam nunc habent; & suae conditionis infortunium plus sentiant & pernoscant) quam ad alacritatem aliquam inducendam, aut industriam experiendi acuendam. Itaque conjecturae nostrae, quae spem in hac re faciunt probabilem, aperiendae sunt & proponendae; sicut Columbus fecit ante navigationem illam suam mirabilem maris Atlantici; cum rationes adduceret, cur ipse novas terras & continentes, praeter eas quae ante cognitae fuerunt, inveniri posse confideret: Quae rationes licet primo rejectae, postea tamen experimento probatae sunt, & rerum maximarum causae & initia fuerunt.

XCIII. PRINCIPIMUM autem sumendum a Deo: Hoc nimirum quod agitur, propter excellentem in ipso boni naturam, manifeste a Deo esse; qui author boni & pater luminum est. In operationibus autem divinis initia quaeque tenuissima exitum certo trahunt. Atque quod de spiritalibus dictum est, *Regnum Dei non venit cum observatione*; id etiam in omni majore opere providentiae divinae evenire reperitur: ut omnia sine strepitu & fonitu placide labantur; atque res plane agatur, priusquam homines eam agi putent aut advertant. Neque omittenda est prophetia Danielis de ultimis mundi temporibus; *Multi pertransibunt, & multiplex erit scientia*: Manifeste innuens & significans esse in fatis, id est, in providentia, ut pertransitus mundi, (qui per tot longinquas navigationes impletus plane, aut jam in opere esse videtur) & augmenta scientiarum in eandem aetatem incident.

XCIV. SEQUITUR ratio omnium maxima ad faciendam spem; nempe ex erroribus temporis praeteriti, & viarum adhuc tentatarum. Optima enim est ea reprehensio, quam de statu civili haud prudenter administrato quispiam his verbis complexus est: *Quod ad praeterita pessimum est, id ad futura optimum videri debet. Si enim vos omnia, quae ad officium vestrum spectant, praestitissetis; neque tamen res vestrae in meliore loco essent; ne spes quidem ulla reliqua foret, eas in melius provehi posse. Sed cum rerum vestrarum status, non a vi ipsa rerum, sed ab erroribus vestris male se habeat; sperandum est, illis erroribus missis aut correctis, magnam rerum in melius mutationem fieri posse.* Simili modo, si homines per tanta annorum spatia viam veram inveniendi & colendi scientias tenuissent, nec tamen ulterius progredi potuissent, audax proculdubio & temeraria foret opinio, posse rem in ulterius provehi. Quod si in via ipsa erratum sit, atque hominum opera in iis consumpta, in quibus minime oportebat; sequitur ex eo, non in rebus ipsis difficultatem oriri, quae potestatis nostrae non sunt; sed in intellectu humano, ejusque usu & applicatione; quae res remedium & medicinam suscipit. Itaque optimum fuerit illos ipsos errores proponere: Quot enim fuerint errorum impedimenta in praeterito, tot sunt spei argumenta in futurum. Ea vero licet in his quae superius dicta sunt, non intacta omnino fuerint; tamen ea etiam nunc breviter verbis nudis ac simplicibus repraesentare visum est.

XCV. QUI tractaverunt scientias, aut empirici aut dogmatici fuerunt. Empirici, formicae more, congerunt tantum & utuntur: Rationales, araneorum more, telas ex se conficiunt: Apis vero ratio media est, quae materiam ex floribus horti & agri elicit; sed tamen eam propria facultate vertit & digerit. Neque absimile philosophiae verum opificium est; quod nec mentis viribus tantum aut praecipue nititur, neque ex historia naturali & mechanicis experimentis praebitam materiam, in memoria integram, sed in intellectu

mutatam

mutatam & subactam reponit. Itaque ex harum facultatum (experimentalis scilicet & rationalis) arctiore & sanctiore foedere (quod adhuc factum non est) bene sperandum est.

XCVI. NATURALIS philosophia adhuc sincera non invenitur, sed infecta & corrupta: in Aristotelis schola per logicam; in Platonis schola per theologiam naturalem; in secunda schola Platonis, Procli & aliorum, per mathematicam; quae philosophiam naturalem terminare, non generare aut procreare debet. At ex philosophia naturali pura & impermixta meliora speranda sunt.

XCVII. NEMO adhuc tanta mentis constantia & rigore inventus est, ut decreverit & sibi imposuerit theorias & notiones communes penitus abolere, & intellectum abrasum & aequum ad particularia de integro applicare. Itaque ratio illa humana, quam habemus, ex multa fide & multo etiam casu, nec non ex puerilibus, quas primo hausimus, notionibus farra-go quaedam est & congeries.

QUOD si quis aetate matura, & sensibus integris & mente repurgata, se ad experientiam & ad particularia de integro applicet, de eo melius sperandum est. Atque hac in parte nobis spondemus fortunam Alexandri Magni: neque quis nos vanitatis arguat, antequam exitum rei audiat, quae ad exuendam omnem vanitatem spectat.

ET ENIM de Alexandro & ejus rebus gestis AEschines ita loquutus est: *Nos certe vitam mortalem non vivimus; sed in hoc nati sumus, ut posteritas de nobis portenta narret & praedicet*: perinde ac si Alexandri res gestas pro miraculo habuisset.

AT aevis sequentibus Titus Livius melius rem advertit & introspectit, atque de Alexandro hujusmodi quippiam dixit: *Eum non aliud quam bene ausum vana contemnere*. Atque simile etiam de nobis judicium futuris temporibus factum iri existimamus: *Nos nil magni fecisse, sed tantum ea quae pro magnis habentur, minoris fecisse*. Sed interim (quod jam diximus) non est spes nisi in regeneratione scientiarum; ut eae scilicet ab experientia certo ordine excitentur & rursus condantur: quod adhuc factum esse aut cogitatum, nemo (ut arbitramur) affirmaverit.

XCVIII. ATQUE experientiae fundamenta, (quando ad hanc omnino deveniendum est) aut nulla, aut admodum infirma adhuc fuerunt; nec particularium sylvae & materies, vel numero, vel genere, vel certitudine, informando intellectui competens, aut ullo modo sufficiens, adhuc quaesita est & congecta. Sed contra homines docti (supini sane & faciles) rumores quosdam experientiae, & quasi famas & auras ejus, ad philosophiam suam vel constituendam vel confirmandam exceperunt, atque illis nihilominus pondus legitimi testimonii attribuerunt. Ac veluti si regnum aliquod aut status non ex literis & relationibus a legatis & nuntiis fide dignis missis, sed ex urbanorum sermunculis & ex triviis consilia sua & negotia gubernaret; omnino talis in philosophiam administratio, quatenus ad experientiam introducta est. Nil debitis modis exquisitum, nil verificatum, nil numeratum, nil appensum, nil dimensum in naturali historia reperitur. At quod in observatione indefinitum & vagum, id in informatione fallax & infidum est. Quod si cui haec mira dictu videantur, & querelae minus justae propiora; cum Aristoteles tantus ipse vir, & tanti regis opibus subnixus, tam accuratam de animalibus historiam confecerit; atque alii nonnulli majore diligentia (licet strepitu minore) multa adjecerint; & rursus alii de plantis, de metallis & fossilibus, historias & narrationes copiosas conscripserint; is sane non

non satis attendere & perspicere videtur, quid agatur in praesentia. Alia enim est ratio naturalis historiae, quae propter se confecta est; alia ejus, quae collecta est ad informandum intellectum in ordine ad condendam philosophiam. Atque hae duae historiae tum aliis rebus, tum praecipue in hoc differunt; quod prima ex illis specierum naturalium varietatem, non artium mechanicarum experimenta contineat. Quemadmodum enim in civilibus ingenium ejusque & occultus animi affectuumque sensus melius elicitur, cum quis in perturbatione ponitur quam alias: Simili modo, & occulta naturae magis se produnt per vexationes artium, quam cum cursu suo meant. Itaque tum demum bene sperandum est de naturali philosophia, postquam historia naturalis (quae ejus basis est & fundamentum) melius instructa fuerit, antea vero minime.

XCIX. ATQUE rursus in ipsa experimentorum mechanicorum copia, summa eorum, quae ad intellectus informationem maxime faciunt & juvant, detegitur inopia. Mechanicus enim de veritatis inquisitione nullo modo sollicitus, non ad alia quam quae operi suo subserviunt, aut animum erigit, aut manum porrigit. Tum vero de scientiarum ulteriore progressu spes bene fundabitur, quum in historiam naturalem recipientur & aggregabuntur complura experimenta, quae in se nullius sunt usus, sed ad inventionem causarum & axiomatum tantum faciunt; quae nos lucifera experimenta ad differentiam fructiferorum appellare consuevimus. Illa autem miram habent in se virtutem & conditionem; hanc videlicet, quod nunquam fallant aut frustrentur. Cum enim ad hoc adhibeantur, non ut opus aliquod efficiant, sed ut causam naturalem in aliquo revelent; quaquaversum cadunt, intentioni aequè satisfaciunt, cum quaestionem terminent.

C. AT non solum copia major experimentorum quaerenda est & procuranda, atque etiam alterius generis, quam adhuc factum est; sed etiam methodus plane alia & ordo & processus, continuandae & provehendae experientiae, introducenda. Vaga enim experientia & se tantum sequens, (ut superius dictum est) mera palpatio est; & homines potius stupefacit quam informat. At cum experientia lege certa procedet, feriatim & continenter, de scientiis aliquid melius sperari poterit.

CI. POSTQUAM vero copia & materies historiae naturalis & experientiae talis, qualis ad opus intellectus five ad opus philosophicum requiritur, praesto jam sit & parata; tamen nullo modo sufficit intellectus, ut in illam materiem agat sponte & memoriter; non magis, quam si quis computationem alicujus ephemeridis memoriter se tenere, & superare posse speret. Atque hactenus tamen potiores meditationis partes, quam scriptionis in inveniendis fuerunt; neque adhuc experientia literata facta est: Atqui nulla nisi de scripto inventio probanda est. Illa vero in usum veniente, ab experientia facta demum literata melius sperandum.

CII. ATQUE insuper, cum tantus sit particularium numerus & quasi exercitus,isque ita sparsus & diffusus, ut intellectum disgreget & confundat; de velitationibus & levibus motibus, & transcurfibus intellectus, non bene sperandum est; nisi fiat instructio & coordinatio per tabulas inveniendi idoneas, & bene dispositas & tanquam vivas, eorum quae pertinent ad subiectum, in quo versatur inquisitio; atque ad harum tabularum auxilia praeparata & digesta mens applicetur.

CIII. VERUM post copiam particularium, rite & ordine veluti sub oculos positurum, non statim transeundum est ad inquisitionem, & inventionem novorum particularium aut operum; aut saltem si hoc fiat, in eo non acquiescendum.

ascendum. Neque enim negamus, postquam omnia omnium artium experimenta collecta & digesta fuerint, atque ad unius hominis notitiam & iudicium pervenerint; quin ex ipsa translatione experimentorum unius artis in alias, multa nova inveniri possint ad humanam vitam & statum utilia; per istam experientiam quam vocamus literatam: sed tamen minora de ea speranda sunt; majora vero a nova luce axiomatum, ex particularibus illis certa via & regula eductorum, quae rursus nova particularia indicent & designent. Neque enim in plano via sita est, sed ascendendo & descendendo; ascendendo primo ad axiomata, descendendo ad opera.

CIV. NEQUE tamen permittendum est, ut intellectus a particularibus ad axiomata remota & quasi generalissima, (qualia sunt principia, quae vocant, artium & rerum) saliat & volet; & ad eorum immotam veritatem axiomata media probet & expediat: quod adhuc factum est, prono ad hoc impetu naturali intellectus, atque etiam ad hoc ipsum per demonstrationes, quae fiunt per syllogismum, jam pridem edocto & assuefacto. Sed de scientiis tum demum bene sperandum est, quando per scalam veram & per gradus continuos, & non intermissos aut hiulcos, a particularibus ascendetur ad axiomata minora, & diende ad media, alia aliis superiora, & postremo demum ad generalissima. Etenim axiomata infima non multum ab experientia nuda discrepant. Suprema vero illa & generalissima, (quae habentur) notionalia sunt & abstracta & nil habent solidi. At media sunt axiomata illa vera & solida & viva, in quibus humanae res & fortunae sitae sunt; & supra haec quoque tandem ipsa illa generalissima; talia scilicet quae non abstracta sunt, sed per haec media vere limitantur.

ITAQUE hominum intellectui non plumae addendae, sed plumbum potius & pondera; ut cohibeant omnem saltum & volatum. Atque hoc adhuc factum non est; quum vero factum fuerit, melius de scientiis sperare licebit.

CV. IN constituendo autem axioma, forma inductionis alia, quam adhuc in usu fuit, excogitanda est; eaque non ad principia tantum (quae vocant) probanda & invenienda, sed etiam ad axiomata minora, & media, denique omnia. Inductio enim, quae procedit per enumerationem simplicem, res puerilis est, & precario concludit, & periculo exponitur ab instantia contradictoria, & plerumque secundum pauciora quam par est, & ex his tantummodo quae praesto sunt, pronunciat. At inductio, quae ad inventionem & demonstrationem scientiarum & artium erit utilis, naturam separare debet, per rejectiones & exclusiones debitas; ac deinde post negativas tot quot sufficiunt, super affirmativas concludere; quod adhuc factum non est, nec tentatum certe, nisi tantummodo a Platone, qui ad excutiendas definitiones & ideas, hac certe forma inductionis aliquatenus utitur. Verum ad huius inductionis five demonstrationis instructionem bonam & legitimam, quamplurima adhibenda sunt, quae adhuc nullius mortalium cogitationem subire; adeo ut in ea major sit consumenda opera, quam adhuc consumpta est in syllogismo, atque huius inductionis auxilio, non solum ad axiomata invenienda, verum etiam ad notiones terminandas, utendum est. Atque in hac certe inductione spes maxima sita est.

CVI. At in axiomatibus constituendis per hanc inductionem, examinatio & probatio etiam facienda est, utrum quod constituitur axioma aptatum sit tantum, & ad mensuram factum eorum particularium, ex quibus extrahitur; an vero sit amplius & latius. Quod si sit amplius aut latius videndum, an eam suam amplitudinem & latitudinem, per novorum particularium designationem,

signationem, quasi fidejussione quadam firmet; ne vel in jam notis tantum haereamus, vel laxiore fortasse complexu, umbras & formas abstractas, non solida & determinata in materia, prensemus. Haec vero cum in usum venerint, solida tum demum spes merito affulserit.

CVII. ATQUE hic etiam resumendum est, quod superius dictum est de naturali philosophia producta, & scientiis particularibus ad eam reductis, ut non fiat scissio & truncatio scientiarum; nam etiam absque hoc minus de progressu sperandum est.

CVIII. ATQUE de desperatione tollenda, & spe facienda, ex praeteriti temporis erroribus valere jussis, aut rectificatis, jam dictum est. Videndum autem & si quae alia sint, quae spem faciant. Illud vero occurrit; si hominibus non quaerentibus, & aliud agentibus, multa utilia tanquam casu quodam, aut per occasionem, inventa sint; nemini dubium esse posse, quin iisdem quaerentibus, & hoc agentibus, idque via & ordine, non impetu & desultorie, longe plura detegi necesse sit. Licet enim semel aut iterum accidere possit, ut quispiam in id forte fortuna incidat, quod magno conatu & de industria scrutantem antea fugit; tamen in summa rerum proculdubio contrarium invenitur. Itaque longe plura & meliora, atque per minora intervalla, a ratione & industria, & directione & intentione hominum, speranda sunt, quam a casu & instinctu animalium, & hujusmodi, quae hactenus principium inventis dederunt.

CIX. ETIAM illud ad spem trahi possit, quod nonnulla ex his, quae jam inventa sunt, ejus sint generis, ut antequam invenirentur, haud facile cuiquam in mentem venisset, de iis aliquid suspicari; sed plane quis illa ut impossibilia contempnisset. Solent enim homines de rebus novis, ad exemplum veterum, & secundum phantasiam ex iis praeceptam & inquinatam, hariolari; quod genus opinandi fallacissimum est, quandoquidem multa ex his, quae ex fontibus rerum petuntur, per rivulos consuetos non fluant.

VELUTI si quis ante tormentorum igneorum inventionem, rem per effectus descripsisset, atque in hunc modum dixisset; inventum quoddam detectum esse, per quod muri & munitiones quaeque maximae, ex longo intervallo concuti & dejici possint; homines sane de viribus tormentorum & machinarum, per pondera & rotas & hujusmodi arietationes & impulsus, multiplicandis, multa & varia secum cogitaturi fuissent: De vento autem igneo, tam subito & violenter se expandente & exsufflante, vix unquam aliquid alicujus imaginationi, aut phantasiae, occursum fuisset; utpote cujus exemplum in proximo non vidisset, nisi forte in terrae motu aut fulmine, quae ut magnalia naturae, & non imitabilia ab homine, homines statim rejecturi fuissent.

EODEM modo, si ante fili bombycini inventionem, quispiam hujusmodi sermonem iniecisset; esse quoddam fili genus inventum ad vestium & suppellectilis usum, quod filum linteum aut laneum tenuitate, & nihilominus tenacitate, ac etiam splendore & mollietate, longe superaret; homines statim aut de serico aliquo vegetabili, aut de animalis alicujus pilis delicatioribus, aut de avium plumis & lanugine, aliquid opinaturi fuissent; verum de vermibus pusilli textura, eaque tam copiosa, & se renovante, & anniversaria, nil fuissent certe commenturi. Quod si quis etiam de vermi verbum aliquod iniecisset, ludibrio certe futurus fuisset, ut qui novas araneorum operas somniaret.

SIMILITER, si ante inventionem acis nauticae, quispiam hujusmodi sermonem intulisset; inventum esse quoddam instrumentum, per quod cardines & puncta coeli, exacte capi & dignosci possint; homines statim de
magis

magis exquisita fabricatione instrumentorum astronomicorum, ad multa & varia, per agitationem phantasiae, discursuri fuissent; quod vero aliquid inveniri possit, cujus motus cum coelestibus tam bene conveniret, atque ipsum tamen ex coelestibus non esset, sed tantum substantia lapidea aut metallica; omnino incredibile visum fuisset. Atque haec tamen, & similia, per tot mundi aetates, homines latuerunt, nec per philosophiam, aut artes rationales inventa sunt, sed casu, & per occasionem; suntque illius (ut diximus) generis, ut ab iis quae antea cognita fuerunt, plane heterogenea & remotissima sint, ut praenotio aliqua nihil prorsus ad illa conducere potuisset.

ITAQUE sperandum omnino est, esse adhuc in naturae sinu multa excellentis usus recondita, quae nullam cum jam inventis cognationem habent aut parallelismum; sed omnino sita sunt extra vias phantasiae; quae tamen adhuc inventa non sunt; quae proculdubio per multos saeculorum circuitus & ambages, & ipsa quandoque prodibunt, sicut illa superiora prodierunt; sed per viam, quam nunc tractamus, propere & subito, & simul repraesentari & anticipari possunt.

CX. At tamen conspiciuntur & alia inventa ejus generis, quae fidem faciant, posse genus humanum nobilia inventa, etiam ante pedes posita, praeterire & transilire. Utcunque enim pulveris tormentarii, vel filii bombycini, vel acus nauticae, vel sacchari, vel papyri, vel similium inventa, quibusdam rerum & naturae proprietatibus niti videantur; ac certe imprimendi artificium nil habet, quod non sit apertum & fere obvium. Et nihilominus homines non advertentes, literarum modulos difficilius scilicet collocari, quam literae per motum manus scribantur; sed hoc interesse, quod literarum moduli semel collocati, infinitis impressionibus, literae autem per manum exaratae, unicae tantum scriptioni sufficiant; aut fortasse iterum non advertentes, atramentum ita inspissari posse, ut tingat, non fluat; praesertim literis resupinatis, & impressione facta desuper: hoc pulcherrimo invento (quod ad doctrinarum propagationem tantum facit) per tot saecula caruerunt.

SOLET autem mens humana, in hoc inventionis curriculo, tam laeva saepenumero & male composita esse, ut primo diffidat, & paulo post se contemnat; atque primo incredibile ei videatur, aliquid tale inveniri posse; postquam autem inventum sit, incredibile rursus videatur, id homines tamdiu fugere potuisse. Atque hoc ipsum ad spem rite trahitur; superesse nimirum adhuc magnum inventorum cumulum, qui non solum ex operationibus incognitis eruendis, sed & ex jam cognitis transferendis & componendis & applicandis, per eam, quam diximus experientiam literatam, deduci possit.

CXI. NEQUE illud omittendum ad faciendam spem; reputent (si placet) homines infinitas ingenii, temporis, facultatum expensas, quas homines in rebus & studiis longe minoris usus & pretii collocant; quorum pars quota, si ad sana & solida verteretur, nulla non difficultas superari possit. Quod idcirco adjungere visum est, quia plane fatemur historiae naturalis & experimentalis collectionem, qualem animo metimur, & qualis esse debet, opus esse magnum & quasi regium, & multae operae atque impensae.

CXII. INTERIM particularium multitudinem nemo reformidet, quin potius hoc ipsum ad spem revocet. Sunt enim artium & naturae particularia phaenomena, manipuli instar, ad ingenii commenta, postquam ab evidentia rerum disjuncta & abstracta fuerint. Atque hujus viae exitus in aperto est, & fere in propinquo; alterius exitus nullus, sed implicatio infinita. Homines enim adhuc parvam in experientia moram fecerunt, & eam leviter perstrinxerunt, sed in meditationibus & commentationibus ingenii infinitum

tempus.

tempus contriverunt. Apud nos vero si esset praesto quispiam, qui de facto naturae ad interrogata responderet, paucorum annorum esset inventio causarum & scientiarum omnium.

CXIII. ETIAM nonnihil hominibus spei fieri posse putamus ab exemplo nostro proprio; neque jactantiae causa hoc dicimus, sed quod utile dictu sit. Si qui diffidant, me videant, hominem, inter homines aetatis meae, civilibus negotiis occupatissimum, nec firma admodum valetudine, (quod magnum habet temporis dispendium) atque in hac re plane protopirum, & vestigia nullius sequutum, neque haec ipsa cum ullo mortalium communicantem; & tamen veram viam constanter ingressum, & ingenium rebus submittentem, haec ipsa aliquatenus (ut existimamus) provexisse: Et deinceps videant, quid, ab hominibus otio abundantibus, atque a laboribus consociatis, atque a temporum successione, post haec indicia nostra expectandum sit; praesertim in via, quae non singulis solummodo pervia est, (ut sit in via illa rationali) sed ubi hominum labores & operae (praesertim quantum ad experientiae collectam) optime distribui, & deinde componi possint. Tum enim homines vires suas nosse incipient, cum non eadem infiniti, sed alia alii praestabunt.

CXIV. POSTREMO, etiamsi multo infirmior & obscurior aura spei ab *ista nova continente* spiraverit; tamen omnino experiendum esse (nisi velimus animi esse plane abjecti) statuimus. Non enim res pari periculo non tentatur, & non succedit; cum in illo, ingentis boni; in hoc, exiguae humanae operae, jactura vertatur. Verum ex dictis, atque etiam ex non dictis, visum est nobis, spei abunde subesse, non tantum homini strenuo ad experiendum, sed etiam prudenti & sobrio ad credendum.

CXV. ATQUE de desperatione tollenda, quae inter causas potentissimas ad progressum scientiarum remorandum & inhibendum fuit, jam dictum est: Atque simul sermo de signis & causis errorum & inertiae & ignorantiae, quae invaluit, absolutus est; praesertim cum subtiliores causae, & quae in iudicium populare aut observationem non incurrunt, ad ea quae de idolis animi humani dicta sunt, referri debeant.

ATQUE hic simul pars destruens instaurationis nostrae claudi debet, quae perficitur tribus redargutionibus; redargutione nimirum humanae rationis natae, & sibi permittae; redargutione demonstrationum; & redargutione theorum, sive philosophiarum & doctrinarum, quae receptae sunt. Redargutio vero earum talis fuit, qualis esse potuit; videlicet per signa & evidentiam causarum; cum confutatio alia nulla a nobis (qui & de principiis, & de demonstrationibus, ab aliis dissentimus) adhiberi potuerit.

QUOCIRCA tempus est, ut ad ipsam artem & normam interpretandi naturam veniamus; & tamen nonnihil restat, quod praevertendum est. Quum enim in hoc primo aphorismorum libro illud nobis propositum sit, ut tam ad intelligendum, quam ad recipiendum ea, quae sequuntur, mentes hominum praeparentur; expurgata jam & abrasa & aequata mentis area, sequitur ut mens sistatur in positione bona, & tanquam aspectu benevolo, ad ea quae proponemus. Valet enim in re nova ad praesudicium, non solum praeoccupatio fortis opinionis veteris, sed & praeceptio sive praefiguratio falsa rei, quae affertur. Itaque conabimur efficere, ut habeantur bonae & verae, de iis quae adducimus, opiniones, licet ad tempus tantummodo, & tanquam usurariae, donec res ipsa pernoscat.

CXVI. PRIMO itaque postulandum videtur, ne existiment homines, nos more antiquorum Graecorum, aut quorundam novorum hominum, Telepii,

Patricii, Severini, sectam aliquam in philosophia condere velle: Neque enim hoc agimus, neque etiam multum interesse putamus, ad hominum fortunas, qualesquis opiniones abstractas de natura & rerum principiis habeat: Neque dubium est, quin multa hujusmodi, & vetera revocari, & nova introduci possint; quemadmodum & complura themata coeli supponi possunt, quae cum phaenomenis sat bene conveniunt, inter se tamen dissentiunt.

AT nos de hujusmodi rebus opinabilibus, & simul inutilibus, non laboramus. At contra nobis constitutum est experiri, an revera potentiae & amplitudinis humanae firmiora fundamenta jacere, ac fines in latius proferre possimus. Atque licet sparsim, & in aliquibus subjectis specialibus, longe veriora habeamus, & certiora, (ut arbitramur) atque etiam magis fructuosa, quam quibus homines adhuc utuntur, (quae in quintam instaurationis nostrae partem congeessimus) tamen theoriam nullam universalem, aut integram proponimus. Neque enim huic rei tempus adhuc adesse videtur. Quin nec spem habemus vitae producendae, ad sextam instaurationis partem (quae philosophiae, per legitimam naturae interpretationem inventae, destinata est) absolvendam; sed satis habemus, si in mediis sobrie & utiliter nos geramus, atque interim semina veritatis sincerioris in posteros spargamus, atque initiis rerum magnarum non desimus.

CXVII. ATQUE quemadmodum sectae conditores non sumus; ita nec operum particularium largitores aut promissores. Attamen possit aliquis hoc modo occurrere; quod nos, qui tam saepe operum mentionem faciamus, & omnia eo trahamus, etiam operum aliquorum pignora exhibeamus. Verum via nostra & ratio, (ut saepe perspicue diximus, & adhuc dicere juvat,) ea est; ut non opera ex operibus, sive experimenta ex experimentis, (ut empirici) sed ex operibus & experimentis causas & axiomata, atque ex causis & axiomatibus rursus nova opera & experimenta, (ut legitimi naturae interpretes) extrahamus.

ATQUE licet in tabulis nostris inveniendi, (ex quibus quarta pars instaurationis consistit) atque etiam exemplis particularium, (quas in secunda parte adduximus) atque insuper in observationibus nostris super historiam, (quae in tertia parte operis descripta est) quivis vel mediocris perspicaciae & solertiae, complurium operum nobilium indicationes & designationes ubique notabit; ingenue tamen fatemur historiam naturalem, quam adhuc habemus, aut ex libris, aut ex inquisitione propria, non tam copiosam esse & verificatam, ut legitimae interpretationi satisfacere aut ministrare possit.

ITAQUE si quis ad mechanica sit magis aptus & paratus, atque sagax ad venanda opera, ex conversatione sola cum experimentis, ei permittimus & relinquimus illam industriam, ut ex historia nostra & tabulis, multa tanquam in via decerpat & applicet ad opera, ac veluti foenus recipiat ad tempus, donec fors haberi possit. Nos vero, cum ad majora contendamus, moram omnem praeproperam & praematuram in istiusmodi rebus, tanquam Atalantae pilas (ut saepius solemus dicere) damnamus. Neque enim aurea poma pueriliter affectamus, sed omnia in victoria cursus artis super naturam ponimus; neque muscum aut segetem herbidam demetere festinamus, sed messem tempestivam expectamus.

CXVIII. OCCURRET etiam alicui proculdubio, postquam ipsam historiam nostram, & inventionis tabulas perlegerit, aliquid in ipsis experimentis minus certum, vel omnino falsum; atque propterea secum fortasse reputabit, fundamentis & principiis falsis & dubiis, inventa nostra niti. Verum hoc nihil est; necesse enim est, talia sub initiis evenire. Simile enim est,

ac si in scriptione aut impressione, una forte litera aut altera, perperam posita aut collocata sit; id enim legentem non multum impedire solet, quandoquidem errata ab ipso sensu facile corriguntur. Ita etiam cogitent homines, multa in historia naturali experimenta falso credi & recipi posse; quae paulo post a causis & axiomatibus inventis facile expunguntur & rejiciuntur. Sed tamen verum est, si in historia naturali & experimentis, magna & crebra & continua fuerint errata, illa nulla ingenii aut artis felicitate corrigi aut emendari posse. Itaque si in historia nostra naturali, quae tanta diligentia & severitate, & fere religione probata & collecta est, aliquid in particularibus quandoque subsit falsitatis aut erroris; quid tandem de naturali historia vulgari, quae prae nostra tam negligens est & facilis, dicendum erit? aut de philosophia & scientiis super hujusmodi arenas (vel fyrtes potius) aedificatis? Itaque hoc quod diximus, neminem moveat.

CXIX. OCCURRENT etiam in historia nostra & experimentis plurimae res; primo leves & vulgatae, deinde viles & illiberales, postremo nimis subtiles ac mere speculativae, & quasi nullius usus: Quod genus rerum hominum studia avertere & alienare possit.

ATQUE de istis rebus, quae videntur vulgatae, illud homines cogitent; solere sane eos adhuc nihil aliud agere, quam ut eorum, quae rara sunt, causas ad ea, quae frequenter fiunt, referant & accommodent; at ipsorum, quae frequenter eveniunt, nullas causas inquirent, sed ea ipsa recipiant tanquam concessa & admissa.

ITAQUE non ponderis, non rotationis coelestium, non caloris, non frigoris, non luminis, non duri, non mollis, non tenuis, non densi, non liquidi, non consistentis, non animati, non inanimati, non similis, non dissimilis, nec demum organici causas quaerunt; sed illis tanquam pro evidentibus & manifestis receptis, de caeteris rebus, quae non tam frequenter & familiariter occurrunt, disputant & judicant.

Nos vero, qui satis scimus, nullum de rebus raris aut notabilibus iudicium fieri posse, multo minus res novas in lucem protrahi, absque vulgariarum rerum causis & causarum causis rite examinatis & repertis; necessario ad res vulgarissimas in historiam nostram recipiendas compellimur. Quinetiam nil magis philosophiae officisse deprehendimus, quam quod res, quae familiares sunt & frequenter occurrunt, contemplationem hominum non morentur & detineant, sed recipiantur obiter, neque earum causae quaeri soleant; ut non saepius requiratur informatio de rebus ignotis, quam attentio in notis.

CXX. QUOD vero ad rerum utilitatem attinet, vel etiam turpitudinem, quibus (ut ait Plinius) honos praefandus est; eae res, non minus quam lautissimae & pretiosissimae, in historiam naturalem recipiendae sunt. Neque propterea polluitur naturalis historia: Sol enim aequae palatia & eloacas ingreditur, neque tamen polluitur. Nos autem non capitulum aliquod aut pyramidem hominum superbiae dedicamus aut condimus, sed templum sanctum ad exemplar mundi in intellectu humano fundamus. Itaque exemplar sequimur. Nam quicquid essentia dignum est, id etiam scientia dignum; quae est essentiae imago. At vilia aequae subsistunt, ac lauta. Quinetiam, ut e quibusdam putridis materiis, veluti musco & zibetho, aliquando optimi odores generantur; ita & ab instantiis vilibus & sordidis, quandoque eximia lux & informatio emanat. Verum de hoc nimis multa; cum hoc genus fastidii sit plane puerile & effoeminatum.

CXXI. AT de illo omnino magis accurate dispendium: Quod plurima in historia nostra captui vulgari, aut etiam cuiusvis intellectui, (rebus praesentibus

sentibus assuefacto) videbuntur curiosae cujusdam & inutilis subtilitatis. Itaque de hoc ante omnia & dictum & dicendum est. Hoc scilicet; nos jam sub initiis & ad tempus, tantum lucifera experimenta, non fructifera quacere; ad exemplum creationis divinae, quod saepius diximus, quae primo die lucem tantum produxit, eique soli unum integrum diem attribuit, neque illo die quicquam materiati operis immiscuit.

ITAQUE si quis istiusmodi res nullius esse usus putet, idem cogitet ac si nullum etiam lucis esse usum censeat, quia res scilicet solida aut materiata non fit. Atque revera dicendum est, simplicium naturarum cognitionem bene examinatam & definitam instar lucis esse; quae ad universa operum penetralia aditum praebet; atque tota agmina operum & turmas, & axiomatum nobilissimorum fontes, potestate quadam complectitur, & post se trahit; in se tamen non ita magni usus est. Quin & literarum elementa per se & separatim nihil significant, nec alicujus usus sunt; sed tamen ad omnis sermonis compositionem & apparatus instar materiae primae sunt. Etiam semina rerum potestate valida, (usu nisi in processu suo) nihili sunt. Atque lucis ipsius radii dispersi, nisi coeant, beneficium suum non impertiuntur.

QUOD si quis subtilitatibus speculativis offendatur; quid de scholasticis viris dicendum erit, qui subtilitatibus immensum indulserunt? Quae tamen subtilitates in verbis, aut saltem vulgaribus notionibus, (quod tantundem valet) non in rebus aut natura consumptae fuerunt; atque utilitatis expertes erant, non tantum in origine, sed etiam in consequentiis: Tales autem non fuerunt, ut haberent in praesens utilitatem nullam, sed per consequens infinitam; quales sunt eae de quibus loquimur. Hoc vero sciant homines pro certo, omnem subtilitatem disputationum & discursuum mentis, si adhibeatur tantum post axiomata inventa, seram esse & praeposteram; & subtilitatis tempus verum ac proprium, aut saltem praecipuum, versari in pensitanda experientia, & inde constituendis axiomatibus: Nam illa altera subtilitas naturam prensat & captat, sed nunquam apprehendit aut capit. Et verissimum certe est, quod de occasione sive fortuna dici solet, si transferatur ad naturam: videlicet, *eam a fronte comatam, ab occipitio calvam esse.*

DENIQUE de contemptu in naturali historia rerum aut vulgarium aut vilium aut nimis subtilium, & in originibus suis inutilium, illa vox mulierculae ad tumidum principem, qui petitionem ejus, ut rem indignam & majestate sua inferiorem abjecisset, pro oraculo sit; *Desine ergo rex esse:* Quia certissimum est, imperium in naturam, si quis hujusmodi rebus ut nimis exilibus & minutis vacare nolit, nec obtineri nec geri posse.

CXXII. OCCURRIT etiam & illud; mirabile quiddam esse & durum, quod nos omnes scientias atque omnes authores simul, ac veluti uno ictu & impetu, summoveamus; idque non assumpto aliquo ex antiquis in auxilium & praesidium nostrum, sed quasi viribus propriis.

Nos autem scimus, si minus sincera fide agere voluissimus, non difficile fuisse nobis, ista, quae afferuntur, vel ad antiqua saecula ante Graecorum tempora, (cum scientiae de natura magis fortasse, sed tamen majore cum silentio, floruerint; neque in Graecorum tubas & fistulas adhuc incidissent;) vel etiam (per partes certe) ad aliquos ex Graecis ipsis referre, atque astipulationem & honorem inde petere; more novorum hominum, qui nobilitatem sibi ex antiqua aliqua prosapia, per genealogiarum favores, astruunt & affingunt. Nos vero rerum evidentia freti, omnem commenti & imposturae conditionem rejicimus, neque ad id quod agitur plus interesse putamus, utrum, quae jam invenientur antiquis olim cognita, & per rerum vicissitu-

dines

dines & saecula occidentia & orientia sint; quam hominibus curae esse debere, utrum novus orbis fuerit insula illa Atlantis, & veteri mundo cognita; an nunc primum reperta. Rerum enim inventio a naturae luce petenda, non ab antiquitatis tenebris repetenda est.

QUOD vero ad universalem istam reprehensionem attinet, certissimum est vere rem reputanti, eam & magis probabilem esse, & magis modestam, quam si facta fuisset ex parte. Si enim in primis notionibus errores radicati non fuissent, fieri non potuisset, quin nonnulla recte inventa, alia perperam inventa correxissent. Sed cum errores fundamentales fuerint, atque ejusmodi, ut homines potius res neglexerint ac praeterierint, quam de illis pravum aut falsum judicium fecerint; minime mirum est, si homines id non obtinuerint, quod non egerint; nec ad metam pervenerint, quam non posuerint aut collocarint; neque viam emensi sint, quam non ingressi sint aut tenuerint.

ATQUE insolentiam rei quod attinet; certe si quis manus constantia atque oculi vigore lineam magis rectam, aut circulum magis perfectum se describere posse, quam alium quempiam, sibi assumat; inducitur scilicet facultatis comparatio: Quod si quis asserat, se, adhibita regula aut circumducto circino, lineam magis rectam, aut circulum magis perfectum posse describere, quam aliquem alium vi sola oculi & manus; is certe non admodum jactator fuerit. Quin hoc, quod dicimus, non solum in hoc nostro conatu primo & inceptivo locum habet; sed etiam pertinet ad eos, qui huic rei posthac incumbunt. Nostri enim via inveniendi scientias exaequat fere ingenia, & non multum excellentiae eorum relinquit: cum omnia per certissimas regulas & demonstrationes transfigat. Itaque haec nostra (ut saepe diximus) felicitatis cujusdam sunt potius quam facultatis, & potius temporis partus quam ingenii. Est enim certe casus aliquis non minus in cogitationibus humanis, quam in operibus & factis.

CXXIII. ITAQUE dicendum de nobis ipsis quod ille per jocum dixit, praesertim cum tam bene rem fecit: *Fieri non potest ut idem sentiant, qui aquam & qui vinum bibant.* At caeteri homines, tam veteres quam novi, liquorem biberunt crudum in scientiis, tanquam aquam vel sponte ex intellectu manantem, vel per dialecticam tanquam per rotas ex puteo haustam: At nos liquorem bibimus & propinamus ex infinitis confectum uvis, iisque maturis & tempestivis, & per racemos quosdam collectis ac decerpitis; subinde in torculari pressis, ac postremo in vase repurgatis & clarificatis. Itaque nil mirum, si nobis cum aliis non conveniat.

CXXIV. OCCURRET proculdubio & illud: nec metam aut scopum scientiarum a nobis ipsis (id quod in aliis reprehendimus) verum & optimum praefixum esse. Esse enim contemplationem veritatis, omni operum utilitate & magnitudine digniorem & celsiorem: longam vero istam & sollicitam moram in experientia & materia, & rerum particularium fluctibus, mentem veluti humo affigere, vel potius in tartarum quoddam confusionis & perturbationis dejicere; atque ab abstractae sapientiae serenitate & tranquillitate (tanquam a statu multo diviniore) arcere & summovere. Nos vero huic rationi libenter assentimur; & hoc ipsum quod innuunt ac praecoptant, praecipue atque ante omnia agimus. Etenim verum exemplar mundi in intellectu humano fundamus, quale invenitur, non quale cuiquam sua propria ratio dictaverit. Hoc autem perfici non potest, nisi facta mundi dissectione atque anatomia diligentissima. Modulos vero ineptos mundorum & tanquam simiolas, quas in philosophiis phantasiae hominum extruxerunt, omnino dissipandas edicimus. Sciant itaque homines, (id quod superius diximus)

imus) quantum interfit inter humanae mentis idola & divinae mentis ideas. Illa enim nihil aliud sunt quam abstractiones ad placitum: Hae autem sunt vera signacula Creatoris super creaturas, prout in materia per lineas veras & exquisitas imprimuntur & terminantur. Itaque ipsissimae res sunt (in hoc genere) veritas & utilitas: atque opera ipsa pluris facienda sunt, quatenus sunt veritatis pignora, quam propter vitae commoda.

CXXXV. OCCURRET fortasse & illud: nos tanquam actum agere; atque antiquos ipsos eandem, quam nos, viam tenuisse. Itaque verisimile putabit quispiam etiam nos, post tantum motum & molitionem, deventuros tandem ad aliquam ex illis philosophiis, quae apud antiquos valuerunt. Nam & illos in meditationum suarum principiis vim & copiam magnam exemplorum & particularium paravisse; atque in commentarios per locos & titulos digessisse; atque inde philosophias suas & artes confecisse, & postea re comperta pronuntiasse; & exempla ad fidem & docendi lumen sparsim addidisse; sed particularium notas & codicillos, ac commentarios suos in lucem edere, supervacuum & molestum putasse: ideoque fecisse quod in aedificando fieri solet; nempe post aedificii structuram, machinas & scalas a conspectu amovisse. Neque aliter factum esse credere certe oportet. Verum nisi quis omnino oblitus fuerit eorum, quae superius dicta sunt, huic objectioni (aut scrupulo potius) facile respondebit. Formam enim inquirendi & inveniendi apud antiquos & ipsi profiteamur, & scripta eorum prae se ferunt. Ea autem non alia fuit, quam ut ab exemplis quibusdam & particularibus (additis notionibus communibus, & fortasse portione nonnulla ex opinionibus receptis, quae maxime placuerunt) ad conclusiones maxime generales five principia scientiarum advolarent; ad quorum veritatem immotam & fixam, conclusiones inferiores per media educerent ac probarent, ex quibus artem constituiebant. Tum demum si nova particularia & exempla mota essent & adducta, quae placitis suis refragarentur; illa aut per distinctiones, aut per regularum suarum explanationes, in ordinem subtiliter redigebant; aut demum per exceptiones grosso modo summovebant: At rerum particularium non refragantium causas, ad illa principia sua laboriose & pertinaciter accommodabant. Verum nec historia naturalis & experientia illa erat, quam fuisse oportebat; (longe certe abest) & ista advolatio ad generalissima, omnia perdidit.

CXXXVI. OCCURRET & illud; nos propter inhibitionem quandam pronuntiandi, & principia certa ponendi, donec per medios gradus ad generalissima rite perventum sit; suspensionem quandam iudicii tueri, atque ad acatalepsiam rem deducere. Nos vero non acatalepsiam, sed eucatalepsiam meditamur & proponimus: Sensui enim non derogamus, sed ministramus; & intellectum non contemnimus, sed regimus. Atque melius est scire quantum opus sit, & tamen nos non penitus scire putare; quam penitus scire nos putare, & tamen nil eorum quae opus est scire.

CXXXVII. ETIAM dubitabit quispiam potius quam objiciet; utrum nos de naturali tantum philosophia, an etiam de scientiis reliquis, logicis, ethicis, politicis, secundum viam nostram perficiendis, loquamur. At nos certe de universis haec, quae dicta sunt, intelligimus: Atque quemadmodum vulgaris logica, quae regit res per syllogismum, non tantum ad naturales, sed ad omnes scientias pertinet; ita & nostra, quae procedit per inductionem, omnia complectitur. Tam enim historiam & tabulas inveniendi conficimus de ira, metu & verecundia, & similibus; ac etiam de exemplis rerum civilium: nec minus de motibus mentalibus memoriae, compositionis & divi-

vifionis,

visionis, iudicii, & reliquorum; quam de calido & frigido, aut luce, aut vegetatione, aut similibus. Sed tamen cum nostra ratio interpretandi, post historiam praeparatam & ordinatam, non mentis tantum motus & discursus, (ut logica vulgaris) sed & rerum naturam intueatur; ita mentem regimus, ut ad rerum naturam se, aptis per omnia modis, applicare possit. Atque propterea multa & diversa in doctrina interpretationis praecipimus, quae ad subiecti, de quo inquirimus, qualitatem & conditionem, modum inveniendi nonnulla ex parte applicent.

CXXVIII. At illud de nobis ne dubitare quidem fas sit; utrum nos philosophiam & artes & scientias, quibus utimur, destruere & demoliri cupiamus: Contra enim earum & usum & cultum & honores libenter amplectimur. Neque enim ullo modo officimus, quin istae, quae invaluerunt, & disputationes alant, & sermones ornent, & ad professoria munera ac vitae civilis compendia adhibeantur & valeant; denique tanquam numismata quaedam consensu inter homines recipiantur. Quinetiam significamus aperte ea, quae nos adducimus, ad istas res non multum idonea futura; cum ad vulgi captum deduci omnino non possint, nisi per effecta & opera tantum. At hoc ipsum, quod de affectu nostro & bona voluntate erga scientias receptas dicimus, quam vere profiteamur, scripta nostra in publicum edita (praesertim libri de progressu scientiarum) fidem faciant. Itaque id verbis amplius vincere non conabimur. Illud interim constanter & diserte monemus; his modis, qui in usu sunt, nec magnos in scientiarum doctrinis & contemplatione progressus fieri, nec illas ad amplitudinem operum deduci posse.

CXXIX. SUPEREST ut de finis excellentia pauca dicamus. Ea si prius dicta fuissent, votis similia videri potuissent: sed spe jam facta & iniquis praeiudiciis sublatis, plus fortasse ponderis habebunt. Quod si nos omnia perfecissemus & plane absolvissemus, nec alios in partem & consortium laborum subinde vocaremus; etiam ab huiusmodi verbis abstinuissemus, ne acciperentur in praedicationem meriti nostri. Cum vero aliorum industria acuenda sit, & animi excitandi atque accendendi; consentaneum est, ut quaedam hominibus in mentem redigamus.

PRIMO itaque, videtur inventorum nobilium introductio inter actiones humanas longe primas partes tenere; id quod antiqua saecula iudicaverunt. Ea enim rerum inventoribus divinos honores tribuerunt: iis autem qui in rebus civilibus merebantur, (quales erant urbium & imperiorum conditores, legistatores, patriarum a diuturnis malis liberatores, tyrannidum debellatores, & his similes) heroum tantum honores decreverunt. Atque certe si quis ea recte conferat, iustum hoc prisca saeculi iudicium reperiet. Etenim inventorum beneficia ad universum genus humanum pertinere possunt; civilia ad certas tantummodo hominum sedes: haec etiam non ultra paucas aetates durant; illa quasi perpetuis temporibus. Atque status emendatio in civilibus non sine vi & perturbatione plerumque procedit: at inventa beant, & beneficium deferunt absque alicujus injuria aut tristitia.

ETIAM inventa quasi novae creationes sunt, & divinorum operum imitamenta, ut bene cecinit ille:

Primae frugiferos foetus mortalibus aegris

Dididerunt quondam praestanti nomine Athenae:

Et RECREAVERTUNT vitam, legesque rogarunt.

3

Lucret. L. vi. l.

ATQUE

ATQUE videtur notatu dignum in Solomone ; quod cum imperio, auro, magnificentia operum, satellitio, famulitio, classe insuper, & nominis claritate, ac summa hominum admiratione floreret ; tamen nihil horum delegerit sibi ad gloriam, sed ita pronunciaverit : *Gloriam Dei esse, celare rem ; gloriam regis, investigare rem.*

RURSUS (si placet) reputet quispiam, quantum intersit inter hominum vitam in exultissima quapiam Europae provincia, & in regione aliqua novae Indiae maxime fera & barbara : Ea tantum differre existimabit, ut merito hominem homini deum esse, non solum propter auxilium & beneficium, sed etiam per status comparisonem, recte dici possit. Atque hoc non solum, non coelum, non corpora ; sed artes praestant.

RURSUS, vim & virtutem & consequentias rerum inventarum notare juvat, quae non in aliis manifestius occurrunt, quam in illis tribus, quae antiquis incognitae ; & quarum primordia, licet recentia, obscura & ingloria sunt : Artis nimirum imprimendi, pulveris tormentarii, & acus nauticae. Haec enim tria, rerum faciem & statum in orbe terrarum mutaverunt : primum, in re literaria ; secundum, in re bellica : tertium, in navigationibus : Unde innumerae rerum mutationes sequutae sunt, ut non imperium aliquod, non secta, non stella majorem efficaciam & quasi influxum super res humanas exercuisse videatur, quam ista mechanica exercuerunt.

PRAETEREA non abs re fuerit, tria hominum ambitionis genera & quasi gradus distinguere. Primum eorum, qui propriam potentiam in patria sua amplificare cupiunt ; quod genus vulgare est & degener. Secundum eorum, qui patriae potentiam & imperium inter humanum genus amplificare nituntur : Illud plus certe habet dignitatis, cupiditatis haud minus. Quod si quis humani gereris ipsius potentiam & imperium in rerum universitatem instaurare & amplificare conetur ; ea proculdubio ambitio (si modo ita vocanda sit) reliquis & sanior est & augustior. Hominis autem imperium in res, in solis artibus & scientiis ponitur : Naturae enim non imperatur, nisi parendo.

PRAETEREA, si unius alicujus particularis inventi utilitas ita homines affecerit, ut eum, qui genus humanum universum beneficio aliquo devincire potuerit, homine majorem putaverint ; quanto celsius videbitur tale aliquid invenire, per quod alia omnia expedite inveniri possint ? Et tamen (ut verum omnino dicamus) quemadmodum luci magnam habemus gratiam, quod per eam vias inire, artes exercere, legere, nos invicem dignoscere possimus, & nihilominus ipsa visio lucis res praestantior est & pulchrior, quam multiplex ejus usus : Ita certe ipsa contemplatio rerum, prout sunt, sine superstitione aut impostura, errore aut confusione, in se ipsa magis digna est quam universus inventorum fructus.

POSTREMO si quis depravationem scientiarum & artium ad malitiam & luxuriam, & similia, objecerit ; id neminem moveat. Illud enim de omnibus mundanis bonis dici potest, ingenio, fortitudine, viribus, forma, divitiis, luce ipsa, & reliquis. Recuperet modo genus humanum jus suum in naturam, quod ei ex dotatione divina competit ; & detur ei copia : usum vero recta ratio & sana religio gubernabit.

CXXX. JAM vero tempus est, ut artem ipsam interpretandi naturam proponamus : in qua licet nos utilissima & verissima praecepisse arbitremur ; tamen necessitatem ei absolutam (ac si absque ea nil agi possit) aut etiam perfectionem non attribuimus. Etenim in ea opinione sumus ; si justam naturae & experientiae historiam praesto haberent homines, atque in ea sedu-

lo versarentur; sibi que duas res imperare possent; unam ut receptas opiniones & notiones deponerent; alteram, ut mentem a generalissimis & proximis ab illis, ad tempus cohiberent; fore ut etiam vi propria & genuina mentis, absque alia arte, in formam nostram interpretandi incidere possent. Est enim interpretatio verum & naturale opus mentis, demptis iis, quae obstant: Sed tamen omnia certe per nostra praecepta erunt magis in procinctu & multo firmiora.

NEQUE tamen illis nihil addi posse affirmamus: sed contra, nos qui mentem respicimus, non tantum in facultate propria, sed quatenus copulatur cum rebus; artem inveniendi cum inventis adolescere posse, statuere debemus.

LIBER SECUNDUS APHORISMORUM,

DE

INTERPRETATIONE NATURAE,

Sive de Regno

HOMINIS.

Aph. I. **S**UPER datum corpus novam naturam, five novas naturas generare & superinducere, opus & intentio est humanae potentiae. Datae autem naturae formam, five differentiam veram, five naturam naturantem, five fontem emanationis, (ista enim vocabula habemus, quae ad indicationem rei proxime accedunt,) invenire, opus & intentio est humanae scientiae. Atque his operibus primariis, subordinantur alia opera duo secundaria & inferioris notae; priori, transformatio corporum concretorum de alio in aliud, intra terminos possibilis; posteriori, inventio in omni generatione & motu, latentis processus continuati ab efficiente manifesto & materia manifesta, usque ad formam inditam; & inventio similiter latentis schematismi corporum quiescentium & non in motu.

II. QUAM infeliciter se habeat scientia humana, quae in usu est, etiam ex illis liquet, quae vulgo asseruntur. Recte ponitur; *Vere scire, esse per causas scire*. Etiam non male constituuntur causae quatuor; materia, forma, efficiens & finis. At ex his causa finalis tantum abest ut profit, ut etiam scientias corrumpat, nisi in hominis actionibus. Formae inventio habetur pro desperata. Efficiens vero & materia, (quales quaeruntur & recipiuntur, remotae scilicet, absque latenti processu ad formam,) res perfunctoriae sunt & superficiales, & nihili fere ad scientiam veram & activam. Neque tamen obliiti sumus, nos superius notasse & correxisse errorem mentis

VOL I.

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tis humanae, in deferendo formis primas essentiae. Licet enim in natura nihil vere existat praeter corpora individua, edentia actus puros individuos ex lege; in doctrinis tamen, illa ipsa lex ejusque inquisitio, & inventio atque explicatio, pro fundamento est tam ad sciendum quam ad operandum. Eam autem legem, ejusque paragraphos, formarum nomine intelligimus; praesertim cum hoc vocabulum invaluerit & familiariter occurrat.

III. QUI causam alicujus naturae (veluti albedinis aut caloris) in certis tantum subjectis novit; ejus scientia imperfecta est. Et qui effectum super certas tantum materias (inter eas quae sunt susceptibles) inducere potest; ejus potentia pariter imperfecta est. At qui efficientem & materialem causam tantummodo novit, (quae causae fluxae sunt, & nihil aliud quam vehicula & causae formam deferentes in aliquibus,) is ad nova inventa, in materia aliquatenus simili & praeparata, pervenire potest; sed rerum terminos altius fixos non movet. At qui formas novit, is naturae unitatem in materiis dissimillimis complectitur. Itaque quae adhuc facta non sunt, qualia nec naturae vicissitudines, neque experimentales industriae, neque casus ipse, in actum unquam perduxissent, neque cogitationem humanam subitura fuissent; detegere & producere potest. Quare ex formarum inventionem sequitur contemplatio vera & operatio libera.

IV. LICET viae ad potentiam, atque ad scientiam humanam, conjunctissimae sint & fere eadem; tamen propter perniciosam & inveteratam consuetudinem versandi in abstractis, tutius omnino est ordiri & excitare scientias ab iis fundamentis, quae in ordine sunt ad partem activam, atque ut illa ipsa partem contemplativam fighet & determinet. Videndum itaque est ad aliquam naturam super corpus datum generandam & superinducendam, quale quis praeceptum, aut qualem quis directionem aut deductionem maxime optaret; idque sermone simplici & minime abstruso.

EXEMPLI gratia; si quis argento cupiat superinducere flavum colorem auri, aut augmentum ponderis, (servatis legibus materiae,) aut lapidi alicui non diaphano diaphaneitatem, aut vitro tenacitatem, aut corpori alicui non vegetabili vegetationem; videndum (inquam) est, quale quis praeceptum aut deductionem potissimum sibi dari exoptet. Atque primo, exoptabit aliquis proculdubio sibi monstrari aliquid hujusmodi, quod opere non frustret, neque experimento fallat. Secundo, exoptabit quis aliquid sibi praescribi, quod ipsum non astringat & coperceat ad media quaedam, & modos quosdam operandi particulares. Fortasse enim destituetur, nec habebit facultatem & commoditatem talia media comparandi & procurandi. Quod si sint & alia media, & alii modi (praeter illud praeceptum) progignendae talis naturae; ea fortasse ex iis erunt, quae sunt in operantis potestate; a quibus nihilominus per angustias praecepti excludetur, nec fructum capiet. Tertio, optabit aliquid sibi monstrari, quod non sit aeque difficile, ac illa ipsa operatio de qua inquiritur, sed propius accedat ad praxin.

ITAQUE de praecepto vero & perfecto operandi pronunciatum erit tale; Ut sit certum, liberum & disponens, sive in ordine ad actionem. Atque hoc ipsum idem est cum inventionem formae verae. Etenim forma naturae alicujus talis est, ut ea posita, natura data infallibiliter sequatur. Itaque adest perpetuo, quando natura illa adest, atque eam universaliter affirmat, atque inest omni. Eadem forma talis est, ut ea amota, natura data infallibiliter fugiat. Itaque abest perpetuo, quando natura illa abest, eamque perpetuo abnegat, atque inest soli. Postremo, forma vera talis est, ut naturam datam ex fonte aliquo essentiae deducat, quae inest pluribus, & notior est naturae

naturae (ut loquuntur) quam ipsa forma. Itaque de axioma vero & perfecto sciendi pronunciatum & praeceptum tale est; *Ut inveniatur natura alia, quae sit cum natura data convertibilis, & tamen sit limitatio naturae notioris instar generis veri.* Ista autem duo pronuntiata, activum & contemplativum, res eadem sunt; & quod in operando utilissimum id in sciendo verissimum.

V. A T praeceptum sive axioma de transformatione corporum, duplicis est generis. Primum intuetur corpus, ut turmam sive conjugationem naturarum simplicium, ut in auro haec conveniunt; quod sit flavum; quod sit ponderosum, ad pondus tale; quod sit malleabile aut ductile, ad extensionem talem; quod non fiat volatile, nec deperdat de quanto suo per ignem; quod fluat fluore tali; quod separetur & solvatur modis talibus, & similiter de caeteris naturis, quae in auro concurrunt. Itaque huiusmodi axioma rem deducit ex formis naturarum simplicium. Nam qui formas & modos novit superinducendi flavi, ponderis, ductilis, fixi, floris, solutionum, & sic de reliquis, & eorum gradationes & modos; videbit & curabit, ut ista conjungi possint in aliquo corpore, unde sequatur transformatio in aurum. Atque hoc genus operandi pertinet ad actionem primariam. Eadem enim est ratio generandi naturam unam aliquam simplicem & plures; nisi quod ardeatur magis & restringatur homo in operando, si plures requirantur propter difficultatem tot naturas coadunandi; quae non facile conveniunt, nisi per vias naturae tritas & ordinarias. Utcunque tamen dicendum est, quod iste modus operandi, (qui naturas intuetur simplices, licet in corpore concreto,) procedat ex iis, quae in natura sunt constantia & aeterna & catholica, & latas praebeat potentiae humanae vias, quales (ut nunc sunt res) cogitatio humana vix capere aut repraesentare possit.

A T secundum genus axiomatis, (quod a latentis processus inventionem pendet,) non per naturas simplices procedit, sed per concreta corpora, quemadmodum in natura inveniuntur cursu ordinario. Exempli gratia, in casu ubi fit inquisitio, ex quibus initiis, & quo modo, & quo processu, aurum aut aliud quodvis metallum aut lapis generetur, a primis mensuris aut rudimentis suis, usque ad mineram perfectam: Aut similiter, quo processu herbae generentur a primis concretionibus succorum in terra, aut a seminibus, usque ad plantam formatam, cum universa illa successione motus, & diversis & continuatis naturae nixibus: Similiter, de generatione ordinatim explicata animalium, ab initu ad partum; & similiter de corporibus aliis.

ENIMVERO neque ad generationes corporum tantum spectat haec inquisitio, sed etiam ad alios motus & opificia naturae. Exempli gratia; in casu ubi fit inquisitio de universa serie & continuatis actionibus alimentandi, a prima receptione alimenti ad assimilationem perfectam; aut similiter de motu voluntario in animalibus, a prima impressione imaginationis & continuatis nixibus spiritus, usque ad flexiones & motus artuum; aut de explicato motu linguae, & labiorum, & instrumentorum reliquorum, usque ad editionem vocum articulatarum. Nam haec quoque spectant ad naturas concretas, sive collegiatas & in fabrica; & intuentur veluti consuetudines naturae particulares & speciales, non leges fundamentales & communes, quae constituunt formas. Veruntamen omnino fatendum est rationem istam videri expeditiorem, & magis sitam in propinquo; & spem injicere magis, quam illam primariam.

A T pars operativa similiter, quae huic parti contemplativae respondet, operationem extendit & promovet, ab iis, quae ordinario in natura inveniuntur,

untur, ad quaedam proxima, aut a proximis non admodum remota; sed altiores & radicales operationes super naturam, pendent utique ab axiomatibus primariis. Quinetiam ubi non datur homini facultas operandi, sed tantum sciendi, ut in coelestibus, (neque enim conceditur homini operari in coelestia aut ea immutare aut transformare;) tamen inquisitio facti ipsius, sive veritatis rei, non minus quam cognitio causarum & consensuum, ad primaria illa & catholica axiomata de naturis simplicibus, (veluti de natura rotationis spontaneae, attractionis sive virtutis magneticae, & aliorum complurium, quae magis communia sunt quam ipsa coelestia,) refertur. Neque enim speret aliquis terminare quaestionem, utrum in motu diurno revera terra aut coelum rotet; nisi naturam rotationis spontaneae prius comprehenderit.

VI. LATENS autem processus, de quo loquimur, longe alia res est, quam animis hominum (qualiter nunc obsidentur) facile possit occurrere. Neque enim intelligimus mensuras quasdam, aut signa, aut scalas processus, in corporibus spectabiles; sed plane processum continuatum, qui maxima ex parte sensum fugit.

EXEMPLI gratia; in omni generatione & transformatione corporum inquirendum, quid deperdatur & evolet, quid maneat, quid accedat; quid dilatetur, quid contrahatur; quid uniatur, quid separetur; quid continueatur, quid abscindatur; quid impellat, quid impediat; quid dominetur, quid succumbat; & alia complura.

NEQUE hic rursus, haec tantum in generatione aut transformatione corporum quaerenda sunt; sed & in omnibus aliis alterationibus & motibus similiter inquirendum, quid antecedit, quid succedat; quid sit incitatus, quid remissus; quid motum praebat, quid regat; & huiusmodi. Ista vero omnia scientiis, (quae nunc pinguissima Minerva, & prorsus inhabili, contextuntur,) incognita sunt & intacta. Cum enim omnis actio naturalis per minima transfigatur, aut saltem per illa quae sunt minora, quam ut sensum feriant; nemo se naturam regere aut vertere posse speret, nisi illa debito modo comprehenderit & notaverit.

VII. SIMILITER, inquisitio & inventio latentis schematismi in corporibus res nova est; non minus quam inventio latentis processus & formae. Versamur enim plane adhuc in atriis naturae, neque ad interiora paramus aditum. At nemo corpus datum nova natura dotare, vel in novum corpus feliciter & apposite transmutare potest, nisi corporis alterandi aut transformandi bonam habuerit notitiam. In modos enim vanos incurret, aut saltem difficiles & perversos, nec pro corporis natura, in quod operatur. Itaque ad hoc etiam via plane est aperienda & munienda.

ATQUE in anatomia corporum organicorum (qualia sunt hominis & animalium) opera sane recte & utiliter infumitur, & videtur res subtilis, & scrutinium naturae bonum. At hoc genus anatomiae spectabile est, & sensui subjectum, & in corporibus tantum organicis locum habet. Verum hoc ipsum obvium quiddam est & in promptu situm, prae anatomia vera schematismi latentis in corporibus, quae habentur pro similaribus; praesertim in rebus specificatis, & earum partibus, ut ferri, lapidis; & partibus similaribus plantae, animalis, veluti radices, folii, floris, carnis, sanguinis, ossis, &c. At etiam in hoc genere non prorsus cessavit industria humana; hoc ipsum enim innuit separatio corporum similarium per distillationes, & alios solutionum modos, ut dissimilaritas compositi per congregationem partium homogenearum appareat. Quod etiam ex usu est, & facit ad id quod quaerimus; licet saepius res fallax sit: quia complures naturae separationi impu-
tantur

tantur & attribuuntur, ac si prius substitissent in composito; quas revera ignis & calor, & alii modi apertionum de novo induunt & superinducunt. Sed & haec quoque parva pars est operis, ad inveniendum schematismum verum in composito; qui schematismus res est longe subtilior & accuratior, & ab operibus ignis potius confunditur, quam eruitur & elucescit.

ITAQUE facienda est corporum separatio & solutio; non per ignem certe; sed per rationem & inductionem veram, cum experimentis auxiliariis; & per comparisonem ad alia corpora, & reductionem ad naturas simplices & earum formas, quae in composito conveniunt & complicantur; & transfundum plane a Vulcano ad Minervam, si in animo sit veras corporum texturas & schematismos, (unde omnis occulta atque, ut vocant, specifica proprietas & virtus in rebus pendet, unde etiam omnis potentis alterationis & transformationis norma educitur,) in lucem protrahere.

EXEMPLI gratia; inquirendum, quid sit in omni corpore spiritus, quid essentia tangibilis; atque ille ipse spiritus, utrum sit copiosus & turgeat, an jejunos & paucus; tenuis aut crassior; magis aëreus aut igneus; acris aut desēs; exilis aut robustus; in progressu aut in regressu; abscissus aut continuatus; consentiens cum externis & ambientibus aut dissentiens; &c. Et similiter, essentia tangibilis; (quae non pauciores recipit differentias quam spiritus,) atque ejus villi & fibrae, & omnimoda textura. Rursus autem collocatio spiritus per corpoream molem, ejusque pori, meatus, venae & cellulae, & rudimenta sive tentamenta corporis organici, sub eandem inquisitionem cadunt. Sed & in his quoque, atque adeo in omni latentis schematismi inventionem, lux vera & clara ab axiomatibus primariis immittitur, quae certe caliginem omnem & subtilitatem discutit.

VIII. NEQUE propterea res deducetur ad atomum, qui praesupponit vacuum & materiam non fluxam, (quorum utrumque falsum est;) sed ad particulas veras, quales inveniuntur. Neque rursus est, quod exhorreat quispiam istam subtilitatem, ut inexplicabilem; sed contra, quo magis vergit inquisitio ad naturas simplices, eo magis omnia erunt sita in plano & perspicuo; translato negotio a multiplici in simplex; & ab incommensurabili ad commensurabile; & a furdo ad computabile; & ab infinito & vago ad definitum & certum; ut sit in elementis literarum, & tonis concentuum. Optime autem cedit inquisitio naturalis, quando physicum terminatur in mathematico. At rursus multitudinem aut fractionem nemo reformidet: In rebus enim quae per numeros transfiguntur, tam facile quis posuerit aut cogitaverit millenarium, quam unum; aut millesimam partem unius, quam unum integrum.

IX. Ex duobus generibus axiomatum, quae superius posita sunt, oritur vera divisio philosophiae & scientiarum; translatis vocabulis receptis (quae ad indicationem rei proximè accedunt) ad sensum nostrum. Videlicet, ut inquisitio formarum, quae sunt (ratione certe & sua lege) aeternae & immobiles, & constituat metaphysicam; inquisitio vero efficientis & materiae, & latentis processus, & latentis schematismi, (quae omnia cursum naturae communem & ordinarium, non leges fundamentales & aeternas respiciunt,) constituat physicam; atque his subordinentur similiter practicae duae; physicae mechanica; metaphysicae (perpurgato nomine) magia, propter latas ejus vias, & majus imperium in naturam.

X. POSITO itaque doctrinae scopo, pergendum ad praecepta; idque ordine minime perverso aut perturbato. Atque indicia de interpretatione naturae complectuntur partes in genere duas; primam, de educendis aut ex-

citandis axiomatibus ab experientia ; secundum, de deducendis aut derivandis experimentis novis ab axiomatibus. Prior autem trifariam dividitur ; in tres nempe ministraciones ; ministracionem ad sensum ; ministracionem ad memoriam ; & ministracionem ad mentem sive rationem.

PRIMO enim paranda est historia naturalis & experimentalis, sufficiens & bona ; quod fundamentum rei est : Neque enim fingendum aut excogitandum, sed inveniendum, quid natura faciat aut ferat.

HISTORIA vero naturalis & experimentalis tam varia est & sparsa, ut intellectum confundat & disgreget, nisi sistatur & compareat ordine idoneo. Itaque formandae sunt tabulae & co-ordinationes instantiarum, tali modo & instructione, ut in eas agere possit intellectus.

ID quoque licet fiat ; tamen intellectus sibi permissus, & sponte movens, incompetens est & inhabilis ad opificium axiomatum, nisi regatur & muniatur. Itaque tertio, adhibenda est inductio legitima & vera, quae ipsa clavis est interpretationis. Incipiendum autem est a fine, & retro pergendum ad reliqua.

XI. INQUISITIO formarum sic procedit ; super naturam datam primo facienda est comparentia ad intellectum omnium instantiarum notarum, quae in eadem natura conveniunt, per materias licet dissimillimas. Atque huiusmodi collectio facienda est historice, absque contemplatione praefestina aut subtilitate aliqua majore. Exempli gratia ; in inquisitione de forma calidi.

Instantiae convenientes in natura calidi.

1. RADII solis, praesertim aestate & meridie.
2. RADII solis reflexi & constipati, ut inter montes aut per parietes, & maxime omnium in speculis comburentibus.
3. METEORA ignita.
4. FULMINA comburentia.
5. ERUCTIONES flammarum ex cavis montium, &c.
6. FLAMMA omnis.
7. IGNITA solida.
8. BALNEA calida naturalia.
9. LIQUIDA ferventia aut calefacta.
10. VAPORES & fumi ferventes, atque aer ipse, qui fortissimum & furentem suscipit calorem, si concludatur ; ut in reverberatoriis.
11. TEMPESTATES aliquae sudae per ipsam constitutionem aeris, non habita ratione temporis anni.
12. AER conclusus & subterraneus in cavernis nonnullis, praesertim hyeme.
13. OMNIA villosa ; ut lana, pelles animalium, & plumagines, habent nonnihil teporis.
14. CORPORA omnia, tam solida quam liquida & tam densa quam tenuia, (qualis est ipse aer,) igni ad tempus approximata.
15. SCINTILLAE ex filice & chalybe per fortem percussione.
16. OMNE corpus fortiter attritum, ut lapis, lignum, pannus, &c. adeo ut temones, & axes rotarum, aliquando flammam concipiant ; & mos excitandi ignis apud Indos occidentales fuerit per attritionem.
17. HERBAE virides & humidae simul conclusae & contrusae, ut rosae, pisae in corbis ; adeo ut foenum, si repositum fuerit madidum, saepe concipiat flammam.

18. CALX

18. CALX viva, aqua aspersa.

19. FERRUM, cum primo dissolvitur per aquas fortes in vitro, idque absque ulla admotione ad ignem; & stannum similiter, &c. sed non adeo intense.

20. ANIMALIA, praesertim & perpetuo per interiora; licet in infectis calor ob parvitatem corporis non deprehendatur ad tactum.

21. FIMUS equinus, & hujusmodi excrementa animalium recentia.

22. OLEUM forte sulphuris & vitrioli exequitur opera caloris, in linteo adurendo.

23. OLEUM origani, & hujusmodi, exequitur opera caloris in adurendis ossibus dentium.

24. SPIRITUS vini fortis & bene rectificatus exequitur opera caloris; adeo ut si albumen ovi in eum injiciatur, concreascit & albescat, fere in modum albuminis cocti; panis injectus torrefiat & incrustetur, ad modum panis tosti.

25. AROMATA & herbae calidae, ut dracunculus, nasturtium vetus, &c. licet ad manum non sint calida, (nec integra, nec pulveres eorum;) tamen ad linguam & palatum parum masticata, percipiuntur calida, & quasi adurentia.

26. ACETUM forte, & omnia acida, in membro ubi non sit epidermis, ut in oculo, lingua, aut aliqua alia parte vulnerata, & cute detecta, dolorem eient, non multum discrepantem ab eo, qui inducitur a calido.

27. ETIAM frigora acia & intensa inducunt sensum quandam ustionis:

Nec boreae penetrabile frigus adurit.

28. ALIA.

HANC tabulam essentiae & praesentiae appellare consuevimus.

XII. SECUNDO, facienda est comparentia ad intellectum instantiarum, quae natura data privantur; quia forma (ut dictum est) non minus abesse debet, ubi natura data abest; quam adesse, ubi adest. Hoc vero infinitum esset in omnibus.

ITAQUE subjungenda sunt negativa affirmativis, & privationes inspiciendae tantum in illis subjectis, quae sunt maxime cognata illis alteris, in quibus natura data inest & comparet. Hanc tabulam declinationis five absentiae in proximo appellare consuevimus.

Instantiae in proximo, quae privantur natura calidi.

Ad instantiam primam affirmativam.

LUNAE & stellarum, & cometarum radii, non inveniuntur calidi ad tactum: quinetiam observari solent acerrima frigora in pleniluniis.

Instantia prima negativa vel subjunctiva.

AT stellae fixae majores, quando sol eas subit, aut iis approximatur, existimantur fervores solis augere & intendere; ut fit, cum sol sistitur in leone & diebus canicularibus.

Ad secundam, secunda.

RADII solis in media (quam vocant) regione aëris non calefaciunt; cuius ratio vulgo non male redditur; quia regio illa nec satis appropinquat ad corpus solis unde radii emanant, nec etiam ad terram, unde reflectuntur. Atque hoc liquet ex fastigiis montium, (nisi sint praealti,) ubi nives perpetuo durant. Sed contra notatum est a nonnullis, quod in cacumine Picus de Tenariph,

nariph, atque etiam in Andis Peruviae, ipsa fastigia montium nive destituta sint; nivibus jacentibus tantum inferius in ascensu. Atque insuper aër in illis ipsis verticibus montium deprehenditur minime frigidus, sed tenuis tantum & acer; adeo ut, in Andis pungat & vulneret oculos per nimiam acrimoniam, atque etiam pungat os ventriculi, & inducat vomitum. Atque ab antiquis notatum est, in vertice Olympi tantam fuisse aëris tenuitatem, ut necesse fuerit illis, qui eo ascenderant, secum deferre spongas aceto & aqua madefactas, easque ad os & nares subinde apponere; quia aër ob tenuitatem non sufficiebat respirationi. In quo vertice etiam relatum est tantam fuisse serenitatem & tranquillitatem a pluviis & nivibus & ventis; ut sacrificantibus literae descriptae digito in cineribus sacrificiorum super aram Jovis, manerent in annum proximum absque ulla perturbatione. Atque etiam hodie ascendentes ad verticem Picus de Tenariph, eo vadunt noctu & non interdiu; & paulo post ortum solis monentur & excitantur a ducibus suis, ut festinent descendere propter periculum (ut videtur) a tenuitate aëris, ne solvat spiritus & suffocet.

Ad secundam, tertiam.

REFLEXIO radiorum solis in regionibus prope circulos polares, admodum debilis & inefficax invenitur in calore; adeo ut Belgae, qui hybernarunt in Nova Zembla, cum expectarent navis suae liberationem & deobstructionem a glaciali mole, (quae eam obfederat) per initia mensis Julii spe sua frustrati sint, & coacti scaphae se committere. Itaque radii solis directi videntur parum posse, etiam super terram planam; nec reflexi etiam, nisi multiplicentur & uniantur, quod fit, cum sol magis vergit ad perpendicularum; quia tum incidentia radiorum facit angulos acutiores; ut lineae radiorum sint magis in propinquo; ubi contra in magnis obliquitatibus solis anguli sunt valde obtusi, & proinde lineae radiorum magis distantes. Sed interim notandum est, multas esse posse operationes radiorum solis, atque etiam ex natura calidi, quae non sunt proportionatae ad tactum nostrum; adeo ut respectu nostri non operentur usque ad calefactionem, sed respectu aliorum nonnullorum corporum exequantur opera calidi.

Ad secundam, quartam.

FIAT hujusmodi experimentum. Accipiat speculum fabricatum, contra ac sit in speculis comburentibus; & interponatur inter manum & radios solis; & fiat observatio, utrum minuat calorem solis, quemadmodum speculum comburens eundem auget & intendit. Manifestum est enim quoad radios opticos, prout fabricatur speculum in densitate inaequali respectu medii & laterum, ita apparere simulachra magis diffusa, aut magis contracta. Itaque idem videndum in calore.

Ad secundam, quintam.

FIAT experimentum diligenter, utrum per specula comburentia fortissima & optime fabricata, radii lunae possint excipi & colligi in aliquem vel minimum gradum teporis. Is vero gradus teporis, si fortasse nimis subtilis & debilis fuerit, ut ad tactum percipi & deprehendi non possit; confugiendum erit ad vitra illa, quae indicant constitutionem aëris calidam aut frigidam; ita ut radii lunae per speculum comburens incidant & jacentur in summitatem vitri hujusmodi; atque tum notetur, si fiat depressio aquae per teporem.

Ad secundam, sexta.

PRACTICETUR etiam vitrum comburens super calidum, quod non fit radiosum aut luminosum; ut ferri & lapidis calefacti, sed non igniti; aut aquae ferventis, aut similium: & notetur, utrum fiat augmentum & intentio calidi, ut in radiis solis.

Ad secundam, septima.

PRACTICETUR etiam speculum comburens in flamma communi.

Ad tertiam, octava.

COMETARUM (si & illos numerare inter meteora libuerit) non deprehenditur constans aut manifestus effectus in augendis ardoribus anni, licet siccitates saepius inde sequi notatae sint. Quinetiam trabes, & columnae lucidae, & chasmata, & similia, apparent saepius temporibus hybernis quam aestivis; & maxime per intensissima frigora, sed conjuncta cum siccitatibus. Fulmina tamen & coruscationes & tonitrua raro eveniunt hyeme, sed sub tempus magnorum fervorum. At stellae (quas vocant) cadentes, existimantur vulgo magis constare ex viscosa aliqua materia splendida & accensa, quam esse naturae igneae fortioris. Sed de hoc inquiratur ulterius.

Ad quartam, nona.

SUNT quaedam coruscationes, quae praebent lumen, sed non urunt: Eae vero semper fiunt sine tonitru.

Ad quintam, decima.

ERUCTIONES & eruptiones flammarum inveniuntur non minus in regionibus frigidis quam calidis; ut in Islandia & Groenlandia: quemadmodum & arbores per regiones frigidas magis sunt quandoque inflammabiles, & magis piceae ac resinosae, quam per regiones calidas; ut fit in abiete, pinu, & reliquis: Verum in quali situ & natura foli hujusmodi eruptiones fieri soleant, ut possimus affirmativae subungere negativam, non satis quaesitum est.

Ad sextam, undecima.

OMNIS flamma perpetuo est calida magis aut minus, neque omnino subjungitur negativa. Et tamen referunt ignem fatuum, (quem vocant,) qui etiam aliquando impingitur in parietem, non multum habere caloris; fortasse instar flammæ spiritus vini, quae clemens & lenis est. Sed adhuc lenior videtur ea flamma, quae in nonnullis historiis fidei & gravibus invenitur apparuisse circa capita & comas puerorum & virginum; quae nullo modo comas adurebat, sed molliter circum eas trepidabat. Atque certissimum est, circa equum in itinere sudantem, noctu & suda tempestate, apparuisse quandoque coruscationem quandam absque manifesto calore. Atque paucis abhinc annis notissimum est, & pro miraculo quasi habitum, gremiale cujusdam puellae paulo motum aut fricatum coruscasse; quod fortasse factum est ob alumen aut sales, quibus gremiale tinctum erat, paulo crassius haerentia & incrustata, & ex fricatione fracta. Atque certissimum est, saccharum omne sive conditum, (ut vocant,) sive simplex, modo sit durius, in tenebris fractum aut cultello scalptum coruscare. Similiter aqua marina & salsa, noctu interdum invenitur remis fortiter percussa coruscare. Atque etiam in tempestatibus spuma maris fortiter agitata noctu coruscat; quam coruscationem Hispani pulmonem marinum

vocant. De illa flamma autem, quam antiqui nautae vocabant Castorem & Pollucem, & moderni focum sancti Ermi, qualem calorem habeat, non satis quaesitum est.

Ad septimam, duodecima.

OMNE ignitum ita ut vertatur in ruborem igneum, etiam sine flamma perpetuo calidum est; neque huic affirmativae subjungitur negativa; sed quod in proximo est, videtur esse lignum putre; quod splendet noctu, neque tamen deprehenditur calidum: & squamae piscium putrescentes, quae etiam splendent noctu, nec inveniuntur ad tactum calidae; neque etiam corpus cicindelae aut muscae, (quam vocant luciolum,) calidum ad tactum deprehenditur.

Ad octavam, decima tertia.

DE balneis calidis, in quo situ & natura soli emanare soleant, non satis quaesitum est: itaque non subjungitur negativa.

Ad nonam, decima quarta.

LIQUIDIS ferventibus subjungitur negativa ipsius liquidi in natura sua. Nullum enim invenitur liquidum tangibile, quod sit in natura sua & maneat constanter calidum; sed superinducitur ad tempus tantum calor, ut natura ascititia; adeo ut quae potestate & operatione sunt maxime calidae, ut spiritus vini, olea aromatum chymica, etiam olea vitrioli & sulphuris, & similia, quae paulo post adurunt, ad primum tactum sint frigida. Aqua autem balneorum naturalium excepta in vas aliquod, & separata a fontibus suis, defervescit perinde ac aqua igne calefacta. At verum est corpora oleosa ad tactum paulo minus esse frigida quam aquea; ut oleum minus quam aqua, sericum minus quam linteum. Verum hoc pertinet ad tabulam graduum de frigido.

Ad decimam, decima quinta.

SIMILITER vaporis fervido subjungitur negativa naturae ipsius vaporis, qualis apud nos invenitur. Etenim exhalationes ex oleosis, licet facile inflammabiles, tamen non inveniuntur calidae, nisi a corpore calido recenter exhalaverint.

Ad decimam, decima sexta.

SIMILITER aëri ipsi ferventi subjungitur negativa naturae aëris ipsius. Neque enim invenitur apud nos aër calidus; nisi fuerit aut conclusus, aut attritus, aut manifeste calefactus a sole, igne, aut aliquo alio corpore calido.

Ad undecimam, decima septima.

SUBJUNGITUR negativa tempestatum frigidarum magis quam pro ratione temporis anni, quae eveniunt apud nos flante euro & borea: quemadmodum & contrariae tempestates eveniunt flante austro & zephyro. Etiam inclinatio ad pluviam (praesertim temporibus hyemalibus) comitatur tempestatem tepidam: at gelu contra frigidam.

Ad duodecimam, decima octava.

SUBJUNGITUR negativa aëris conclusi in cavernis tempore aestivo. At de aëre concluso omnino diligentius inquirendum. Primo enim non absque causa in dubitationem venit, qualis sit natura aëris, quatenus ad calidum & frigidum in natura sua propria. Recipit enim aër calidum manifeste.

fecto ex impressione coelestium; frigidum autem fortasse ab expiratione terrae; & rursus in media (quam vocant) regione aëris, a vaporibus frigidis & nivibus: Ut nullum iudicium fieri possit de aëris natura per aërem, qui foras est & sub dio, sed verius foret iudicium per aërem conclusum. Atqui opus est etiam; ut aër concludatur in tali vase & materia, quae nec ipsa imbuat aërem calido vel frigido ex vi propria, nec facile admittat vim aëris extranei. Fiat itaque experimentum per ollam figularem multiplici corio obductam ad muniendam ipsam ab aëre extraneo, facta mora per tres aut quatuor dies in vase bene occluso: deprehensio autem fit post apertionem vasis, vel per manum, vel per vitrum graduum ordine applicatum.

Ad decimam tertiam, decima nona.

SUBEST similiter dubitatio, utrum tepor in lana & pellibus & plumis, & huiusmodi, fiat ex quodam exili calore inhaerente, quatenus excernuntur ab animalibus; aut etiam ob pinguedinem quandam & oleositatem, quae sit naturae congruae cum tepore; vel plane ob conclusionem & fractionem aëris, ut in articulo praecedente dictum est. Videtur enim omnis aër abscissus a continuitate aëris forinseci habere nonnihil teporis. Itaque fiat experimentum in fibrosis, quae fiunt ex lino; non ex lana aut plumis aut serico, quae excernuntur ab animatis. Notandum est etiam, omnes pulveres (ubi manifesto includitur aër) minus esse frigidos, quam corpora integra ipsorum: quemadmodum etiam existimamus, omnem spumiam (utpote quae aërem contineat) minus esse frigidam, quam liquorem ipsum.

Ad decimam quartam, vicesima.

HUIC non subjungitur negativa. Nihil enim reperitur apud nos sive tangibile, sive spiritale, quod admotum igni non excipiat calorem. In eo tamen differunt, quod alia excipiant calorem citius, ut aër, oleum & aqua; alia tardius, ut lapis & metalla. Verum hoc pertinet ad tabulam graduum.

Ad decimam quintam, vicesima prima.

HUIC instantiae non subjungitur negativa alia, quam ut bene notetur; non excitari scintillas ex filice & chalybe, aut alia aliqua substantia dura, nisi ubi excutiuntur minutiae aliquae ex ipsa substantia lapidis vel metalli: neque aërem attritum unquam per se generare scintillas, ut vulgo putant: Quin & ipsae illae scintillae ex pondere corporis igniti magis vergunt deorsum quam sursum; & in extinctione redeunt in quandam fuliginem corpoream.

Ad decimam sextam, vicesima secunda.

EXISTIMAMUS huic instantiae non subungi negativam. Nullum enim invenitur apud nos corpus tangibile, quod non ex attritione manifesto caleseat; adeo ut veteres somniarent non inesse coelestibus aliam viam aut virtutem calefaciendi, nisi ex attritione aëris per rotationem rapidam & incitatam. Verum in hoc genere ulterius inquirendum est, utrum corpora, quae emittuntur ex machinis, (qualia sunt pilae ex tormentis,) non ex ipsa percussione contrahant aliquem gradum caloris; adeo ut postquam deciderint, inveniantur nonnihil calida. At aër motus magis infrigidat quam calefacit; ut in ventis & follibus & flatu oris contracti. Verum huiusmodi motus non est tam rapidus, ut excitet calorem; & fit secundum totum, non per particulas: ut mirum non sit, si non generet calorem.

Ad

Ad decimam septimam, vicesima tertia.

CIRCA hanc instantiam facienda est inquisitio diligentior. Videntur enim herbae & vegetabilia viridia & humida aliquid habere in se occulti caloris. Ille vero calor tam tenuis est, ut in singulis non percipiatur ad tactum: Verum postquam illa adunata sint & conclusa, ut spiritus ipsorum non expiret in aërem, sed se invicem foveat; tum vero oritur calor manifestus, & nonnunquam flamma in materia congrua.

Ad decimam octavam, vicesima quarta.

ETIAM circa hanc instantiam diligentior facienda est inquisitio. Videtur enim calx viva, aqua aspersa concipere calorem, vel propter unionem caloris, qui antea distrahebatur, (ut ante dictum est de herbis conclusis,) vel ob irritationem & exasperationem spiritus ignei ab aqua, ut fiat quidam conflictus & antiperistasis. Utra vero res sit in causa, facilius apparebit, si loco aquae immittatur oleum. Oleum enim aequè ac aqua valebit ad unionem spiritus inclusi, sed non ad irritationem. Etiam faciendum est experimentum latius tam in cineribus & calcibus diversorum corporum, quam per immersionem diversorum liquorum.

Ad decimam nonam, vicesima quinta.

HUIC instantiae subjungitur negativa aliorum metallorum, quae sunt magis mollia & fluxa. Etenim bracteolae auri solutae in liquorem per aquam regis, nullum dant calorem ad tactum in dissolutione: neque similiter plumbum in aqua forti. Neque etiam argentum vivum, (ut memini,) sed argentum ipsum parum excitat caloris, atque etiam cuprum, (ut memini,) sed magis manifesto stannum, atque omnium maxime ferrum & chalybs; quae non solum fortem excitant calorem in dissolutione, sed etiam violentam ebullitionem. Itaque videtur calor fieri per conflictum, cum aquae fortes penetrant & fodiunt, & divellunt partes corporis, & corpora ipsa resistunt. Ubi vero corpora facilius cedunt, vix excitatur calor.

Ad vicesimam, vicesima sexta.

CALORI animalium nulla subjungitur negativa, nisi insectorum (ut dictum est) ob parvitatem corporis. Etenim in piscibus collatis ad animalia terrestria magis notatur gradus caloris, quam privatio. In vegetabilibus autem & plantis nullus percipitur gradus caloris ad tactum, neque in lacrymis ipsorum, neque in medullis recenter apertis. At in animalibus magna reperitur diversitas caloris, tum in partibus ipsorum; (alius est enim calor circa cor, alius in cerebro, alius circa externa,) tum in accidentibus eorum, ut in exercitatione vehementi & febribus.

Ad vicesimam primam, vicesima septima.

HUIC instantiae vix subjungitur negativa. Quinetiam excrementa animalium non recentia manifeste habent calorem potentialem, ut cernitur in impinguatione soli.

Ad vicesimam secundam & tertiam, vicesima octava.

LIQUORES, (sive aquae vocentur sive olea,) qui habent magnam & intensam acrimoniam, exequuntur opera caloris in divulsione corporum, atque adustione post aliquam moram: sed tamen ad ipsum tactum manus, non sunt calidi ab initio. Operantur autem secundum analogiam & poros corporis,

poris, cui adjunguntur. Aqua enim regis aurum solvit, argentum minime : At contra, aqua fortis argentum solvit, aurum minime : Neutrum autem solvit vitrum : Et sic de caeteris.

Ad vicesimam quartam, vicesima nona.

FIAT experimentum spiritus vini in lignis, ac etiam in butyro, aut cera, aut pice ; si forte per calorem suum ea aliquatenus liquefaciat. Etenim instantia vicesima quarta ostendit potestatem ejus imitativam caloris in incrustationibus : Itaque fiat similiter experimentum in liquefactionibus. Fiat etiam experimentum per vitrum graduum five calendare, quod concavum sit in summitate sua per exterius ; & immittatur in illud concavum exterius spiritus vini bene rectificatus, cum operculo, ut melius contineat calorem suum ; & notetur utrum per calorem suum faciat aquam descendere.

Ad vicesimam quintam, tricesima.

AROMATA, & herbae acres ad palatum, multo magis sumptae interius, percipiuntur calida. Videndum itaque in quibus aliis materiis exequantur opera caloris. Atque referunt nautae, cum cumuli & massae aromatum diu conclusae subito aperiuntur, periculum instare illis, qui eas primo agitant & extrahunt, a febribus & inflammationibus spiritus. Similiter fieri poterit experimentum, utrum pulveres hujusmodi aromatum aut herbarum non arefaciant laridum & carnem suspensam super ipsos, veluti fumus ignis.

Ad vicesimam sextam, tricesima prima.

ACRIMONIA five penetratio inest tam frigidis, qualia sunt acetum & oleum vitrioli, quam calidis, qualia sunt oleum origani, & similia. Itaque similiter & in animatis cient dolorem, & in non-animatis divellunt partes & consumunt. Neque huic instantiae subjungitur negativa. Atque in animatis nullus reperitur dolor, nisi cum quodam sensu caloris.

Ad vicesimam septimam, tricesima secunda.

COMMUNES sunt complures actiones & calidi & frigidi, licet diversa admodum ratione. Nam & nives puerorum manus videntur paulo post urere ; & frigora tuentur carnes a putrefactione, non minus quam ignis ; & calores contrahunt corpora in minus, quod faciunt & frigida. Verum haec & similia opportunius est referre ad inquisitionem de frigido.

Aphor. XIII. TERTIO facienda est comparentia ad intellectum instantiarum in quibus natura, de qua fit inquisitio, inest secundum magis & minus ; five facta comparatione incrementi & decrementi in eodem subjecto, five facta comparatione ad invicem in subjectis diversis. Cum enim forma rei sit ipsissima res ; neque differat res a forma, aliter quam differunt apprens & existens, aut exterius & interius, aut in ordine ad hominem & in ordine ad universum ; omnino sequitur, ut non recipiatur aliqua natura pro vera forma, nisi perpetuo decrescat quando natura ipsa decrescit, & similiter perpetuo augeatur, quando natura ipsa augetur. Hanc itaque tabulam, tabulam graduum five tabulam comparativae appellare consuevimus.

Tabula graduum, five comparativae in calido.

PRIMO itaque dicemus de iis, quae nullum prorsus gradum caloris habent ad tactum ; sed videntur habere potentialem tantum quendam calorem, five dispositionem & praeparationem ad calidum. Postea demum de-

scendemus ad ea, quae sunt actu five ad tactum calida, eorumque fortitudines & gradus.

1. IN corporibus solidis & tangibilibus non invenitur aliquid, quod in natura sua calidum sit originaliter. Non enim lapis aliquis, non metallum, non sulphur, non fossile aliquod, non lignum, non aqua, non cadaver animalis,veniuntur calida. Aquae autem calidae in balneis videntur calefieri per accidens, five per flammam aut ignem subterraneum, qualis ex Aetna & montibus aliis compluribus evomitur; five ex conflictu corporum, quemadmodum calor fit in ferri & stanni dissolutionibus. Itaque gradus caloris in inanimatis, quatenus ad tactum humanum, nullus est; veruntamen illa gradu frigoris differunt; non enim aeque frigidum est lignum, ac metallum. Sed hoc pertinet ad tabulam graduum in frigido.

2. ATTAMEN quoad potentiales calores & praeparationes ad flammam, complura inveniuntur inanimata admodum disposita, ut sulphur, naphtha, petroleum.

3. QUAE antea incaluerunt, ut fimus equinus ex animali, aut calx, aut fortasse cinis, aut fuligo ex igne, reliquias latentes quasdam caloris prioris retinent. Itaque fiunt quaedam distillationes & separationes corporum, per sepulturam in fimo equino; atque excitatur calor in calce per asperionem aquae; ut jam dictum est.

4. INTER vegetabilia non invenitur aliqua planta five pars plantae, (veluti lacryma aut medulla,) quae sit ad tactum humanum calida. Sed tamen (ut superius dictum est) herbae virides conclusae calescunt; atque ad interiorem tactum, veluti ad palatum, aut ad stomachum, aut etiam ad exteriores partes post aliquam moram, (ut in emplastris & unguentis,) alia vegetabilia inveniuntur calida, alia frigida.

5. NON invenitur in partibus animalium, postquam fuerint mortuae aut separatae, aliquid calidum ad tactum humanum. Nam neque fimus equinus ipse, nisi fuerit conclusus & sepultus, calorem retinet. Sed tamen omnis fimus habere videtur calorem potentialem, ut in agrorum impinguatione. Et similiter, cadavera animalium huiusmodi habent latentem & potentialem calorem; adeo ut in coemeteriis, ubi quotidie fiunt sepulturae, terra calorem quendam occultum colligat, qui cadaver aliquod recenter positum consumit, longe citius quam terra pura. Atque apud orientales traditur inveniri textile quoddam tenue & molle, factum ex avium plumagine, quod vi innata butyrum solvat & liquefaciat, in ipso leviter involutum.

6. QUAE impinguant agros, ut fimi omnis generis, creta, arena maris, sal, & similia, dispositionem nonnullam habent ad calidum.

7. OMNIS putrefactio in se rudimenta quaedam exilis caloris habet, licet non hucusque, ut ad tactum percipiatur. Nam nec ea ipsa, quae putrefacta solvuntur in animalcula, ut caro, caseus, ad tactum percipiuntur calida; neque lignum putre, quod noctu splendet, deprehenditur ad tactum calidum. Calor autem in putridis quandoque se prodit per odores tetros & fortes.

8. PRIMUS itaque caloris gradus, ex iis quae ad tactum humanum percipiuntur calida, videtur esse calor animalium, qui bene magnam habet graduum latitudinem; nam infimus gradus (ut in insectis) vix ad tactum deprehenditur; summus autem gradus vix attingit ad gradum caloris radiorum solis in regionibus & temporibus maxime ferventibus; neque ita acris est, quin tolerari possit a manu. Et tamen referunt de Constantio, aliisque nonnullis, qui constitutionis & habitus corporis admodum ficci fuerunt, quod

acutissi-

acutissimis febribus correpti ita incaluerint, ut manum admotam aliquantum urere visi sint.

9. ANIMALIA ex motu & exercitatione, ex vino & epulis, ex venere, ex febribus ardentibus & ex dolore, augentur calore.

10. ANIMALIA in accessibus febrium intermittentium, a principio frigore & horrore corripiuntur; sed paulo post majorem in modum incalescunt; quod etiam faciunt a principio in caufonibus, & febribus pestilentialibus.

11. INQUIRATUR ulterius de calore comparato in diversis animalibus, veluti piscibus, quadrupedibus, serpentibus, avibus; atque etiam secundum species ipsorum, ut in leone, milvio, homine: Nam ex vulgari opinione, pisces per interiora minus calidi sunt, aves autem maxime calidae; praesertim columbae, accipitres, struthiones.

12. INQUIRATUR ulterius de calore comparato in eodem animali secundum partes & membra ejus diversa. Nam lac, sanguis, sperma, ova, inveniuntur gradu modico tepida, & minus calida quam ipsa caro exterior in animali, quando movetur aut agitur. Qualis vero gradus sit caloris in cerebro, stomacho, corde & reliquis, similiter adhuc non est quaesitum.

13. ANIMALIA omnia per hyemem & tempestates frigidas secundum exterius frigent; sed per interiora etiam magis esse calida existimantur.

14. CALOR coelestium etiam in regione calidissima, atque temporibus anni & diei calidissimis, non eum gradum caloris obtinet, qui vel lignum aridissimum, vel stramen, vel etiam linteum ustum incendat aut adurat, nisi per specula comburentia roboretur; sed tamen e rebus humidis vaporem excitare potest.

15. Ex traditione astronomorum ponuntur stellae aliae magis, aliae minus calidae. Inter planetas enim post solem ponitur Mars calidissimus; deinde Jupiter, deinde Venus; ponuntur autem tanquam frigidi, luna, & deinde omnium maxime Saturnus. Inter fixas autem ponitur calidissimus Sirius; deinde cor leonis sive regulus; deinde canicula, &c.

16. SOL magis calefacit, quo magis vergit ad perpendicularum sive zenith; quod etiam credendum est de aliis planetis, pro mulodo suo caloris; exempli gratia, Jovem magis apud nos calefacere, cum positus sit sub cancro aut leone quam sub capricorno aut aquario.

17. CREDENDUM est, solem ipsum & planetas reliquos magis calefacere in perigaeis suis, propter propinquitatem ad terram, quam in apogaeis. Quod si eveniat, ut in aliqua regione sol sit simul in perigaeo, & propius ad perpendicularum; necesse est, ut magis calefaciat, quam in regione ubi Sol sit similiter in perigaeo, sed magis ad obliquum. Adeo ut comparatio exaltationis planetarum notari debeat, prout ex perpendicularo aut obliquitate participet, secundum regionum varietatem.

18. SOL etiam, & similiter reliqui planetae, calefacere magis existimantur, cum sint in proximo ad stellas fixas majores; veluti cum sol ponitur in leone, magis vicinus sit cordi leonis, caudae leonis, & spicae virginis, & sirio & caniculae, quam cum ponitur in cancro; ubi tamen magis sistitur ad perpendicularum. Atque credendum est, partes coeli majorem infundere calorem, (licet ad tactum minime perceptibilem,) quo magis ornatae sint stellis, praesertim majoribus.

19. OMNINO calor coelestium augetur tribus modis; videlicet ex perpendicularo, ex propinquitate sive perigaeo, & ex conjunctione sive consortio stellarum.

20. MAGNUM omnino invenitur intervallum inter calorem animalium, ac etiam radiorum coelestium, (prout ad nos deferuntur,) atque flammam, licet lenissimam, atque etiam ignita omnia, atque insuper liquores aut aërem ipsum, majorem in modum ab igne calefactum. Etenim flamma spiritus vini, praesertim rara, nec constipata, tamen potis est stramen aut linteum aut papyrus incendere, quod nunquam faciet calor animalis vel solis, absque speculis comburentibus.

21. FLAMMAE autem & ignitorum plurimi sunt gradus in fortitudine & debilitate caloris. Verum de his nulla est facta diligens inquisitio; ut necesse sit ista leviter transmittere. Videtur autem ex flammis illa ex spiritu vini esse mollissima; nisi forte ignis fatuus aut flammae, seu coruscationes ex sudoribus animalium, sint molliores. Hanc sequi opinamur flammam ex vegetabilibus levibus & porosis, ut stramine, scirpis & foliis arefactis; a quibus non multum differre flammam ex pilis aut plumis. Hanc sequitur fortasse flamma ex lignis, praesertim iis quae non multum habent ex resina aut pice; ita tamen ut flamma ex lignis, quae parva sunt mole, (quae vulgo colligantur in fasciculos) lenior sit, quam quae fit ex truncis arborum & radicibus. Id quod vulgo experiri licet in fornacibus, quae ferrum excoquunt, in quibus ignis ex fasciculis & ramis arborum non est admodum utilis. Hanc sequitur (ut arbitramur) flamma ex oleo & sevo & cera, & huiusmodi oleosis & pinguibus, quae sunt sine magna acrimonia. Fortissimus autem calor reperitur in pice & resina, atque adhuc magis in sulphure & caphura & naphtha, & petroleo & salibus, (postquam materia cruda eruperit,) & in horum compositionibus, veluti pulvere tormentario, igne Graeco, (quem vulgo ignem ferum vocant,) & diversis ejus generibus, quae tam obstinatum habent calorem, ut ab aquis non facile extinguantur.

22. EXISTIMAMUS etiam flammam, quae resultat ex nonnullis metallis imperfectis, esse valde robustam & acrem. Verum de istis omnibus inquiratur ulterius.

23. VIDETUR autem flamma fulminum potentiorum has omnes flammis superare; adeo ut ferrum ipsum perfectum aliquando colliquaverit in guttas; quod flammae illae alterae facere non possunt.

24. IN ignitis autem diversi sunt etiam gradus caloris, de quibus etiam non facta est diligens inquisitio. Calorem maxime debilem existimamus esse ex linteo usto, quali ad flammae excitationem uti solemus; & similiter ex ligno illo spongioso aut funiculis arefactis, qui ad tormentorum accensionem adhibentur. Post hunc sequitur carbo ignitus ex lignis & anthracibus, atque etiam ex lateribus ignitis, & similibus. Ignitorum autem vehementissime calida existimamus esse metalla ignita, ut ferrum & cuprum, & caetera. Verum de his etiam facienda est ulterior inquisitio.

25. INVENIUNTUR ex ignitis nonnulla longe calidiora, quam nonnullae ex flammis. Multo enim calidius est & magis adurens ferrum ignitum, quam flamma spiritus vini.

26. INVENIUNTUR etiam ex illis quae ignita non sunt, sed tantum ab igne calefacta, sicut aquae ferventes, & aër conclusus in reverberatoriis, nonnulla quae superant calore multa ex flammis ipsis & ignitis.

27. MOTUS auget calorem; ut videre est in follibus & flatu; adeo ut duriora ex metallis non solvantur aut liquefiant per ignem mortuum aut quietum, nisi flatu excitetur.

28. FIAT

28. FIAT experimentum per specula comburentia, in quibus (ut meminimus) hoc fit; ut si speculum ponatur (exempli gratia) ad distantiam spithamæ ab objecto combustibili, non tantopere incendat aut adurat, quam si positum fuerit speculum (exempli gratia) ad distantiam semispithamæ, & gradatim & lente trahatur ad distantiam spithamæ. Conus tamen & unio radorum eadem sunt, sed ipse motus auget operationem caloris.

29. EXISTIMANTUR incendia illa, quæ fiunt flante vento forti majores progressus facere adversus ventum, quam secundum ventum; quia scilicet flamma resilit motu perniciores, vento remittente, quam procedit, vento impellente.

30. FLAMMA non emicat aut generatur, nisi detur aliquid concavi, in quo flamma movere possit & ludere; præterquam in flammis flatuosis pulveris tormentarii, & similibus, ubi compressio & incarceration flammæ auget ejus furorem.

31. INCUS per malleum calefcit admodum; adeo ut si incus fuerit laminæ tenuioris, existimemus illam per fortes & continuos ictus mallei posse rubescere, ut ferrum ignitum; sed de hoc fiat experimentum.

32. AT in ignitis quæ sunt porosa, ita ut detur spatium ad exercendum motum ignis, si cohibeatur hujusmodi motus per compressionem fortem, statim extinguitur ignis; veluti cum linteum ustum, aut filum ardens candelæ aut lampadis, aut etiam carbo aut pruna ardens, comprimitur per pressorium, aut pedis conculcationem, aut hujusmodi, statim cessant operationes ignis.

33. APPROXIMATIO ad corpus calidum auget calorem, pro gradu approximationis; quod etiam fit in lumine: Nam quo propius collocatur objectum ad lumen, eo magis est visibile.

34. UNIO calorum diversorum auget calorem, nisi facta sit commissio corporum. Nam focus magnus & focus parvus in eodem loco, nonnihil invicem augent calorem; at aqua tepida immissa in aquam ferventem refrigerat.

35. MORA corporis calidi auget calorem. Etenim calor perpetuo transiens & emanans, commiscetur cum calore præinexistente, adeo ut multiplicet calorem. Nam focus non aequè calefacit cubiculum per moram semihoræ, ac si idem focus daret per horam integram. At hoc non facit lumen; etenim lampas aut candela in aliquo loco posita, non magis illuminat per moram diuturnam, quam statim ab initio.

36. IRRITATIO per frigidum ambiens, auget calorem; ut in focus videre est per gelu acre. Quod existimamus fieri non tantum per conclusionem & contractionem caloris, quæ est species unionis; sed per exasperationem; veluti cum aer aut baculum violenter comprimitur aut flectitur, non ad punctum loci prioris resilit, sed ulterius in contrarium. Itaque fiat diligens experimentum, per baculum vel simile aliquid immissum in flammam, utrum ad latera flammæ non uratur citius, quam in medio flammæ.

37. GRADUS autem in susceptione caloris sunt complures. Atque primo omnium notandum est, quam parvus & exilis calor, etiam ea corpora, quæ caloris minime omnium sunt susceptiva, immutet tamen & nonnihil calefaciat. Nam ipse calor manus globulum plumbi aut alicujus metalli paulisper detentum nonnihil calefacit. Adeo facile, & in omnibus transmittitur & excitatur calor, corpore nullo modo ad apparentiam immutato.

38. FACILLIME omnium corporum apud nos & excipit & remittit calorem aër; quod optime cernitur in vitris calendaribus. Eorum confectio est talis; accipiatur vitrum ventre concavo, collo tenui & oblongo; resupinetur & demittatur hujusmodi vitrum, ore deorsum verso, ventre sursum, in aliud vasculum vitreum ubi sit aqua, tangendo fundum vasculi illius recipientis, extremo ore vitri immissi; & incumbat paululum vitri immissi collum ad os vitri recipientis, ita ut stare possit; quod ut commodius fiat, apponatur parum cerae ad os vitri recipientis, ita tamen ut non penitus obturetur os ejus, ne ob defectum aëris succedentis impediatur motus, de quo jam dicitur, qui est admodum facilis & delicatus.

OPORTET autem ut vitrum denissimum, antequam inferatur in alterum, calefiat ad ignem a parte superiori, ventre scilicet. Postquam autem fuerit vitrum illud collocatum, ut diximus, recipiet & contrahet se aër (qui dilatatus erat per calefactionem) post moram sufficientem pro extinctione illius ascititii caloris, ad talem extensionem five dimensionem, qualis erit aëris ambientis aut communis tunc temporis, quando immittitur vitrum; atque attrahet aquam in sursum ad hujusmodi mensuram. Debet autem appendi charta angusta & oblonga & gradibus (quot libuerit) interstincta. Videbis autem, prout tempestas diei incalescit aut frigescit, aërem se contrahere in angustius per frigidum, & extendere se in latius per calidum; id quod conspicitur per aquam ascendentem quando contrahitur aër, & descendentem five depressoam quando dilatatur aër. Sensus autem aëris, quatenus ad calidum & frigidum, tam subtilis est & exquisitus, ut facultatem tactus humani multum superet; adeo ut solis radius aliquis, aut calor anhelitus, multo magis calor manus, super vitri summitatem positus, statim deprimat aquam manifesto. Attamen existimamus, spiritum animalium magis adhuc exquisitum sensum habere calidi & frigidi, nisi quod a mole corporea impediatur & hebetetur.

39. POST aërem existimamus corpora esse maxime sensitiva caloris ea, quae a frigore recenter immutata sint & compressa, qualia sunt nix & glacies; ea enim leni aliquo tepore solvi incipiunt & colliquari. Post illa sequitur fortasse argentum vivum. Post illud sequuntur corpora pingua, ut oleum, butyrum & similia; deinde lignum; deinde aqua. Postremo lapides & metalla, quae non facile calefiunt, praesertim interius. Illa tamen calorem semel susceptum diutissime retinent; ita ut later aut lapis, aut ferrum ignitum, in pelvim aquae frigidae immisum & demersum, per quartam partem horae (plus minus) retineat calorem, ita ut tangi non possit.

40. QUO minor est corporis moles, eo citius per corpus calidum approximatam incalescit; id quod demonstrat omnem calorem apud nos esse corpori tangibili quodammodo adversum.

41. CALIDUM, quatenus ad sensum & tactum humanum, res varia est & respectiva; adeo ut aqua tepida, si manus frigore occupetur, sentiatur esse calida; si manus incaluerit, frigida.

Aphor. XIV. QUAM inopes simus historiae, quivis facile advertet, cum in tabulis superioribus, praeterquam quod loco historiae probatae & instantiarum certarum nonnunquam traditiones & relationes inferamus, (semper tamen adjecta dubiae fidei & autoritatis nota,) saepenumero etiam hisce verbis, fiat experimentum, vel inquiratur ulterius, uti cogamur.

XV. ATQUE opus & officium harum trium tabularum, comparentiam instantiarum ad intellectum, vocare consuevimus. Facta autem comparentia,

tia, in opere ponenda est ipsa inductio. Invenienda est enim, super parentiam omnium & singularum instantiarum, natura talis, quae cum natura data perpetuo adsit, absit, atque crescat & decreseat; sitque (ut superius dictum est) limitatio naturae magis communis. Hoc si mens jam ab initio facere tentet affirmative, (quod sibi permissa semper facere solet) occurrent phantasmata & opinabilia & notionalia male terminata, & axiomata quotidie emendanda; nisi libeat (scholarum more) pugnare pro falsis. Ea tamen proculdubio erunt meliora aut praviora, pro facultate & robore intellectus qui operatur. At omnino Deo (formarum inditori & opifici) aut fortasse angelis & intelligentiis competit, formas per affirmationem immediate nosse, atque ab initio contemplationis. Sed certe supra hominem est; cui tantum conceditur, procedere primo per negativas, & postremo loco definire in affirmativas, post omnimodam exclusionem.

XVI. ITAQUE naturae facienda est prorsus solutio & separatio; non per ignem certe, sed per mentem, tanquam ignem divinum. Est itaque inductionis verae opus primum (quatenus ad inveniendas formas) reiectio sive exclusiva naturarum singularum, quae non inveniuntur in aliqua instantia, ubi natura data adest; aut inveniuntur in aliqua instantia, ubi natura data abest; aut inveniuntur in aliqua instantia crescere, cum natura data decreseat; aut decrescere, cum natura data crescat. Tum vero post reiectionem & exclusivam debitis modis factam, secundo loco (tanquam in fundo) manebit (abeuntibus in fumum opinionibus volatilibus) forma affirmativa, solida & vera & bene terminata. Atque hoc breve dictu est, sed per multas ambages ad hoc pervenitur. Nos autem nihil fortasse de iis, quae ad hoc faciunt, praetermitteremus.

XVII. CAVENDUM autem est, & monendum quasi perpetuo, ne cum tantae partes formis videantur a nobis tribui, trahantur ea, quae dicimus, ad formas eas, quibus hominum contemplationes & cogitationes hactenus afflueverunt.

PRIMO enim de formis copulatis, quae sunt (ut diximus) naturarum simplicium conjugia ex cursu communi universi, ut leonis, aquilae, rosae auri & huiusmodi, impraesentiarum non loquimur. Tempus enim erit de iis tractandi, cum ventum fuerit ad latentes processus & latentes schematicos, eorumque inventionem, prout reperiuntur in substantiis (quas vocant) seu naturis concretis.

RURSUS vero non intelligantur ea, quae dicimus (etiam quatenus ad naturas simplices) de formis & ideis abstractis, aut in materia non determinatis, aut male determinatis. Nos enim quum de formis loquimur, nil aliud intelligimus, quam leges illas & determinationes actus puri, quae naturam aliquam simplicem ordinant & constituunt; ut calorem, lumen, pondus, in omnimoda materia & subiecto susceptibili. Itaque eadem res est forma calidi aut forma luminis, & lex calidi sive lex luminis; neque vero a rebus ipsis & parte operativa, unquam nos abstrahimus aut recedimus. Quare cum dicimus (exempli gratia) in inquisitione formae caloris, *Rejice tenuitatem*, aut *tenuitas non est ex forma caloris*; idem est ac si dicamus, *potest homo superinducere calorem in corpus densum*; aut contra, *potest homo auferre aut arcere calorem a corpore tenui*.

QUOD si cuiquam videantur etiam formae nostrae habere nonnihil abstracti, quod misceant & jungant heterogenea, (videntur enim valde esse heterogenea calor coelestium & ignis; rubor fixus in rosa, aut similibus, & apparens in iride, aut radiis opali, aut adamantis; mors ex sum-

merfione

merfione, ex crematione, ex punctura gladii, ex apoplexia, ex atrophia; & tamen conveniunt ista in natura calidi, ruboris, mortis) is se habere intellectum norit, consuetudine & integralitate rerum, & opinionibus cap- tum & detentum. Certissimum enim est, ista utcumque heterogenea & aliena, coire in formam, sive legem eam quae ordinat calorem aut ruborem aut mortem; nec emancipari posse potentiam humanam, & liberari a natu- rae cursu communi, & expandi & exaltari ad efficientia nova, & modos ope- randi novos, nisi per revelationem & inventionem hujusmodi formarum; & tamen post istam unionem naturae, quae est res maxime principalis, de naturae divisionibus & venis, tam ordinariis, quam interioribus & verio- ribus, suo loco postea dicitur.

XVIII. JAM vero proponendum est exemplum exclusionis sive reje- ctionis naturarum, quae per tabulas comparentiae reperiuntur non esse ex forma calidi; illud interim monendo, non solum sufficere singulas tabulas ad rejectionem alicujus naturae, sed etiam unamquamque ex instantiis sin- gularibus in illis contentis. Manifestum enim est ex iis quae dicta sunt, om- nem instantiam contradictoriam destruere opinabile de forma. Sed nihilomi- nus quandoque, perspicuitatis causa, & ut usus tabularum clarius demon- stretur, exclusivam duplicamus aut repetimus.

Exemplum exclusivae, sive rejectionis naturarum a forma calidi.

1. PER radios solis, rejice naturam elementarem.
2. PER ignem communem, & maxime per ignes subterraneos (qui re- motissimi sunt, & plurimum intercluduntur a radiis coelestibus) rejice na- turam coelestem.
3. PER calefactionem omnigenum corporum, (hoc est, mineralium, ve- getabilium, partium exteriorum animalium, aquae, olei, aëris, & reliquo- rum) ex approximatione sola ad ignem aut aliud corpus calidum; rejice omnem varietatem, sive subtiliorem texturam corporum.
4. PER ferrum & metalla ignita, quae calefaciunt alia corpora, nec ta- men omnino pondere aut substantia minuuntur; rejice inditionem sive mix- turam substantiae alterius calidi.
5. PER aquam ferventem, atque aërem, atque etiam per metalla & alia so- lida calefacta, sed non usque ad ignitionem sive ruborem; rejice lucem & lumen.
6. PER radios lunae & aliarum stellarum, (excepto sole) rejice etiam lu- cem & lumen.
7. PER comparativam ferri igniti & flammae spiritus vini, (ex quibus ferrum ignitum plus habet calidi & minus lucidi, flamma autem spiritus vini plus lucidi & minus calidi) rejice etiam lucem & lumen.
8. PER aurum & alia metalla ignita, quae densissimi sunt corporis secun- dum totum; rejice tenuitatem.
9. PER aërem, qui invenitur ut plurimum frigidus, & tamen manet te- nuis; rejice etiam tenuitatem.
10. PER ferrum ignitum, quod non intumescit mole, sed manet intra eandem dimensionem visibilem; rejice motum localem, aut expansivum, secundum totum.
11. PER dilatationem aëris in vitris calendariis & similibus, qui move- tur localiter & expansive manifesto, neque tamen colligit manifestum augmen- tum caloris; rejice etiam motum localem, aut expansivum, secundum totum.
12. PER facilem tepefactionem omnium corporum, absque aliqua destru- ctione aut alteratione notabili; rejice naturam destructivam, aut inditionem violentam alicujus naturae novae.

13. PER

13. PER consensum & conformitatem operum similium, quae eduntur a calore & frigore; rejice motum tam expansivum quam contractivum, secundum totum.

14. PER accensionem caloris ex attritione corporum; rejice naturam principialem. Naturam principialem vocamus eam, quae positiva reperitur in natura, nec causatur a natura praecedente.

SUNT & aliae naturae: neque enim tabulas conficimus perfectas, sed exempla tantum.

OMNES & singulae naturae praedictae non sunt ex forma calidi. Atque ab omnibus naturis praedictis liberatur homo in operatione super calidum.

Aphor. XIX. ATQUE in exclusiva jacta sunt fundamenta inductionis verae, quae tamen non perficitur donec sistatur in affirmativa. Neque vero ipsa exclusiva ullo modo perfecta est, neque adeo esse potest sub initiis. Est enim exclusiva (ut plane liquet) rejectio naturarum simplicium. Quod si non habeamus adhuc bonas & veras notiones naturarum simplicium, quomodo rectificari potest exclusiva? At nonnullae ex supradictis (veluti notio naturae elementaris, notio naturae coelestis, notio tenuitatis) sunt notiones vagae, nec bene terminatae. Itaque nos, qui nec ignari sumus, nec obliti, quantum opus aggrediamur, (viz. ut faciamus intellectum humanum rebus & naturae parem) nullo modo acquiescimus in his, quae adhuc praecepimus; sed & rem in ulterius provehimus, & fortiora auxilia in usum intellectus machinamur & ministramus; quae nunc subjungemus. Et certe in interpretatione naturae animus omnino taliter est praeparandus & formandus, ut & sustineat se in gradibus debitis certitudinis, & tamen cogitet, (praesertim sub initiis) ea, quae adsunt, multum pendere ex iis quae supersunt.

XX. ATTAMEN quia citius emergit veritas ex errore quam ex confusione, utile putamus, ut fiat permissio intellectui, post tres tabulas comparentiae primae (quales posuimus) factas & pensatas, accingendi se & tentandi opus interpretationis naturae in affirmativa; tam ex instantiis tabularum, quam ex iis quae alias occurrent. Quod genus tentamenti, permissio-nem intellectus, sive interpretationem inchoatam, sive vindemiationem primam appellare consuevimus.

Vindemiatio prima de forma calidi.

ANIMADVERTENDUM autem est, formam rei inesse (ut ex iis, quae dicta sunt, plane liquet) instantiis universis & singulis, in quibus res ipsa inest; aliter enim forma non esset: Itaque nulla plane dari potest instantia contradictoria. Attamen longe magis conspicua invenitur forma & evidens in aliquibus instantiis, quam in aliis; in iis videlicet, ubi minus cohibita est natura formae, & impedita & redacta in ordinem per naturas alias. Hujusmodi autem instantias, elucescentias, vel instantias ostensivas appellare consuevimus. Pergendum itaque est ad vindemiationem ipsam primam de forma calidi. Per universas & singulas instantias, natura, cujus limitatio est calor, videtur esse motus. Hoc autem maxime ostenditur in flamma, quae perpetuo movetur; & in liquoribus ferventibus aut bullientibus, qui etiam perpetuo moventur. Atque ostenditur etiam in incitatione sive incremento caloris facto per motum; ut in foliis & ventis: de quo vide *Instant. 29. Tab. 3.* Atque similiter in aliis modis motus, de quibus vide *Instant. 28. & 31. Tab. 3.* Rursus ostenditur in extinctione ignis & caloris per omnem fortem compressionem, quae fraenat & cessare facit motum: de qua vide *Instant. 30. & 32. Tab. 3.* Ostenditur etiam in hoc, quod omne corpus de-

struitur, aut saltem insigniter alteratur ab omni igne & calore forti ac vehementi. Unde liquido constat, fieri a calore tumultum & perturbationem & motum acrem, in partibus internis corporis; qui sensim vergit ad dissolutionem.

INTELLIGATUR hoc quod diximus de motu, (nempe, ut sit instar generis ad calorem) non quod calor generet motum, aut quod motus generet calorem; (licet & haec in aliquibus vera sint) sed quod ipsissimus calor, sive quid ipsum caloris sit motus, & nihil aliud: limitatus tamen per differentias, quas mox subjungemus, postquam nonnullas cautiones adjecerimus ad evitandum aequivocum.

CALIDUM ad sensum, res respectiva est, & in ordine ad hominem, non ad universum; & ponitur recte ut effectus caloris tantum in spiritum animale: Quin etiam in se ipso res varia est, cum idem corpus (prout sensus praedisponitur) inducat perceptionem tam calidi quam frigidi; ut patet per *Instant. 41. Tab. 3.*

NEQUE vero communicatio caloris, sive natura ejus transitive, per quam corpus admotum corpori calido incalescit, confundi debet cum forma calidi. Aliud enim est calidum; aliud calefactivum. Nam per motum attritionis inducitur calor absque aliquo calido praecedente, unde excluditur calefactivum a forma calidi. Atque etiam ubi calidum efficitur per approximationem calidi, hoc ipsum non fit ex forma calidi; sed omnino pendet a natura altiore & magis communi; viz. ex natura assimilationis sive multiplicationis sui; de qua facienda est separatim inquisitio.

AT notio ignis plebeia est, & nihil valet: composita enim est ex concursu qui fit calidi & lucidi in aliquo corpore; ut in flamma communi, & corporibus accensis usque ad ruborem.

REMOVED itaque omni aequivoco, veniendum jam tandem est ad differentias veras quae limitant motum, & constituunt eum in formam calidi.

PRIMA igitur differentia ea est, quod calor sit motus expansivus, per quem corpus nititur ad dilatationem sui, & recipiendum se in majorem sphaeram sive dimensionem, quam prius occupaverat. Haec autem differentia maxime ostenditur in flamma; ubi fumus sive halitus pinguis manifesto dilatatur & aperit se in flammam.

OSTENDITUR etiam in omni liquore fervente, qui manifesto intumescit, insurgit & emittit bullas; atque urget processum expandendi se, donec vertatur in corpus longe magis extensum & dilatatum, quam fit ipse liquor; viz. in vaporem, aut fumum, aut aërem.

OSTENDITUR etiam in omni ligno & combustibili; ubi fit aliquando exudatio, at semper evaporatio.

OSTENDITUR etiam in colliquatione metallorum; quae (cum sint corporis compactissimi) non facile intumescunt & se dilatant: sed tamen spiritus eorum, postquam fuerit in se dilatatus, & majorem adeo dilatationem concupierit, trudit plane & agit partes crassiores in liquidum. Quod si etiam calor fortius intendatur, solvit & vertit multum ex iis in volatile.

OSTENDITUR etiam in ferro aut lapidibus: quae licet non liquefiant aut fundantur, tamen emolliuntur: Quod etiam fit in baculis ligni; quae calefacta paululum in cineribus calidis fiunt flexibilia.

OPTIME autem cernitur iste motus in aëre, qui per exiguum calorem se dilatat continuo & manifesto, ut per *Instant. 38. Tab. 3.*

OSTENDITUR etiam in natura contraria frigidi. Frigus enim omne corpus contrahit & cogit in angustius; adeo ut per intensa frigora clavi exci-

dant

dant ex parietibus, aera diffiliant, vitrum etiam calefactum & subito positum in frigido diffiliat & frangatur. Similiter aër per levem infrigidationem recipit se in angustius: ut per *Instant. 38. Tab. 3.* Verum de his fusius dicetur in inquisitione de frigido.

NEQUE mirum est, si calidum & frigidum edant complures actiones communes, (de quo vide *Instant. 32. Tab. 2.*) cum inveniantur duae ex sequentibus differentiis (de quibus mox dicemus) quae competunt utrique naturae; licet in hac differentia (de qua nunc loquimur) actiones sint ex diametro oppositae: Calidum enim dat motum expansivum & dilatantem, frigidum autem dat motum contractivum & coëuntem.

SECUNDA differentia est modificatio prioris; haec videlicet, quod calor sit motus expansivus sive versus circumferentiam: hac lege tamen, ut una feratur corpus sursum. Dubium enim non est, quin sint motus complures mixti. Exempli gratia: sagitta aut spiculum simul & progrediendo rotat, & rotando progreditur. Similiter & motus caloris simul est & expansivus, & latio in sursum.

HAEC vero differentia ostenditur in forcipe, aut bacillo ferreo immisso in ignem: quia si immittatur perpendiculariter, tenendo manum superius, cito manum adurit; sin ex latere aut inferius, omnino tardius.

CONSPICUA etiam est in distillationibus per descensorium; quibus utuntur homines ad flores delicatiores, quorum odores facile evanescunt. Nam hoc reperit industria, ut collocent ignem non subter sed supra, ut adurat minus. Neque enim flamma tantum vergit sursum, sed etiam omne calidum.

FIAT autem experimentum hujus rei in contraria natura frigidi: viz. utrum frigus non contrahat corpus descendendo deorsum; quemadmodum calidum dilatat corpus ascendendo sursum. Itaque adhibeantur duo bacilla ferrea, vel duo tubi vitrei, quoad caetera pares; & calefiant nonnihil; & ponatur spongia cum aqua frigida, vel nix subter unam, & similiter super alteram. Existimamus enim celeriores fore refrigerationem ad extremitates in eo bacillo, ubi nix ponitur supra, quam in eo, ubi nix ponitur subter: contra ac fit in calido.

TERTIA differentia ea est; ut calor sit motus, non expansivus uniformiter secundum totum, sed expansivus per particulas minores corporis; & simul cohibitus & repulsus & reverberatus; adeo ut induat motum alternativum, & perpetuo trepidantem & tentantem & nitentem, & ex repercussione irritatum; unde furor ille ignis & caloris ortum habet.

ISTA vero differentia ostenditur maxime in flamma & liquoribus bullientibus: quae perpetuo trepidant, & in parvis portionibus tument, & rursus subsidunt.

OSTENDITUR etiam in iis corporibus, quae sunt tam durae compagis, ut calefacta aut ignita non intumescant, aut dilatentur mole; ut ferrum ignitum, in quo calor est acerrimus.

OSTENDITUR etiam in hoc, quod per frigidissimas tempestates focus ardeat acerrime.

OSTENDITUR etiam in hoc, quod cum extenditur aër in vitro calendari absque impedimento aut repulsione, uniformiter scilicet & aequaliter; non percipiatur calor. Etiam in ventis conclusis, licet erumpant vi maxima, tamen non percipitur calor insignis; quia scilicet motus fit secundum totum, absque motu alternante in particulis. Atque ad hoc fiat experimentum, utrum flamma non urat acrius versus latera, quam in medio flammae.

OSTEN-

OSTENDITUR etiam in hoc, quod omnis uestigio transfigatur per minutos poros corporis, quod uritur; adeo ut uestigio subruat & penetret, & fodicet & stimulet; perinde ac si essent infinitae cuspides acus. Itaque ex hoc illud etiam fit, quod omnes aquae fortes (si proportionatae sint ad corpus, in quod agunt) edant opera ignis ex natura sua corrode & pungente.

ATQUE ista differentia (de qua nunc dicimus) communis est cum natura frigidi; in quo cohibetur motus contractivus, per renitentiam expandendi; quemadmodum in calido cohibetur motus expansivus, per renitentiam contrahendi.

ITAQUE five partes corporis penetrent versus interius, five penetrent versus exterius, similis est ratio; licet impar admodum sit fortitudo: quia non habemus hic apud nos in superficie terrae aliquid, quod sit impenso frigidum. Vide *Instant. 27. Tab. 9.*

QUARTA differentia est modificatio prioris: Haec scilicet, quod motus ille stimulationis aut penetrationis debeat esse nonnihil rapidus & minime lentus; atque fiat etiam per particulas, licet minutas; tamen non ad extremam subtilitatem, sed quasi majusculas.

OSTENDITUR haec differentia in comparatione operum quae edit ignis, cum iis quae edit tempus five aetas. Aetas enim five tempus arefacit, consumit, subruit, & incinerat, non minus quam ignis: vel potius longe subtilius: sed quia motus ejusmodi est lentus admodum & per particulas valde exiles, non percipitur calor.

OSTENDITUR etiam in comparatione dissolutionum ferri & auri. Aurum enim dissolvitur absque calore excitato; ferrum autem cum vehementi excitatione caloris, licet simili fere intervallo quoad tempus. Quia scilicet in auro, ingressus aquae separationis est clemens & subtiliter insinuans, & cessio partium auri facilis: At in ferro, ingressus est asper, & cum conflictu, & partes ferri habent obstinationem majorem.

OSTENDITUR etiam aliquatenus in gangraenis nonnullis & mortificationibus carniū; quae non excitant magnum calorem aut dolorem, ob subtilitatem putrefactionis.

ATQUE haec sit prima vindemiatio five interpretatio inchoata de forma calidi, facta per permissionem intellectus.

Ex vindemiatione autem ista prima, forma five definitio vera caloris (ejus, qui est in ordine ad universum, non relativus tantummodo ad sensum) talis est, brevi verborum complexu. Calor est motus expansivus, cohibitus, & nitens per partes minores. Modificatur autem expansio; ut expandendo in ambitum, nonnihil tamen inclinet versus superiora. Modificatur autem & nixus ille per partes: Ut non sit omnino segnis, sed incitatus, & cum impetu nonnullo.

QUOD vero ad operativam attinet, eadem res est. Nam designatio est talis. Si in aliquo corpore naturali poteris excitare motum ad se dilatandum aut expandendum; eumque motum ita reprimere & in se vertere, ut dilatatio illa non procedat aequaliter, sed partim obtineat, partim retrudatur; proculdubio generabis calidum: Non habita ratione, five corpus illud sit elementare, (ut loquuntur) five imbutum a coelestibus; five luminosum, five opacum; five tenue, five densum; five localiter expansum, five intra claustra dimensionis primae contentum; five vergens ad dissolutionem, five manens in statu; five animal, five vegetabile, five minerale; five aqua, five oleum, five aer, aut aliqua alia substantia quaecunque susceptiva motus praedicti. Calidum autem ad sensum res eadem est:

est: sed cum analogia, qualis competit sensui. Nunc vero ad ulteriora auxilia procedendum est.

Aphor. XXI. Post tabulas comparentiae primae & rejectionem five exclusivam, necnon vindemiationem primam factam secundum eas; pergendum est ad reliqua auxilia intellectus, circa interpretationem naturae & inductionem veram ac perfectam. In quibus proponendis, ubi opus erit tabulis, procedemus super calidum & frigidum; ubi autem opus erit tantum exemplis paucioribus, procedemus per alia omnia: ut nec confundatur inquisitio, & tamen doctrina versetur minus in angusto.

DICEMUS itaque primo loco, de praerogativis instantiarum: Secundo, de adminiculis inductionis: Tertio, de rectificatione inductionis: Quarto, de variatione inquisitionis pro natura subjecti: Quinto, de praerogativis naturarum quatenus ad inquisitionem; five de eo quod inquirendum est prius & posterius: Sexto, de terminis inquisitionis, five de synopsi omnium naturarum in universo: Septimo, de deductione ad praxin, five de eo quod est in ordine ad hominem: Octavo, de parascevis ad inquisitionem: Postremo autem, de scala ascensoria & descensoria axiomatum.

XXII. INTER praerogativas instantiarum, primo proponemus instantias solitarias. Eae autem sunt solitariae, quae exhibent naturam, de qua fit inquisitio, in talibus subjectis, quae nil habent commune cum aliis subjectis, praeter illam ipsam naturam: aut rursus quae non exhibent naturam, de qua fit inquisitio, in talibus subjectis quae sunt similia per omnia cum aliis subjectis, praeterquam in illa ipsa natura. Manifestum enim est, quod huiusmodi instantiae tollant ambages, atque accelerent & robovent exclusivam; adeo ut paucae ex illis sint instar multarum.

EXEMPLI gratia: si fiat inquisitio de natura caloris, instantiae solitariae sunt prismata, gemmae crystallinae, quae reddunt colores, non solum in se, sed exterius supra parietem; item rores, &c. Ista enim nil habent commune cum coloribus fixis in floribus, gemmis coloratis, metallis, lignis, &c. praeter ipsum colorem. Unde facile colligitur, quod color nil aliud sit quam modificatio imaginis lucis immissae & receptae: in priore genere, per gradus diversos incidentiae; in posteriore, per texturas & schematismos varios corporis. Ista autem instantiae sunt solitariae quatenus ad similitudinem.

RURSUS in eadem inquisitione, venae distinctae albi & nigri in marmoribus, & variegationes colorum in floribus ejusdem speciei, sunt instantiae solitariae. Album enim & nigrum marmoris, & maculae albi & purpurei in floribus caryophylli, conveniunt fere in omnibus praeter ipsum colorem. Unde facile colligitur, colorem non multum rei habere cum naturis alicujus corporis intrinsecis, sed tantum situm esse in positura partium crassiori & quasi mechanica. Ista autem instantiae sunt solitariae, quatenus ad discrepantiam. Utrunque autem genus, instantias solitarias appellare consuevimus; aut ferinas, sumpto vocabulo ab astronomis.

XXIII. INTER praerogativas instantiarum, ponemus secundo loco instantias migrantes. Eae sunt, in quibus natura inquisita migrat ad generationem, cum prius non existeret; aut contra migrat ad corruptionem, cum prius existeret. Itaque in utraque antistrophe, instantiae tales sunt semper geminae; vel potius una instantia in motu five transitu producta ad periodum adversam. At huiusmodi instantiae non solum accelerant & roborant exclusivam, sed etiam compellunt affirmativam, five formam ipsam in angustum. Necessesse est enim ut forma rei sit quippiam, quod per huiusmodi

migrationem indatur; aut contra per huiusmodi migrationem tollatur & destruat. Atque licet omnis exclusio promoveat affirmativam, tamen hoc magis directe fit in subiecto eodem, quam in diversis. Forma autem (ut ex omnibus, quae dicta sunt, manifesto liquet) prodens se in uno, ducit ad omnia: quo autem simplicior fuerit migratio, eo magis habenda est instantia in pretio. Praeterea instantiae migrantes magni sunt usus ad partem operativam; quia cum proponant formam copulatam cum efficiente aut privante, perspicue designant praxin in aliquibus; unde facilis etiam est transitus ad proxima. Subest tamen in illis nonnihil periculi, quod indiget cautione; hoc videlicet, ne formam nimis retrahant ad efficientem, & intellectum perfundant, vel saltem perstringant falsa opinione de forma, ex intuitu efficientis. Efficiens vero semper ponitur nil aliud esse quam vehiculum, sive deferens formae. Verum huic rei, per exclusivam legitime factam, facile adhibetur remedium.

PROPONENDUM itaque est jam exemplum instantiae migrantis. Sit natura inquisita, candor sive albedo: Instantia migrans ad generationem est vitrum integrum, & vitrum pulverisatum. Similiter, aqua simplex, & aqua agitata in spumam. Vitrum enim integrum, & aqua simplex, diaphana sunt, non alba: At vitrum pulverisatum, & aqua in spuma, alba, non diaphana. Itaque quaerendum, quid acciderit ex ista migratione vitro aut aquae. Manifestum enim est, formam albedinis deferri & invehiri per istam contusionem vitri, & agitationem aquae. Nihil autem reperitur accessisse, praeter comminutionem partium vitri & aquae, & aëris insertionem. Neque vero parum profectum est ad inveniendam formam albedinis, quod corpora duo per se diaphana, sed secundum magis & minus, (aër scilicet & aqua, aut aër & vitrum) simul posita, per minutas portiones exhibeant albedinem, per refractionem inaequalem radiorum lucis.

VERUM hac in re proponendum est etiam exemplum periculi & cautionis, de quibus diximus. Nimirum facile hic occurret intellectui ab huiusmodi efficientibus depravato, quod ad formam albedinis aër semper requiratur; aut quod albedo generetur tantum per corpora diaphana, quae omnino falsa sunt, & per multas exclusiones convicta. Quin potius apparebit, (misso aëre & huiusmodi) corpora omnino aequalia (secundum portiones opticas) dare diaphanum; corpora vero inaequalia, per texturam simplicem, dare album; corpora inaequalia secundum texturam compositam, sed ordinatam, dare reliquos colores, praeter nigrum; corpora vero inaequalia per texturam compositam, sed omnino inordinatam & confusam, dare nigrum. Itaque de instantia migrante ad generationem in natura inquisita albedinis, propositum est jam exemplum. Instantia autem migrans ad corruptionem in eadem natura albedinis, est spuma dissoluta, aut nix dissoluta: Exuit enim albedinem, & induit diaphanum aqua, postquam fit integrale sine aëre.

NEQUE vero illud ullo modo praetermittendum est, quod sub instantiis migrantibus comprehendere debeant non tantum illae quae migrant ad generationem & privationem; sed etiam illae quae migrant ad majorationem & minorationem; cum illae etiam tendant ad inveniendam formam, ut per definitionem formae superius factam, & tabulam graduum manifesto liquet. Itaque papyrus, quae sicca quum fuerit, alba est; at madefacta (excluso aëre, & recepta aqua) minus alba est, & magis vergit ad diaphanum; similem habet rationem cum instantiis supradictis.

XXIV. INTER praerogativas instantiarum, tertio loco ponemus instantias ostensivas, de quibus in vindemiatione prima de calido mentionem fecimus;

cinus; quas etiam elucescentias five instantias liberatas & praedominantes, appellare consuevimus. Eae sunt, quae ostendunt naturam inquisitam nudam & substantivam, atque etiam in exaltatione sua, aut summo gradu potentiae suae; emancipatam scilicet, & liberatam ab impedimentis, vel saltem per fortitudinem suae virtutis dominantem super ipsa, eaque supprimentem & coercentem. Cum enim omne corpus suscipiat multas naturarum formas copulatas & in concreto; fit ut alia aliam retundat, deprimat, frangat & liget; unde obscurantur formae singulae. Inveniuntur autem subiecta nonnulla, in quibus natura inquisita prae aliis est in suo vigore; vel per absentiam impedimenti, vel per praedominantiam virtutis. Hujusmodi autem instantiae sunt maxime ostensivae formae. Verum & in his ipsis instantiis adhibenda est cautio, & cohibendus impetus intellectus. Quicquid enim ostentat formam, eamque trudit, ut videatur occurrere intellectui, pro suspecto habendum est, & recurrendum ad exclusivam severam & diligentem.

EXEMPLI gratia; sit natura inquisita, calidum. Instantia ostensiva motus expansionis, (quae, ut superius dictum est, portio est praecipua formae calidi,) est vitrum calendare aëris. Etenim flamma, licet manifesto exhibeat expansionem; tamen propter momentaneam extinctionem non ostendit progressum expansionis. Aqua autem fervens, propter facilem transitionem aquae in vaporem & aërem, non tam bene ostendit expansionem aquae in corpore suo. Rursus ferrum ignitum, & similia, tantum abest ut progressum ostendant, ut contra per retusionem & fractionem spiritus, per partes compactas & crassas, (quae domant & fraenant expansionem,) ipsa expansio non sit omnino conspicua ad sensum. At vitrum calendare clare ostendit expansionem in aëre, & conspicuam, & progredientem, & durantem, neque transeuntem.

RURSUS, exempli gratia; sit natura inquisita, pondus. Instantia ostensiva ponderis, est argentum vivum. Omnia enim superat pondere magno intervallo, praeter aurum; quod non multo gravius est. At praestantior instantia est ad indicandam formam ponderis argentum vivum, quam aurum; quia aurum solidum est & consistens, quod genus referri videtur ad densum; at argentum vivum liquidum est, & turgens spiritu, & tamen multis partibus exuperat gravitate diamantem, & ea quae putantur solidissima. Ex quo ostenditur, formam gravis five ponderosi, dominari simpliciter in copia materiae, & non in arcta compage.

XXV. INTER praerogativas instantiarum ponemus quarto loco instantias clandestinas, quas etiam instantias crepusculi appellare consuevimus: Eae sunt veluti oppositae instantiis ostensivis. Exhibent enim naturam inquisitam in infima virtute, & tanquam in incunabulis, & rudimentis suis; tentantem, & tanquam primo experientem, sed sub contraria natura latentem & subactam. Sunt autem hujusmodi instantiae magni omnino momenti, ad inveniendas formas; quia sicut ostensivae ducunt facile ad differentias, ita clandestinae ducunt optime ad genera; id est, ad naturas illas communes, quarum naturae inquisitae nihil aliud sunt quam limitationes.

EXEMPLI gratia; sit natura inquisita, consistens, five se determinans; cujus contrarium est liquidum, five fluens. Instantiae clandestinae sunt illae, quae exhibent gradum nonnullum debilem & infimum consistentis in fluido; veluti bulla aquae, quae est tanquam pellicula quaedam consistens & determinata, facta ex corpore aquae. Similiter stillicidia, quae, si adfuerit aqua quae succedat, producant se in filum admodum tenue, ne discont-

nuctur

nuetur aqua; at si non detur talis copia aquae, quae succedere possit, cadit aqua in guttis rotundis, quae est figura, quae optime aquam sustinet contra discontinuationem. At in ipso temporis articulo, cum definit filum aquae, & incipit descensus in guttis, refilit ipsa aqua sursum ad evitandam discontinuationem. Quin in metallis, quae quum funduntur, sunt liquida, sed magis tenacia, recipiunt se saepe guttae liquefactae sursum, atque ita haerent. Simile quoddam est in instantia speculorum puerillum, quae solent facere pueruli in scirpis ex saliva, ubi cernitur etiam pellicula consistens aquae. At multo melius se ostendit hoc ipsum in altero illo ludicro puerili; quando capiunt aquam, per saponem factam paulo tenaciorem; atque inflant eam per calamum cavum, atque inde formant aquam, tanquam in castellum bullarum; quae per interpositionem aëris inducit consistentiam, eo usque ut se projici nonnihil patiatur absque discontinuatione. Optime autem cernitur hoc in spuma & nive, quae talem induunt consistentiam, ut fere secari possint; cum tamen sint corpora formata ex aëre & aqua, quae utraque sunt liquida. Quae omnia non obscure innuunt, liquidum & consistens esse notiones tantum plebeias, & ad sensum; inesse autem revera omnibus corporibus fugam & evitacionem se discontinuandi; eam vero in corporibus homogeneis (qualia sunt liquida) esse debilem & infirmam; in corporibus vero quae sunt composita ex heterogeneis, magis esse vividam & fortem: propterea quod admotio heterogenei constringit corpora; at subintratio homogenei solvit & relaxat.

SIMILITER, exempli gratia; sit natura inquisita, attractio sive coitio corporum. Instantia circa formam ejus ostensiva maxime insignis est, magnes. Contraria autem natura attrahenti est, non attrahens; licet in substantia simili. Veluti ferrum, quod non attrahit ferrum, quemadmodum nec plumbum plumbum, nec lignum lignum, nec aquam aqua. Instantia autem clandestina est magnes ferro armatus, vel potius ferrum in magnete armato. Nam ita fert natura, ut magnes armatus in distantia aliqua non trahat ferrum fortius, quam magnes non armatus. Verum si admoveatur ferrum, ita ut tangat ferrum in magnete armato, tunc magnes armatus longe majus pondus ferri sustinet, quam magnes simplex & inermis; propter similitudinem substantiae ferri versus ferrum; quae operatio erat omnino clandestina & latens in ferro, antequam magnes accessisset. Itaque manifestum est formam coitionis esse quippiam, quod in magnete sit vividum & robustum, in ferro debile & latens. Itidem, notatum est sagittas parvas ligneas absque cuspe ferrea, emissas ex sclopetis grandibus, altius penetrare in materiam ligneam, (puta latera navium, aut similia) quam easdem sagittas ferro acuminatas, propter similitudinem substantiae ligni ad lignum, licet hoc ante in ligno laterit. Itidem, licet aër aërem, aut aqua aquam, manifesto non trahat in corporibus integris; tamen bulla approximata bullae, facilius dissolvit bullam, quam si bulla illa altera abesset, ob appetitum coitionis aquae cum aqua, & aëris cum aëre. Atque hujusmodi instantiae clandestinae (quae sunt usus nobilissimi, ut dictum est) in portionibus corporum parvis & subtilibus maxime se dant conspiciendas: Quia massae rerum majores sequuntur formas magis catholicas & generales; ut suo loco dicetur.

XXVI. INTER praerogativas instantiarum ponemus quinto loco instantias constitutivas, quas etiam manipulares appellare consuevimus. Eae sunt, quae constituunt unam speciem naturae inquisitae tanquam formam minorem. Cum enim formae legitimae (quae sunt semper convertibiles cum naturis inquisitis) lateant in profundo, nec facile inveniantur; postulat res & infirmi-

infirmetas humani intellectus, ut formae particulares, quae sunt congregativae manipulorum quorundam instantiarum (neutiquam vero omnium) in notionem aliquam communem, non negligantur, verum diligentius notentur. Quicquid enim unit naturam, licet modis imperfectis; ad inventionem formarum viam sternit. Itaque instantiae, quae ad hoc utiles sunt, non sunt contemnendae potestatis, sed habent nonnullam praerogativam.

VERUM in his diligens est adhibenda cautio, ne intellectus humanus, postquam complures ex istis formis particularibus adinvenerit, atque inde partitiones sive divisiones naturae inquisitae confecerit; in illis omnino acquiescat, atque ad inventionem legitimam formae magnae se non accingat; sed praesupponat, naturam velut a radicibus esse multiplicem & divisam, atque ulteriorem naturae unionem, tanquam rem supervacuae subtilitatis & vergentem ad merum abstractum, fastidiat & rejiciat.

EXEMPLI gratia; sit natura inquisita, memoria, sive excitaris & adjuvans memoriam. Instantiae constitutivae sunt; ordo, sive distributio, quae manifesto juvat memoriam. Item loci in memoria artificiali; qui aut possunt esse loci secundum proprium sensum, veluti janua, angulus, fenestra, & similia; aut possunt esse personae familiares & notae; aut possunt esse quidvis ad placitum; (modo in ordine certo ponantur) veluti animalia, herbae; etiam verba, literae, characteres, personae historicae, & caetera; licet nonnulla ex his magis apta sint & commoda, alia minus: Hujusmodi autem loci memoriam insigniter juvant, eamque longe supra vires naturales exaltant. Item carmina facilius haerent & discuntur memoriter, quam prosa. Atque ex isto manipulo trium instantiarum, videlicet ordinis, locorum artificialis memoriae, & versuum, constituitur species una auxilii ad memoriam. Species autem illa, abscissio infiniti recte vocari possit. Cum enim quis aliquid reminisci aut revocare in memoriam nititur; si nullam praenotionem habeat aut perceptionem ejus quod quaerit, quaerit certe & molitur, & hac illac discurret, tanquam in infinito. Quod si certam aliquam praenotionem habeat; statim abscinditur infinitum; & fit discursus memoriae magis in vicino. In tribus autem illis instantiis quae superius dictae sunt, praenotio perspicua est & certa. In prima videlicet debet esse aliquid quod congruat cum ordine: In secunda debet esse imago, quae relationem aliquam habeat, sive convenientiam ad illa loca certa: In tertia debent esse verba, quae cadant in versum. Atque ita abscinditur infinitum. Aliae autem instantiae dabunt hanc alteram speciem; ut quicquid deducat intellectuale ad ferendum sensum (quae ratio etiam praecipue viget in artificiali memoria) juvet memoriam. Aliae instantiae dabunt hanc alteram speciem; ut quae faciunt impressionem in affectu forti, incutientes scilicet metum, admirationem, pudorem, delectationem, juvent memoriam. Aliae instantiae dabunt hanc alteram speciem, ut quae maxime imprimuntur a mente pura, & minus praeoccupata ante vel post; veluti quae discuntur in pueritia, aut quae commentamur ante somnum, etiam primae quaeque rerum vices; magis haereant in memoria. Aliae instantiae dabunt hanc alteram speciem, ut multitudo circumstantiarum, sive ansarum, juvet memoriam; veluti scriptio per partes non continuatas; lectio, sive recitatio voce alta. Aliae denique instantiae dabunt hanc alteram speciem, ut quae expectantur & attentionem excitant, melius haereant, quam quae praetervolant. Itaque si scriptum aliquod vices perlegeris, non tam facile illud memoriter discas, quam si illud legas decies, tentando interim illud recitare, & ubi deficit memoria, inspiciendo librum. Ita ut sint veluti sex formae mi-

nores eorum, quae juvant memoriam; videlicet abscissio infiniti; deductio intellectualis ad sensibile; impressio in affectu forti; impressio in mente pura; multitudo anfarum; prae-expectatio.

SIMILITER, exempli gratia; sit natura inquisita gustus, five gustatio. Instantiae, quae sequuntur, sunt constitutivae: videlicet, quod qui non olfaciunt, sed sensu eo a natura destituti sunt, non percipiunt, aut gustu distinguunt cibum rancidum aut putridum; neque similiter alliatum aut rosatum, aut huiusmodi. Rursus, illi qui per accidens nares habent per descensum rheumatis obstructas, non discernunt aut percipiunt aliquid putridum aut rancidum, aut aqua rosacea inspersum. Rursus, qui afficiuntur huiusmodi rheumate, si in ipso momento, cum aliquid foetidum aut odoratum habent in ore, five palato, emungant fortiter; in ipso instanti manifestam perceptionem habent rancidi vel odorati. Quae instantiae dabunt & constituent hanc speciem vel partem potius gustus; ut sensus gustationis ex parte nihil aliud sit, quam olfactus interior, transiens & descendens a narium meatibus superioribus in os & palatum. At contra, falsum & dulce & acre & acidum & austerum, & amarum & similia; haec (inquam) omnia aequae sentiunt illi, in quibus olfactus deest, aut obturatur, ac quisquam alius: ut manifestum sit, sensum gustus esse compositum quiddam ex olfactu interiori, & tactu quodam exquisito; de quo nunc non est dicendi locus.

SIMILITER, exempli gratia; sit natura inquisita, communicatio qualitatis, absque commistione substantiae. Instantia lucis, dabit vel constituet unam speciem communicationis; calor vero & magnes, alteram. Communicatio enim lucis est tanquam momentanea & statim perit, amota luce originali. At calidum & virtus magnetica postquam transmissa fuerint, vel potius excitata in alio corpore, haerent & manent ad tempus non parvum, amoto primo movente.

DENIQUE magna est omnino praerogativa instantiarum constitutarum; ut quae plurimum faciant & ad definitiones, (praesertim particulares) & ad divisiones, five partitiones naturarum; de quo non male dixit Plato, *Quod habendus sit tanquam pro Deo, qui definire & dividere bene sciat.*

XXVII. INTER praerogativas instantiarum ponemus sexto loco instantias conformes five proportionatas; quas etiam parallelas, five similitudines physicas, appellare consuevimus. Eae vero sunt, quae ostendunt similitudines & conjugationes rerum, non in formis minoribus (quod faciunt instantiae constitutivae) sed plane in concreto. Itaque sunt tanquam primi & infimi gradus ad unionem naturae. Neque constituunt aliquod axioma statim ab initio; sed indicant & observant tantum quendam consensum corporum. Attamen licet non multum promoveant ad inveniendas formas; nihilominus magna cum utilitate revelant partium universi fabricam, & in membris ejus exercent veluti anatomiam quandam; atque proinde veluti manu-ducunt interdum ad axiomata sublimia & nobilia; praesertim illa quae ad mundi configurationem pertinent, potius quam ad naturas & formas simplices.

EXEMPLI gratia; instantiae conformes sunt, quae sequuntur: Speculum & oculus; & similiter fabrica auris, & loca reddentia echo. Ex qua conformitate, praeter ipsam observationem similitudinis, quae ad multa utilis est, proclive est insuper colligere & formare illud axioma; videlicet, organa sensuum & corpora, quae pariunt reflexiones ad sensus, esse similis naturae. Rursus ex hoc ipso admonitus intellectus, non aegre insurgit ad axioma quoddam altius & nobilius. Hoc nimirum; nihil interesse inter consensum five sympathias corporum sensu praeditorum, & inanimatorum sine sensu;

sensu ; nisi quod in illis accedat spiritus animalis ad corpus ita dispositum ; in his autem absit. Adeo ut quot sint consensus in corporibus inanimatis, tot possint esse sensus in animalibus, si essent perforationes in corpore animato, ad discursum spiritus animalis in membrum rite dispositum, tanquam in organum idoneum. Et rursus, quot sint sensus in animalibus, tot sint proculdubio motus in corpore inanimato, ubi spiritus animalis abfuerit ; licet necesse sit multo plures esse motus in corporibus inanimatis, quam sensus in animatis, propter paucitatem organorum sensus. Atque hujus rei ostendit se exemplum valde manifestum in doloribus. Etenim quum sint plura genera doloris in animalibus, & tanquam varii illius characteres, (veluti alius est dolor ustionis, alius frigoris intensi, alius puncturae, alius compressionis, alius extensionis, & similibus) certissimum est, omnia illa, quoad motum, inesse corporibus inanimatis ; veluti ligno, aut lapidi, cum uritur, aut per gelu constringitur, aut pungitur, aut scinditur, aut flectitur, aut tunditur ; & sic de aliis : licet non subintrent sensus, propter absentiam spiritus animalis.

ITEM instantiae conformes (quod mirum fortasse dictu) sunt radices & rami plantarum. Omne enim vegetabile intumescit, & extrudit partes in circumferentiam, tam sursum quam deorsum. Neque alia est differentia radicum & ramorum, quam quod radix includatur in terra, & rami exponantur aëri & soli. Si quis enim accipiat ramum tenerum & vegetum arboris, atque illum reflectat in aliquam terrae particulam, licet non cohaereat ipsi solo, gignit statim non ramum, sed radicem. Atque vice versa, si terra ponatur superius, atque ita obstruatur lapide, aut aliqua dura substantia, ut planta cohibeatur, nec possit frondescere sursum ; edet ramos in aërem deorsum.

ITEM instantiae conformes sunt, gummi arborum, & pleraeque gemmae rupium. Utraque enim nil aliud sunt quam exudationes & percolationes succorum : In primo genere scilicet, succorum ex arboribus ; in secundo, ex saxis ; unde gignitur claritudo & splendor in utrisque, per percolationem nimirum tenuem & accuratam. Nam inde fit etiam, quod pili animalium non sint tam pulchri, & tam vividi coloris, quam avium plumae complures ; quia succi non tam delicate percolantur per cutem, quam per calamus.

ITEM instantiae conformes sunt, scrotum in animalibus masculis ; & matrix in foemellis. Adeo ut nobilis illa fabrica, per quam sexus differunt, (quatenus ad animalia terrestria) nil aliud videatur esse, quam secundum exterius & interius ; vi scilicet majore caloris genitalia in sexu masculino protrudente in exterius, ubi in foemellis nimis debilis est calor, quam ut hoc facere possit ; unde accidit, quod contineantur interius.

ITEM instantiae conformes sunt pinnae piscium, & pedes quadrupedum, aut pedes & alae volucrum, quibus addidit Aristoteles quatuor volumina in motu serpentum. Adeo ut in fabrica universi, motus viventium plerumque videatur expediri per quaterniones artuum sive flexionum.

ITEM dentes in animalibus terrestribus, & rostra in avibus, sunt instantiae conformes ; unde manifestum est in omnibus animalibus perfectis fluere duram quandam substantiam versus os.

ITEM non absurda est similitudo & conformitas illa, ut homo sit tanquam planta inversa. Nam radix nervorum & facultatum animalium, est caput ; partes autem seminales sunt infimae, non computatis extremitatibus tibiarum & brachiorum. At in planta, radix (quae instar capitis est) regulariter infimo loco collocatur ; semina autem supremo.

DENIQUE illud omnino praecipendum est, & saepius monendum; ut diligentia hominum in inquisitione & congerie naturalis historiae deinceps mutetur plane, & vertatur in contrarium ejus, quod nunc in usu est. Magna enim hucusque atque adeo curiosa fuit hominum industria, in notanda rerum varietate, atque explicandis accuratis animalium, herbarum & fossilium differentiis; quarum pleraeque magis sunt lusus naturae, quam seriae alicujus utilitatis versus scientias. Faciunt certe hujusmodi res ad delectationem, atque etiam quandoque ad praxin; verum ad introspectiendam naturam parum, aut nihil. Itaque convertenda plane est opera ad inquirendas & notandas rerum similitudines & analogia, tam in integralibus, quam partibus: Illae enim sunt, quae naturam uniunt & constituere scientias incipiunt.

VERUM in his omnino est adhibenda cautio gravis & severa; ut accipiantur pro instantiis conformibus & proportionatis, illae quae denotant similitudines (ut ab initio diximus) physicas; id est, reales & substantiales & immerfas in natura; non fortuitas & ad speciem; multo minus superstitiosas aut curiosas, quales naturalis magiae scriptores (homines levissimi & in rebus tam seriis, quales nunc agimus, vix nominandi) ubique ostentant; magna cum vanitate & desipientia inanes similitudines & sympathias rerum describentes, atque etiam quandoque affingentes.

VERUM his missis, etiam in ipsa configuratione mundi in majoribus, non sunt negligendae instantiae conformes; veluti Africa, & regio Peruviana, cum continente se porrigente usque ad fretum Magellanicum. Utraque enim regio habet similes isthmus, & similia promontoria, quod non temere accidit.

ITEM novus & vetus orbis; in eo quod utrique orbis versus septentriones lati sunt, & exporrecti; versus austrum autem angusti & acuminati.

ITEM instantiae conformes nobilissimae sunt, frigora intensa in media (quam vocant) aëris regione; & ignes acerrimi, qui saepe reperiuntur erumpentes ex locis subterraneis; quae duae res sunt ultimitates & extrema; naturae scilicet frigidi versus ambitum coeli, & naturae calidi versus viscera terrae; per antiperistasin, sive rejectionem naturae contrariae.

POSTREMO autem in axiomatibus scientiarum, notatu digna est conformitas instantiarum. Veluti tropus rhetoricae, qui dicitur praeter expectatum, conformis est tropo musicae, qui vocatur declinatio cadentiae. Similiter, postulatum mathematicum, ut quae eidem tertio aequalia sunt, etiam inter se sint aequalia, conforme est cum fabrica syllogismi in logica; qui unit ea, quae conveniunt in medio. Denique multum utilis est in quamplurimis, sagacitas quaedam in conquirendis & indagandis conformitatibus & similitudinibus physicis.

XXVIII. INTER praerogativas instantiarum, ponemus septimo loco instantias monadicas; quas etiam irregulares, sive heteroclitas (sumpto vocabulo a Grammaticis) appellare consuevimus. Eae sunt, quae ostendunt corpora in concreto; quae videntur esse extravagantia, & quasi abrupta in natura, & minime convenire cum aliis rebus ejusdem generis. Etenim instantiae conformes sunt similes alterius; at instantiae monadicae sunt sui similes. Usus vero instantiarum monadicarum est talis, qualis est instantiarum clandestinarum: viz. ad evehendam & uniendam naturam ad invenienda genera, sive communes naturas, limitandas postea per differentias veras. Neque enim desistendum ab inquisitione, donec proprietates & qualitates, quae inveniuntur in hujusmodi rebus, quae possunt censi pro miraculis naturae, reducantur & comprehendantur sub aliqua forma sive lege certa:

ut irregularitas five singularitas omnis reperiatur pendere ab aliqua forma communi; miraculum vero illud sit tandem solummodo in differentiis accuratis, & gradu & concursu raro, & non in ipsa specie: Ubi nunc contemplationes hominum non procedant ultra, quam ut ponant huiusmodi res pro secretis & magnalibus naturae, & tanquam incausabilibus, & pro exceptionibus regularum generalium.

EXEMPLA instantiarum monadicarum sunt, sol & luna, inter astra; magnes, inter lapides; argentum vivum, inter metalla; elephas, inter quadrupedes; sensus veneris, inter genera tactus; odor venaticus in canibus, inter genera olfactus. Etiam S litera apud grammaticos, habetur pro monadica; ob facilem compositionem, quam sustinet cum consonantibus, aliquando duplicibus, aliquando triplicibus; quod nulla alia litera facit. Plurimi autem faciendae sunt huiusmodi instantiae, quia acuunt & vivificant inquisitionem, & medentur intellectui depravato a consuetudine, & ab iis quae fiunt plerumque.

XXIX. INTER praerogativas instantiarum, ponemus loco octavo instantias deviantes; errores scilicet naturae, & vaga, ac monstra: ubi natura declinat & deflectit a cursu ordinario. Differunt enim errores naturae ab instantiis monadicis, in hoc; quod monadicae sint miracula specierum, at errores sint miracula individuorum. Similis autem fere sunt usus; quia rectificant intellectum adversus consueta, & revelant formas communes. Neque enim in his etiam desistendum ab inquisitione, donec inveniatur causa huiusmodi declinationis. Veruntamen causa illa non exurgit ad formam aliquam proprie, sed tantum ad latentem processum ad formam. Qui enim vias naturae noverit, is deviationes etiam facilius observabit. At rursus, qui deviationes noverit, is accuratius vias describet.

ATQUE in illo differunt etiam ab instantiis monadicis, quod multo magis instruant praxin & operativam. Nam novas species generare arduum admodum foret; at species notas variare, & inde rara multa ac inusitata producere, minus arduum. Facilis autem transitus est a miraculis naturae ad miracula artis. Si enim deprehendatur semel natura in variatione sua, ejusque ratio manifesta fuerit, expeditum erit eo deducere naturam per artem, quo per casum aberraverit. Neque solum eo, sed & aliorum; cum errores ex una parte monstrant & aperiant viam ad errores & deflexiones undequaque. Hic vero exemplis non est opus, propter eorundem copiam. Facienda enim est congeries five historia naturalis particularis omnium monstrorum, & partium naturae prodigiosorum; omnis denique novitatis & raritatis, & inusitati in natura. Hoc vero faciendum est cum severissimo delectu, ut constet fides. Maxime autem habenda sunt pro suspectis, quae pendent quomodo-cunque a religione; ut prodigia Livii: Nec minus, quae inveniuntur in scriptoribus magiae naturalis, aut etiam alchymiae, & huiusmodi hominibus; qui tanquam proci sunt & amatores fabularum. Sed depromenda sunt illa ex gravi & fida historia, & auditionibus certis.

XXX. INTER praerogativas instantiarum, ponemus loco nono instantias limitaneas; quas etiam participia vocare consuevimus. Eae vero sunt, quae exhibent species corporum tales, quae videntur esse compositae ex speciebus duabus, vel rudimenta inter speciem unam & alteram. Hae vero instantiae inter instantias monadicas five heteroclitas recte numerari possunt: Sunt enim in universitate rerum rarae & extraordinariae. Sed tamen ob dignitatem seorsim tractandae & ponendae sunt: optime enim indicant compositionem & fabricam rerum, & innuunt causas numeri & qualitatis specierum.

rum ordinariorum in universo, & deducunt intellectum ab eo quod est, ad id quod esse potest.

HARUM exempla sunt: Muscus, inter putredinem & plantam; cometae nonnulli, inter stellas & meteora ignita; pisces volantes, inter aves & pisces; vespertilioes, inter aves & quadrupedes; etiam

Simia quam similis turpissima bestia nobis;

& partus animalium biformes, & commisti ex speciebus diversis; & similia.

XXXI. INTER praerogativas instantiarum ponemus decimo loco instantias potestatis, five fascium, (sumpto vocabulo ab insignibus imperii;) quas etiam ingenia, five manus hominis, appellare consuevimus. Eae sunt opera maxime nobilia & perfecta, & tanquam ultima in unaquaque arte. Cum enim hoc agatur, praecipue ut natura pareat rebus & commodis humanis; consentaneum est prorsus, ut opera, quae jampridem in potestate hominis fuerunt, (quasi provinciae antea occupatae & subactae,) notentur & numerentur; praesertim ea, quae sunt maxime enucleata & perfecta; propterea quod ab istis proclivior & magis in propinquo sit transitus ad nova & hactenus non inventa. Si quis enim ab horum contemplatione attenta propositum acriter & strenue urgere velit; fiet certe, ut aut producat illa paulo longius, aut deflectat illa ad aliquid, quod finitimum est; aut etiam applicet & transferat illa ad usum aliquem nobiliorem.

NEQUE hic finis. Verum quemadmodum ab operibus naturae raris & inconsuetis erigitur intellectus, & elevatur ad inquirendas & inveniendas formas, quae etiam illorum sunt capaces: ita etiam in operibus artis egregiis & admirandis hoc usu venit. Idque multo magis; quia modus efficiendi & operandi hujusmodi miracula artis, manifestus ut plurimum est; cum plerumque in miraculis naturae sit magis obscurus. Attamen in his ipsis cautio est adhibenda vel maxime; ne deprimant scilicet intellectum, & cum quasi humo affigant.

PERICULUM enim est, ne per hujusmodi opera artis, quae videntur velut summitates quaedam & fastigia industriae humanae, reddatur intellectus attonitus & ligatus, & quasi maleficiatus quoad illa; ita ut cum aliis consuescere non possit, sed cogitet nihil ejus generis fieri posse, nisi eadem via qua illa effecta sunt, accedente tantummodo diligentia majore, & praeparatione magis accurata.

CONTRA illud ponendum est pro certo; vias & modos efficiendi res & opera, quae adhuc reperta sunt & notata, res esse plerumque pauperulas, atque omnem potentiam majorem pendere, & ordine derivari a fontibus formarum, quarum nulla adhuc inventa est.

ITAQUE (ut alibi diximus) qui de machinis & arietibus, quales erant apud veteres, cogitasset; licet hoc fecisset obnixae, atque aetatem in eo consumpsisset; nunquam tamen incidisset in inventum tormentorum igneorum operantium per pulverem pyrium. Neque rursus, qui in lanificiis & serico vegetabili observationem suam & meditationem collocasset, unquam per ea reperisset naturam vermis aut serici bombycini.

QUOCIRCA omnia inventa, quae censeri possunt magis nobilia, (si animus advertas) in lucem prodire, nullo modo per pusillas enucleationes & extensiones artium, sed omnino per casum. Nihil autem repraesentat aut anticipat casum, (cujus mos est, ut tantum per longa saecula operetur,) praeter inventionem formarum.

EXEMPLA autem hujusmodi instantiarum particularia nihil opus est adducere, propter copiam eorundem. Nam hoc omnino agendum, ut visitentur & penitus introspiciantur omnes artes mechanicae, atque liberales etiam, (quatenus ad opera,) atque inde facienda est congeries sive historia particularis, tanquam magnalium & operum magistralium, & maxime perfectorum in unaquaque ipsarum; una cum modis effectationis sive operationis.

NEQUE tamen astringimus diligentiam, quae adhibenda est in hujusmodi collecta, ad ea quae censentur pro magisteriis & arcanis alicujus artis tantum, atque movent admirationem. Admiratio enim proles est raritatis: Si quidem rara, licet in genere sint ex vulgatis naturis, tamen admirationem pariunt.

AT contra, quae revera admirationi esse debent propter discrepantiam, quae ineft illis in specie, collatis ad alias species; tamen si in usu familiari praesto sint; leviter notantur. Debent autem notari monadica artis, non minus quam monadica naturae; de quibus antea diximus. Atque quemadmodum in monadicis naturae posuimus solem, lunam, magnetem, & similia, quae re vulgatissima sunt, sed natura tamen fere singulari: idem & de monadicis artis faciendum est.

EXEMPLI gratia: instantia monadica artis, est papyrus; res admodum vulgata. At si diligenter animum advertas, materiae artificiales aut plane textiles sunt per fila directa & transversa; qualia sunt pannus sericus, aut laneus, & linteus, & hujusmodi: aut coagmentantur ex succis concretis; qualia sunt later, aut argilla figularis, aut vitrum, aut esmalta, aut porcellana, & similia; quae si bene uniantur, splendent; sin minus, indurantur certe, sed non splendent. Attamen omnia talia, quae fiunt ex succis concretis, sunt fragilia; nec ullo modo haerentia & tenacia. At contra, papyrus est corpus tenax, quod scindi & lacerari possit, ita ut imitetur & fere aemuletur pellem sive membranam alicujus animalis, aut folium alicujus vegetabilis, & hujusmodi opificia naturae. Nam neque fragilis est, ut vitrum; neque textilis, ut pannus; sed habet fibras certe, non fila distincta, omnino ad modum materiarum naturalium: ut inter artificiales materias vix inveniat simile aliquid, sed sit plane monadicum. Atque praeferenda sane sunt in artificialibus ea, quae maxime accedunt ad imitationem naturae, aut e contrario eam potenter regunt & invertunt.

RURSUS, inter ingenia & manus hominis, non prorsus contemnienda sunt praestigiae & jocularia. Nonnulla enim ex istis, licet sint usu levia & ludicra, tamen informatione valida esse possunt.

POSTREMO: neque omnino omittenda sunt superstitiosa, & (prout vocabulum sensu vulgari accipitur) magica. Licet enim hujusmodi res sint in immensum obrutae grandi mole mendaciorum & fabularum; tamen inspiciendum paulisper, si forte subsit & lateat in aliquibus earum aliqua operatio naturalis: ut in fascino; & fortificatione imaginationis; & consensu rerum ad distans; & transmissione impressionum a spiritu ad spiritum, non minus quam a corpore ad corpus; & similibus.

XXXII. Ex iis, quae ante dicta sunt, patet; quod quinque illa instantiarum genera, de quibus diximus, (viz. instantiarum conformium, instantiarum monadicarum, instantiarum deviantium, instantiarum limitaneorum, instantiarum potestatis,) non debeant reservari, donec inquiratur natura aliqua certa; (quemadmodum instantiae reliquae, quas primo loco proposuimus, necnon plurimae ex iis, quae sequuntur, reservari debent:) sed statim jam ab initio facienda est earum collectio, tanquam historia quaedam
particu-

particularis; eo quod digerant ea, quae ingrediuntur intellectum, & corrigant pravam complexionem intellectus ipsius, quem omnino necesse est imbuere & infici, & demum perverti ac distorqueri ab incurfibus quotidianis & consuetis.

ITAQUE adhibendae sunt eae instantiae tanquam praeparativum aliquod ad rectificandum & expurgandum intellectum. Quicquid enim abducit intellectum a consuetis, aequat & complanat aream ejus, ad recipiendum lumen siccum & purum notionum verarum.

QUIN etiam hujusmodi instantiae sternunt & praestruunt viam ad operativam; ut suo loco dicemus, quando de deductionibus ad praxin sermo erit.

XXXIII. INTER praerogativas instantiarum ponemus loco undecimo instantias comitatus, atque hostiles; quas etiam instantias propositionum fixarum appellare consuevimus. Eae sunt instantiae, quae exhibent aliquod corpus sive concretum tale, in quo natura inquisita perpetuo sequatur tanquam comes quidam individuus: aut contra, in quo natura inquisita perpetuo fugiat, atque ex comitatu excludatur, ut hostis & inimicus. Nam ex hujusmodi instantiis formantur propositiones certae & universales; aut affirmativae, aut negativae: in quibus subjectum erit tale corpus in concreto, praedicatum vero natura ipsa inquisita. Etenim propositiones particulares omnino fixae non sunt, ubi scilicet natura inquisita reperitur in aliquo concreto fluxa & mobilis; viz. accedens, sive acquisita; aut rursus recedens, sive deposita. Quocirca particulares propositiones non habent praerogativam aliquam majorem, nisi tantum in casu migrationis; de quo antea dictum est. Et nihilominus, etiam particulares illae propositiones comparatae & collatae cum universalibus multum juvant; ut suo loco dicetur. Neque tamen, etiam in universalibus istis propositionibus exactam aut absolutam affirmationem vel abnegationem requirimus. Sufficit enim ad id quod agitur, etiam si exceptionem nonnullam singularem aut raram patiantur.

USUS autem instantiarum comitatus est ad angustandam affirmativam formae. Quemadmodum enim in instantiis migrantibus angustatur affirmativa formae; viz. ut necessario poni debeat forma rei esse aliquid, quod per actum illum migrationis inditur aut destruitur: Ita etiam in instantiis comitatus angustatur affirmativa formae; ut necessario poni debeat forma rei esse aliquid, quod talem concretionem corporis subingrediatur, aut contra ab eadem abhorreat; ut qui bene norit constitutionem aut schematismum hujusmodi corporis, non longe abfuerit ab extrahenda in lucem forma naturae inquisitae.

EXEMPLI gratia; sit natura inquisita, calidum. Instantia comitatus est flamma. Etenim in aqua, aëre, lapide, metallo, & aliis quamplurimis, calor est mobilis, & accedere potest & recedere: At omnis flamma est calida, ita ut calor in concrezione flammae perpetuo sequatur. At instantia hostilis calidi nulla reperitur apud nos. Nam de visceribus terrae nihil constat ad sensum; sed eorum corporum, quae nobis nota sunt, nulla prorsus est concretio, quae non est susceptibilis caloris.

AT rursus, sit natura inquisita, consistens: instantia hostilis est aër. Etenim metallum potest fluere, potest consistere; similiter vitrum; etiam aqua potest consistere, cum congeliatur: at impossibile est, ut aër unquam consistat, aut exuat fluorem.

VERUM de instantiis hujusmodi propositionum fixarum supersunt duo monita, quae utilia sunt ad id quod agitur. Primum, ut si defuerit plane universalis affirmativa aut negativa, illud ipsum diligenter notetur tanquam non-ens: sicut fecimus de calido, ubi universalis negativa (quatenus ad entia, quae ad nostram notitiam pervenerint) in rerum natura deest. Similiter, si natura inquisita sit aeternum aut incorruptibile; deest affirmativa universalis hic apud nos. Neque enim praedicari potest aeternum aut incorruptibile de aliquo corpore eorum, quae infra coelestia sunt, aut supra interiora terrae. Alterum monitum est, ut propositionibus universalibus, tam affirmativis quam negativis de aliquo concreto, subjungantur simul ea concreta, quae proxime videntur accedere ad id quod est ex non-entibus: ut in calore, flammiae mollissimae & minimum adurentes; in incorruptibili, aurum, quod proxime accedit. Omnia enim ista indicant terminos naturae inter ens & non-ens; & faciunt ad circumscriptiones formarum, ne gliscant & vagentur extra conditiones materiae.

XXXIV. INTER praerogativas instantiarum, ponemus loco duodecimo ipsas illas instantias subjunctivas, de quibus in superiori aphorismo diximus: quas etiam instantias ultimitatis sive termini appellare consuevimus. Neque enim hujusmodi instantiae utiles sunt tantum, quatenus subjunguntur propositionibus fixis; verum etiam per se & in proprietate sua. Indicant enim non obscure veras sectiones naturae, & mensuras rerum, & illud quousque natura quid faciat, & ferat, & deinde transitus naturae ad aliud. Talia sunt; aurum, in pondere; ferrum, in duritie; cete, in quantitate animalium; canis, in odore; inflammatio pulveris pyrii, in expansione celeri; & alia id genus. Nec minus exhibenda sunt ea, quae sunt ultima gradu infimo, quam quae supremo: ut spiritus vini, in pondere; sericum, in mollitie; vermiculi cutis, in quantitate animalium; & caetera.

XXXV. INTER praerogativas instantiarum; ponemus loco decimo tertio instantias foederis sive unionis. Eae sunt, quae confundunt & adunant naturas, quae existimantur esse heterogeneae; & pro talibus notantur & signantur per divisiones receptas.

AT instantiae foederis ostendunt operationes & effectus, quae deputantur alicui ex illis heterogeneis ut propria, competere etiam aliis ex heterogeneis; ut convincatur ista heterogenea (quae in opinione est) vera non esse, aut essentialis; sed nil aliud esse, quam modificatio naturae communis. Optimi itaque sunt usus ad elevandum & evehendum intellectum a differentiis ad genera, & ad tollendum larvas & simulachra rerum, prout occurrunt & prodeunt personatae in substantiis concretis.

EXEMPLI gratia: sit natura inquisita, calidum. Omnino videtur esse divisio solennis & authentica, quod sint tria genera caloris: videlicet calor coelestium, calor animalium, & calor ignis: quodque isti calores (praesertim unus ex illis, comparatus ad reliquos duos) sint ipsa essentia & specie, sive natura specifica, differentes & plane heterogenei: Quandoquidem calor coelestium & animalium generet & foveat, at calor ignis, contra corrumpat & destruat. Est itaque instantia foederis experimentum illud satis vulgatum, cum recipitur ramus aliquis vitis intra domum, ubi sit focus assiduus, ex quo murescunt uvae, etiam mense integro citius quam foras: Ita ut maturatio fructus etiam pendentis super arborem fieri possit, scilicet ab igne, cum hoc ipsum videatur esse opus proprium solis. Itaque ab hoc initio facile insurgit intellectus, repudiata heterogenea essentiali, ad inquirendum quae sint differentiae illae, quae revera reperiuntur inter calorem solis

& ignis, ex quibus fit, ut eorum operationes sint tam dissimiles, utcumque illi ipsi participant ex natura communi.

QUAE differentiae reperientur quatuor: viz. primo, quod calor solis respectu caloris ignis, sit gradu longe clementior & lenior: secundo, quod sit (praesertim ut defertur ad nos per aërem) qualitate multo humidior: tertio, (quod caput rei est) quod sit summe inaequalis, atque accedens & auctus, & deinceps recedens & diminutus: id quod maxime confert ad generationem corporum. Recte enim asseruit Aristoteles causam principalem generationum & corruptionum, quae fiunt hic apud nos in superficie terrae, esse viam obliquam solis per zodiacum: unde calor solis, partim per vicissitudines diei & noctis, partim per successiones aestatis & hyemis, evadit miris modis inaequalis. Neque tamen definit ille vir, id quod ab eo recte inventum fuit, statim corrumpere & depravare. Nam ut arbiter scilicet naturae (quod illi in more est) valde magistraliter assignat causam generationis accessui solis; causam autem corruptionis, recessui: cum utraque res (accessus videlicet solis, & recessus) non respective, sed quasi indifferenter praebeat causam tam generationi quam corruptioni: quandoquidem inaequalitas caloris generationi & corruptioni rerum; aequalitas conservationi tantum, ministret. Est & quarta differentia inter calorem solis & ignis, magni prorsus momenti: viz. quod sol operationes suas insinuet per longa temporis spatia; ubi operationes ignis (urgente hominum impatientia) per breviora intervalla ad exitum perducantur. Quod si quis id sedulo agat, ut calorem ignis attemperet & reducat ad gradum moderatiorem & leniorem; (quod multis modis facile fit) deinde etiam inspergat & admisceat nonnullam humiditatem; maxime autem si imitetur calorem solis in inaequalitate; postremo, si moram patienter toleret, (non certe eam quae sit proportionata operibus solis, sed largiorem, quam homines adhibere solent in operibus ignis;) is facile missam faciet heterogeneam illam caloris: & vel tentabit, vel exaequabit, vel in aliquibus vincet opera solis, per calorem ignis. Similis instantia foederis est, resuscitatio papilionum, ex frigore stupentium & tanquam emortuorum, per exiguum teporem ignis: ut facile cernas, non magis negatum esse igni, vivificare animantia, quam maturare vegetabilia. Etiam inventum illud celebre Fracastorii de sartagine acriter calefacta, qua circumdant medici capita apoplecticorum desperatorum, expandit manifeste spiritus animales, ab humoribus & obstructionibus cerebri compressos & quasi extinctos; illosque ad motum excitat, non aliter quam ignis operatur in aquam aut aërem; & tamen per consequens vivificat. Etiam ova aliquando excluduntur per calorem ignis; id quod prorsus imitatur calorem animale & complura ejusmodi, ut nemo dubitare possit, quin calor ignis in multis subjectis modificari possit ad imaginem caloris coelestium & animalium.

SIMILITER sint naturae inquisitae, motus & quies. Videtur esse divisio solennis atque ex intima philosophia, quod corpora naturalia vel rotent, vel ferantur recta, vel stent sive quiescant. Aut enim est motus sine termino, aut statio in termino, aut latio ad terminum. At motus ille perennis rotationis, videtur esse coelestium proprius: Statio sive quies, videtur competere globo ipsi terrae: At corpora caetera (gravia quae vocant, & levia; extra loca scilicet connaturalitatis suae sita) feruntur recta ad massas sive congregationes similium; levia sursum, versus ambitum coeli; gravia deorsum, versus terram: Atque ista pulchra dictu sunt.

At instantia foederis est cometa aliquis humilior; qui cum sit longe infra coelum, tamen rotat: Atque commentum Aristotelis, de alligatione five sequacitate cometae ad astrum aliquod, jampridem explosum est; non tantum quia ratio ejus non est probabilis, sed propter experientiam manifestam discursus, & irregularis motus cometarum per varia loca coeli.

At rursus alia instantia foederis circa hoc subjectum, est motus aëris; qui intra tropicos (ubi circuli rotationis sunt majores) videtur & ipse rotare ab oriente in occidentem.

Et alia rursus instantia foret fluxus & refluxus maris, si modo aquae ipsae deprehendantur ferri motu rotationis (licet tardo & evanido) ab oriente in occidentem; ita tamen, ut bis in die repercutiantur. Itaque si haec ita se habeant; manifestum est, motum istum rotationis non terminari in celestibus, sed communicari aëri & aquae.

ETIAM ista proprietas levium, nimirum ut ferantur sursum, vacillat nonnihil. Atque in hoc, sumi potest pro instantia foederis, bulla aquae. Si enim aër fuerit subter aquam, ascendit rapide versus superficiem aquae, per motum illum plagae, (quam vocat Democritus) per quam aqua descendens percutit & attollit aërem sursum; non autem per contentionem aut nixum aëris ipsius. Atqui ubi ad superficiem ipsam aquae ventum fuerit, tum cohibetur aër ab ulteriore ascensu per levem resistantiam, quam reperit in aqua non statim tolerante se discontinuari: ita ut exilis admodum sit appetitus aëris ad superiora.

SIMILITER sit natura inquisita, pondus. Est plane divisio recepta; ut densa & solida ferantur versus centrum terrae, rara autem & tenuia versus ambitum coeli; tanquam ad loca sua propria. Atque loca quod attinet; (licet in scholis hujusmodi res valeant) plane inepta & puerilis cogitatio est, locum aliquid posse. Itaque nugantur philosophi, cum dicunt, quod si perforata esset terra, corpora gravia se sisterent quando ventum esset ad centrum. Effet enim certe virtuosum plane & efficax genus nihili, aut puncti mathematici; quod aut alia afficerent, aut rursus quod alia appeterent: corpus enim non nisi a corpore patitur. Verum iste appetitus ascendendi & descendendi, aut est in schematismo corporis quod movetur, aut in sympathia five consensu cum alio corpore. Quod si inveniatur aliquod corpus densum & solidum, quod nihilominus non feratur ad terram; confunditur hujusmodi divisio. At si recipiatur opinio Gilberti, quod magnetica vis terrae ad alliciendum gravia, non extendatur ultra orbem virtutis suae, (quae operatur semper ad distantiam certam, & non ultra) hocque per aliquam instantiam verificetur; ea demum erit instantia foederis circa hoc subjectum. Neque tamen occurrit impraesentiarum aliqua instantia super hoc certa & manifesta. Proxime videntur accedere cataractae coeli, quae in navigationibus per oceanum Atlanticum versus Indias utrasque saepe conspiciuntur. Tanta enim videtur esse vis & moles aquarum, quae per hujusmodi cataractas subito effunditur; ut videatur collectio aquarum fuisse ante facta, atque in his locis haesisse & mansisse, & postea potius per causam violentam dejecta & detrusa esse, quam naturali motu gravitatis cecidisse: adeo ut conjici possit corpoream molem, densam atque compactam, in magna distantia a terra, fore pensilem tanquam terram ipsam; nec casuram, nisi dejiciatur. Verum de hoc nil certi affirmamus. Interim in hoc & in multis aliis facile apparebit, quam inopes simus historiae naturalis, cum loco instantiarum certarum, nonnunquam suppositiones asserre pro exemplis cogamur.

SIMILITER

SIMILITER fit natura inquisita, discursus ingenii. Videtur omnino divisio vera, rationis humanae, & solertiae brutorum. Attamen sunt nonnullae instantiae actionum, quae eduntur a brutis, per quas videntur etiam bruta quasi syllogizare: ut memoriae proditum est de corvo; qui per magnas siccitates fere enectus siti, conspexit aquam in trunco cavo arboris; atque cum non daretur ei intrare propter angustias, non cessavit jacere multos lapillos, per quos surgeret & ascenderet aqua, ut bibere posset; quod postea cessit in proverbium.

SIMILITER fit natura inquisita, visibile. Videtur omnino esse divisio vera & certa, lucis, quae est visibile originale, & primam copiam facit visui; & coloris, qui est visibile secundarium, & sine luce non cernitur, ita ut videatur nil aliud esse quam imago aut modificatio lucis. Attamen ex utraque parte circa hoc videntur esse instantiae foederis; scilicet, nix in magna quantitate, & flamma sulphuris: in quarum altera videtur esse color primulum lucens, in altera lux vergens ad colorem.

XXXVI. INTER praerogativas instantiarum ponemus loco decimo quarto instantias crucis; translato vocabulo a crucibus, quae erectae in biviiis, indicant & signant viarum separationes. Has etiam instantias decisorias & judiciales, & in casibus nonnullis instantias oraculi & mandati, appellare consuevimus. Earum ratio talis est. Cum in inquisitione naturae alicujus, intellectus ponitur tanquam in aequilibrio, ut incertus sit, utri naturarum e duabus, vel quandoque pluribus, causa naturae inquisitae attribui aut assignari debeat, propter complurium naturarum concursum frequentem & ordinarium; instantiae crucis ostendunt consortium unius ex naturis (quoad naturam inquisitam) fidum & indissolubile, alterius autem varium & separabile; unde terminatur quaestio, & recipitur natura illa prior pro causa, missa altera & repudiata. Itaque hujusmodi instantiae sunt maximae lucis, & quasi magnae autoritatis; ita ut curriculum interpretationis quandoque in illas desinat, & per illas perficiatur. Interdum autem instantiae crucis illae occurrunt, & inveniuntur inter jam pridem notatas; at ut plurimum novae sunt, & de industria atque ex composito quaesitae & applicatae, & diligentia sedula & acri tandem erutae.

EXEMPLI gratia; fit natura inquisita fluxus & refluxus maris, ille bis repetitus in die, atque sexhorarius, in accessibus & recessibus singulis, cum differentia nonnulla quae coincidit in motum lunae: bivium circa hanc naturam tale est.

NECESSE prorsus est, ut iste motus efficiatur, vel ab aquarum progressu & regressu, in modum aquae in pelvi agitatae, quae quando latus unum pelvis alluit, deserit alterum; vel a sublatione & subsidentia aquarum e profundo, in modum aquae ebullientis, & rursus subsidentis, utri vero causae fluxus & refluxus ille assignari debeat, oritur dubitatio. Quod si recipiatur prior assertio, necesse est, ut cum sit fluxus in mari ex una parte, fiat sub idem tempus alicubi in mari refluxus ex alia. Itaque ad hoc reducitur inquisitio. Atqui observavit Acofta, cum aliis nonnullis (diligenti facta inquisitione) quod ad littora Floridae, & ad littora adversa Hispaniae & Africae, fiant fluxus maris ad eadem tempora, & refluxus itidem ad eadem tempora; non contra, quod cum fluxus sit ad littora Floridae, fiat refluxus ad littora Hispaniae & Africae. Attamen adhuc diligentius attendenti, non per hoc evincitur motus attollens, & abnegatur motus in progressu. Fieri enim potest, quod sit motus aquarum in progressu, & nihilo minus inundet adversa littora ejusdem alvei simul; si aquae scilicet illae contrudantur

trudantur & compellantur aliunde; quemadmodum fit in fluviis, qui fluunt & refluunt ad utrumque littus horis iisdem, cum tamen iste motus liquido fit motus in progressu, nempe aquarum ingredientium ostia fluminum ex mari. Itaque simili modo fieri potest, ut aquae venientes magna mole ab oceano orientali Indico, compellantur & truantur in alveum maris Atlantici, & propterea inundent utrumque latus simul. Quaerendum itaque est, an sit alius alveus, per quem aquae possint iisdem temporibus minui & refluere. Atque praesto est mare australe, mari Atlantico neutiquam minus; sed potius magis latum & extensum, quod ad hoc sufficere possit.

ITAQUE jam tandem perventum est ad instantiam crucis circa hoc subiectum: Ea talis est. Si pro certo inveniatur, quod cum fit fluxus ad littora adversa tam Floridae, quam Hispaniae, in mari Atlantico; fiat simul fluxus ad littora Peruviae, & juxta dorsum Chinae in mari australi; tum certe per hanc instantiam decisoria abjudicanda est assertio, quod fluxus & refluxus maris, de quo inquiritur, fiat per motum progressivum. Neque enim relinquitur aliud mare, aut locus, ubi possit ad eadem tempora fieri regressus aut refluxus. Commodissime autem hoc sciri possit, si inquiretur ab incolis Panamae & Limae, (ubi uterque oceanus, Atlanticus & australis, per parvum isthmum separantur) utrum ad contrarias isthmi partes fiat simul fluxus & refluxus maris, an e contra. Verum haec decisio, si abjudicatio certa videtur, posito, quod terra stet immobilis. Quod si terra rotet, fieri fortasse potest, ut ex inaequali rotatione (quatenus ad celeritatem siue incitationem) terrae & aquarum maris, sequatur compulsio violenta aquarum in cumulum sursum, quae sit fluxus & relaxatio earundem, (postquam amplius cumulari non sustinuerint) in deorsum, quae sit refluxus. Verum de hoc facienda est inquisitio separatim. Attamen etiam hoc supposito, illud aequae manet fixum, quod necesse sit fieri alicubi refluxum maris ad eadem tempora, quibus fiunt fluxus in aliis partibus.

SIMILITER, sit natura inquisita, posterior ille motus ex duobus, quos supposuimus; videlicet motus maris se attollens, & rursus subsidens; si forte ita acciderit, ut (diligenti facto examine) rejiciatur motus alter, de quo diximus, progressivus. Tum vero erit trivium circa hanc naturam tale. Necesse est, ut motus iste, per quem aquae in fluxibus & refluxibus se attollunt, & rursus relabuntur, absque aliqua accessione aquarum aliarum, quae advolvuntur, fiat per unum ex his tribus modis; vel quod ista aquarum copia emanet ex interioribus terrae, & rursus in illa se recipiat; vel quod non sit aliqua amplior moles aquarum, sed quod eadem aquae (non aucto quanto suo) extendantur, siue rarefiant, ita ut majorem locum & dimensionem occupent, & rursus se contrahant; vel quod nec copia accedat major, nec extensio amplior, sed eadem aquae (prout sunt, tam copia, quam densitate aut raritate) per vim aliquam magneticam desuper eas attrahentem, & evocantem, & per consensum se attollant, & deinde se remittant. Itaque reducatur (si placet) jam inquisitio (missis duobus illis motibus prioribus) ad hunc ultimum; & inquiretur si fiat aliqua talis sublatio per consensum, siue vim magneticam. Atqui primo manifestum est universas aquas, prout ponuntur in fossa siue cavo maris, non posse simul attolli, quia deesset quod succederet in fundo; adeo ut si foret in aquis aliquis hujusmodi appetitus se attollendi, ille ipse tamen a nexu rerum, siue (ut vulgo loquuntur) ne datur vacuum, fractus foret & cohibitus. Relinquitur, ut attollantur aquae ex aliqua parte, & per hoc minuantur & cedant ex alia. Enimvero rur-

sus necessario sequetur, ut vis illa magnetica, cum super totum operari non possit, circa medium operetur intensissime; ita ut aquas in medio attollat; illae vero sublatae, latera per successionem deferant & destituant.

ITAQUE jam tandem perventum est ad instantiam crucis circa hoc subiectum: Ea talis est. Si inveniatur, quod in refluxibus maris aquarum superficies in mari sit arcuata magis & rotunda, attollentibus se scilicet aquis in medio maris, & deficientibus circa latera, quae sunt littora; & in fluxibus eadem superficies sit magis plana & aequa, redeuntibus scilicet aquis ad priorem suam positionem; tum certe per hanc instantiam decisoriā potest recipi sublatio per vim magneticam; aliter prorsus abjudicanda est. Hoc vero in fretis per lineas nauticas non difficile est experiri; videlicet utrum in refluxibus versus medium maris mare non sit magis altum sive profundum, quam in fluxibus. Notandum autem est, si hoc ita sit, fieri (contra ac creditur) ut attollant se aquae in refluxibus, demittant se tantum in fluxibus, ita ut littora vestiant & inundent.

SIMILITER, sit natura inquisita, motus rotationis spontaneus & speciatim, utrum motus diurnus, per quem sol & stellae ad conspectum nostrum oriuntur & occidunt, sit motus rotationis verus in coelestibus; aut motus apparens in coelestibus, verus in terra. Poterit esse instantia crucis super hoc subiectum talis. Si inveniatur motus aliquis in oceano ab oriente in occidentem, licet admodum languidus & enervatus; si idem motus reperiatur paulo incitator in aëre, praesertim intra tropicos, ubi propter majores circulos est magis perceptibilis; si idem motus reperiatur in humilioribus cometis, jam factus vivus & validus; si idem motus reperiatur in planetis, ita tamen dispensatus & graduatus, ut quo propius absit a terra, sit tardior; quo longius, celerior, atque in coelo demum stellato sit velocissimus; tum certe recipi debet motus diurnus pro vero in coelis, & abnegandus est motus terrae; quia manifestum erit, motum ab oriente in occidentem esse plane cosmicum, & ex consensu universi, qui in summitatibus coeli maxime rapidus gradatim labascit, & tandem desinat, & extinguatur in immobili, videlicet terra.

SIMILITER, sit natura inquisita, motus rotationis ille alter apud astronomos decantatus, renitens & contrarius motui diurno, videlicet ab occidente in orientem, quem veteres astronomi attribuunt planetis, etiam coelo stellato; at Copernicus & ejus sectatores, terrae quoque; & quaeratur, utrum inveniatur in rerum natura aliquis talis motus, an potius res conficta sit & supposita, ad compendia & commoditates calculationum, & ad pulchrum illud, scilicet de expediendis motibus coelestibus per circulos perfectos. Neutiquam enim evincitur iste motus esse in supernis verus & realis, nec per defectum restitutionis planetae in motu diurno ad idem punctum coeli stellati, nec per diversam politatem zodiaci, habito respectu ad polos mundi, quae duo nobis hunc motum pepererunt. Primum enim phaenomenon per anteverfionem & derelictionem optime salvatur, secundum, per lineas spirales; adeo ut inaequalitas restitutionis, & declinatio ad tropicos, possint esse potius modificationes motus unici illius diurni, quam motus renitentes, aut circa diversos polos. Et certissimum est, si paulisper pro plebeis nos geramus, (missis astronomorum & scholae commentis, quibus illud in more est, ut sensui in multis immerito vim faciant, & obscuriora malint) talem esse motum istum ad sensum, qualem diximus; cujus imaginem per fila ferrea (veluti in machina) aliquando repraesentari fecimus.

VERUM instantia crucis super hoc subjectum poterit esse talis. Si inveniatur in aliqua historia fide digna, fuisse cometam aliquem, vel sublimiorem vel humiliorem, qui non rotaverit cum consensu manifesto (licet admodum irregulariter) motus diurni, sed potius rotaverit in contrarium coeli; tum certe hucusque judicandum est, posse esse in natura aliquem talem motum. Sin nihil hujusmodi inveniatur, habendus est pro suspecto, & ad alias instantias crucis circa hoc confugiendum.

SIMILITER, sit natura inquisita, pondus sive grave. Bivium circa hanc naturam tale est. Necesse est, ut gravia & ponderosa vel tendant ex natura sua ad centrum terrae, per proprium schematismum; vel ut a massa corporea ipsius terrae, tanquam a congregatione corporum connaturalium, attrahantur & rapiantur, & ad eam per consensum ferantur. At posterius hoc, si in causa sit, sequitur, ut quo propius gravia appropinquant ad terram, eo fortius & majore cum impetu ferantur ad eam; quo longius ab ea absint, debilius & tardius, (ut sit in attractionibus magneticis;) idque fieri intra spatium certum; adeo ut si elongata fuerint a terra tali distantia, ut virtus terrae in ea agere non possit, pensilia mansura sint, ut & ipsa terra, nec omnino decasura.

ITAQUE talis circa hanc rem poterit esse instantia crucis. Sumatur horologium ex iis, quae moventur per pondera plumbea; & aliud ex iis quae moventur per compressionem laminae ferreae; atque vere probentur, ne alterum altero velocius sit, aut tardius; deinde ponatur horologium illud movens per pondera, super fastigium alicujus templi altissimi, altero illo infra detento; & notetur diligenter, si horologium in alto situm tardius moveatur quam solebat, propter diminutam virtutem ponderum. Idem fiat experimentum in profundis minerarum, alte sub terra depressarum; utrum horologium hujusmodi non moveatur velocius quam solebat, propter auctam virtutem ponderum. Quod si inveniatur virtus ponderum minui in sublimi, aggravari in subterraneis; recipiatur pro causa ponderis attractio a massa corporea terrae.

SIMILITER, sit natura inquisita, verticitas acus ferreae, tactae magnetis. Circa hanc naturam tale erit bivium. Necesse est, ut tactus magnetis vel ex se indat ferro verticitatem ad septentriones & austrum; vel ut excitet ferrum tantummodo & habiliter: Motus autem ipse indatur ex praesentia terrae, ut Gilbertus opinatur, & tanto conatu probare nititur. Itaque huc spectant ea, quae ille perspicaci industria conquirit. Nimirum quod clavus ferreus, qui diu duravit in situ versus septentriones & austrum, colligat mora diutina verticitatem, absque tactu magnetis: Ac si terra ipsa, quae ob distantiam debiliter operatur, (namque superficies aut extima incrustatio terrae virtutis magneticae, ut ille vult, expers est) per moram tamen longam magnetis tactum suppleret, & ferrum exciret, deinde excitum conformaret & verteret. Rursus quod ferrum ignitum & candens, si in extinctione sua exporrigatur inter septentriones & austrum, colligat quoque verticitatem absque tactu magnetis: Ac si partes ferri in motu positae per ignitionem, & postea se recipientes, in ipso articulo extinctionis suae magis essent susceptivae, & quasi sensitivae virtutis marientis a terra, quam alias; & inde fierent tanquam excitae. Verum haec, licet bene observata, tamen non evincunt prorsus, quod ille asserit.

INSTANTIA crucis autem circa hoc subjectum poterit esse talis. Capiatur terrella ex magnetis, & notentur poli ejus; & ponantur poli terellae versus orientem & occasum, non versus septentriones & austrum, atque

ita jaceant ; deinde superponatur acus ferrea intacta, & permittatur ita manere ad dies sex aut septem. Acus vero (nam de hoc non dubitatur) dum manet super magnetem, relictis polis mundi, se vertet ad polos magnetis. Itaque quamdiu ita manet, vertitur scilicet ad orientem & occidentem mundi. Quod si inveniatur acus illa remota a magnete, & posita super versorium, statim se applicare ad septentriones & austrum, vel etiam paulatim se eo recipere ; tum recipienda est pro causa, praesentia terrae : Sin autem vertatur (ut prius) in orientem & occidentem, aut perdat verticitatem, habenda est illa causa pro suspecta, & ulterius inquirendum est.

SIMILITER, sit natura inquisita, corporea substantia lunae ; an sit tenuis, flammea, sive aërea, ut plurimi ex priscis philosophis opinati sunt ; an solida & densa, ut Gilbertus & multi moderni, cum nonnullis ex antiquis, tenent. Rationes posterioris istius opinionis fundantur in hoc maxime, quod luna radios solis reflectat ; neque videtur fieri reflexio lucis nisi a solidis.

ITAQUE instantiae crucis circa hoc subjectum eae esse poterint, (si modo aliquae sint) quae demonstrent reflexionem a corpore tenui, qualis est flamma, modo sit crassitiei sufficientis. Certe causa crepusculi inter alias est reflexio radiorum solis a superiore parte aëris. Etiam quandoque reflecti videmus radios solis temporibus vespertinis serenis, a fimbriis nubium roscidarum, non minori splendore, sed potius illustriori & magis glorioso, quam qui redditur a corpore lunae ; neque tamen constat eas nubes coaluisse in corpus densum aquae. Etiam videmus aërem tenebrosus pone fenestras noctu reflectere lucem candelae, non minus quam corpus densum. Tentandum etiam foret experimentum immisionis radiorum solis per foramen, super flammam aliquam subfuscam & coeruleam. Sane radii aperti solis incidentes in flammam obscuriores videntur eas quasi mortificare, ut conspiciantur magis instar fumi albi, quam flammae. Atque haec impraesentiarum occurrunt, quae sint ex natura instantiarum crucis circa hanc rem ; & meliora fortasse reperiri possunt. Sed notandum semper est, reflexionem a flamma non esse expectandam, nisi a flamma alicujus profunditatis : nam aliter vergit ad diaphanum. Hoc autem pro certo ponendum, lucem semper in corpore aequali, aut excipi & transmitti, aut resilire.

SIMILITER, sit natura inquisita, motus missilium ; veluti spiculorum, sagittarum, globulorum, per aërem. Hunc motum schola (more suo) valde negligenter expedit ; satis habens, si eum nomine motus violenti a naturali (quem vocant) distinguat ; & quod ad primam percussionem sive impulsione attinet, per illud, (quod duo corpora non possint esse in uno loco, ne fiat penetratio dimensionum) sibi satisfaciat ; & de processu continuato istius motus nihil curet. At circa hanc naturam bivium est tale : aut iste motus fit ab aëre vehente, & pone corpus emissum se colligente, instar fluvii erga scapham, aut venti erga paleas ; aut a partibus ipsius corporis non sustentibus impressionem, sed ad eandem laxandam per successionem se promoventibus. Atque priorem illum recipit Fracastorius, & fere omnes qui de hoc motu paulo subtilius inquisiverunt : Neque dubium est, quin sint aëris partes in hac re nonnullae ; sed alter motus proculdubio verus est, ut ex infinitis constat experimentis. Sed inter caeteras poterit esse circa hoc subjectum instantia crucis talis ; quod lamina aut filum ferri paulo contumacius ; vel etiam calamus sive penna in medio divisa, adducta & curvata inter pollicem & digitum, exiliant. Manifestum enim est, hoc non posse imputari aëri se pone corpus colligenti, quia fons motus est in medio laminae vel calami, non in extremis.

SIMILI-

SIMILITER, sit natura inquisita motus ille rapidus & potens expansionis pulveris pyrii in flammam; unde tantae moles subvertuntur, tanta pondera emittuntur, quanta in cuniculis majoribus & bombardis videmus. Bivium circa hanc naturam tale est: aut excitatur iste motus a mero corporis appetitu se dilatandi, postquam fuerit inflammatum; aut ab appetitu mixto spiritus crudi, qui rapide fugit ignem, & ex eo circumfuso, tanquam ex carcere, violenter erumpit. Schola autem & vulgaris opinio tantum versatur circa priorem illum appetitum. Putant enim homines se pulchre philosophari, si asserant flammam ex forma elementi necessitate quadam donari, locum ampliorem occupandi, quam idem corpus expleverat, cum subiret formam pulveris, atque inde sequi motum istum. Interim minime advertunt, licet hoc verum sit, posito, quod flamma generetur, tamen posse impediri flammae generationem a tanta mole, quae illam comprimere & suffocare queat; ut non deducatur res ad istam necessitatem, de qua loquuntur. Nam quod necesse sit fieri expansionem, atque inde sequi emissionem, aut remotionem corporis quod obstat, si generetur flamma, recte putant. Sed ista necessitas plane evitatur, si moles illa solida flammam supprimat, antequam generetur. Atque videmus flammam, praesertim in prima generatione, mollem esse & lenem, & requirere cavum, in quo experiri & ludere possit. Itaque tanta violentia huic rei per se assignari non potest. Sed illud verum; generationem hujusmodi flammarum flatulentarum, & veluti ventorum igneorum, fieri ex conflictu duorum corporum, eorumque naturae inter se plane contrariae; alterius admodum inflammabilis, quae natura viget in sulphure; alterius flammam exhorrentis, qualis est spiritus crudus, qui est in nitro; adeo ut fiat conflictus mirabilis, inflammante se sulphure quantum potest, (nam tertium corpus, nimirum carbo salicis, nil aliud fere praestat, quam ut illa duo corpora incorporet, & commode uniat) & erumpente spiritu nitri quantum potest, & una se dilatante, (nam hoc faciunt & aer, & omnia cruda, & aqua, ut a calore dilatentur) & per istam fugam & eruptionem, interim flammam sulphuris, tanquam foliis occultis, undequaque exufflante.

POTERANT autem esse instantiae crucis circa hoc subjectum duorum generum. Alterum eorum corporum, quae maxime sunt inflammabilia, qualia sunt sulphur, caphura, naphtha, & hujusmodi, cum eorum misturis; quae citius & facilius concipiunt flammam quam pulvis pyrius, si non impediuntur: Ex quo liquet appetitum inflammandi per se effectum illum stupendum non operari. Alterum eorum, quae flammam fugiunt & exhorrent, qualia sunt sales omnes. Videmus enim, si jaciantur in ignem, spiritum aqueum erumpere cum fragore, antequam flamma concipiatur; quod etiam leniter fit in foliis paulo contumacioribus, parte aquea erumpente, antequam oleosa concipiat flammam. Sed maxime cernitur hoc in argento vivo, quod non male dicitur aqua mineralis. Hoc enim absque inflammatione, per eruptionem & expansionem simplicem, vires pulveris pyrii fere adaequat; quod etiam admixtum pulveri pyrio, ejus vires multiplicare dicitur.

SIMILITER, sit natura inquisita, transitoria natura flammae & extinctio ejus momentanea. Non enim videtur natura flammea hic apud nos figi & consistere, sed singulis quasi momentis generari, & statim extinguui. Manifestum enim est in flammis, quae hic continuantur & durant, istam durationem non esse ejusdem flammae in individuo, sed fieri per successionem novae flammae seriatim generatae, minime autem manere eandem flammam numero; id quod facile perspicitur ex hoc, quod subtracto alimento sive fomite flammae, flamma statim pereat. Bivium autem circa hanc naturam

tale est. Momentanea ista natura, aut fit remittente se causa, quae eam primo genuit, ut in lumine, sonis, & motibus (quos vocant) violentis; aut quod flamma in natura sua possit hic apud nos manere, sed a contrariis naturis circumfusus vim patiatur & destruat.

ITAQUE poterit esse circa hoc subjectum instantia crucis talis. Videmus flammam in incendiis majoribus, quam alte in sursum ascendant. Quanto enim basis flammae est latior, tanto vertex sublimior: Itaque videtur principium extinctionis fieri circa latera, ubi ab aëre flamma comprimitur, & male habetur. At medietas flammae, quae aër non contingit, sed alia flamma undique circumdat, eadem numero manent; neque extinguuntur, donec paulatim angustentur ab aëre per latera circumfuso. Itaque omnis flamma pyramidalis est basi circa fomitem largior, vertice autem (inimicante aëre, nec suppeditante fomite) acutior. At fumus angustior circa basim ascendendo dilatatur, & fit tanquam pyramis inversa; quia scilicet aër fumum recipit, flammam (neque enim quispiam somniet aërem esse flammam accensam, cum sint corpora plane heterogenea) comprimit.

ACCURATIOR autem poterit esse instantia crucis ad hanc rem accommodata, si res forte manifestari possit per flammam bicolorem. Capiatur igitur situla parva ex metallo, & in ea figatur parva candela cerea accensa; ponatur situla in patera, & circumfundatur spiritus vini in modica quantitate; quae ad labra situlae non attingat; tum accende spiritum vini. At spiritus ille vini exhibebit flammam magis scilicet coeruleam, lychnus candelae autem magis flavam. Notetur itaque utrum flamma lychni (quam facile est per colorem a flamma spiritus vini distinguere; neque enim flammam, ut liquores statim commiscuntur,) maneat pyramidalis, an potius magis tendat ad formam globosam, cum nihil inveniatur quod, eam destruat aut comprimat. At hoc posterius si fiat, manere flammam eadem numero, quamdiu intra aliam flammam concludatur, nec vim inimicam aëris experiatur, pro certo ponendum est.

ATQUE de instantiis crucis haec dicta sint. Longiores autem in iis tractandis ad hunc finem fuimus, ut homines paulatim discant & assueant, de natura judicare per instantias crucis, & experimenta lucifera, & non per rationes probabiles.

XXXVII. INTER praerogativas instantiarum ponemus loco decimo quinto instantias divortii; quae indicant separationes naturarum earum, quae ut plurimum occurrunt. Differunt autem ab instantiis, quae subjunguntur instantiis comitatus; quia illae indicant separationes naturae alicujus ab aliquo concreto, cum quo illa familiariter consuescit: hae vero separationes naturae alicujus ab altera natura. Differunt etiam ab instantiis crucis; quia nihil determinant, sed monent tantum de separabilitate unius naturae ab altera. Usus autem earum est ad prodendas falsas formas, & dissipandas leves contemplationes ex rebus obviis orientes; adeo ut veluti plumbum & pondera intellectui addant.

EXEMPLI gratia: Sint naturae inquisitae quatuor naturae illae; quas contubernales vult esse Telestus, & tanquam ex eadem camera: viz. calidum, lucidum, tenue, mobile, sive promptum ad motum. At plurimae inveniuntur instantiae divortii inter ipsas. Aër enim tenuis est & habilis ad motum, non calidus aut lucidus: Luna lucida, absque calore: Aqua fervens, calida absque lumine: Motus acus ferreae super verforium, pernix & agilis; & tamen in corpore frigido, denso, opaco: & complura id genus.

SIMILITER, sint naturae inquisitae natura corporea & actio naturalis. Videtur enim non inveniri actio naturalis, nisi subsistens in aliquo corpore. Attamen possit fortasse esse circa hanc rem instantia nonnulla divortii. Ea est actio magnetica, per quam ferrum fertur ad magnetem, gravia ad globum terrae. Addi etiam possint aliae nonnullae operationes ad distans. Actio siquidem hujusmodi & in tempore fit, per momenta, non in puncto temporis; & in loco, per gradus & spatia. Est itaque aliquod momentum temporis, & aliquod intervallum loci, in quibus ista virtus sive actio haeret in medio inter duo illa corpora, quae motum cient. Reducitur itaque contemplatio ad hoc; utrum illa corpora, quae sunt termini motus, disponant vel alterent corpora media, ut per successionem & tactum verum labatur virtus a termino ad terminum; & interim subsistat in corpore medio; an horum nihil sit praeter corpora, & virtutem, & spatia? Atque in radiis opticis, & sonis, & calore, & aliis nonnullis operantibus ad distans, probabile est media corpora disponi & alterari; eo magis, quod requiratur medium qualificatum ad deferendam operationem talem. At magnetica illa sive coitiva virtus admittit media tanquam adiaphora, nec impeditur virtus in omnigeno medio. Quod si nil rei habeat virtus illa aut actio cum corpore medio, sequitur, quod sit virtus aut actio naturalis ad tempus nonnullum, & in loco nonnullo, subsistens sine corpore: cum neque subsistat in corporibus terminantibus, nec in mediis. Quare actio magnetica poterit esse instantia divortii, circa naturam corpoream & actionem naturalem. Cui hoc adjici potest tanquam corollarium aut lucrum non praetermittendum: viz. quod etiam secundum sensum philosophandi sumi possit probatio, quod sint entia & substantiae separatae & incorporeae. Si enim virtus & actio naturalis emanans a corpore, subsistere possit aliquo tempore & aliquo loco, omnino sine corpore; prope est, ut possit etiam emanare in origine sua a substantia incorporea. Videtur enim non minus requiri natura corporea ad actionem naturalem sustentandam & devehendam, quam ad excitandam aut generandam.

XXXVIII. SEQUUNTUR quinque ordines instantiarum, quas uno vocabulo generali instantias lampadis, sive informationis primae, appellare consuevimus. Eae sunt, quae auxiliantur sensui. Cum enim omnis interpretatio naturae incipiat a sensu; atque a sensuum perceptionibus, recta, constanti, & munita via, ducat ad perceptiones intellectus, quae sunt notiones verae & axiomata; necesse est, ut quanto magis copiosae & exactae fuerint repraesentationes, sive praebitiones ipsius sensus, tanto omnia cedant facilius & felicius.

HARUM autem quinque instantiarum lampadis: Primae roborant, ampliant, & rectificant actiones sensus immediatas: Secundae deducunt non-sensibile ad sensibile: Tertiae indicant processus continuatos sive series earum rerum & motuum, quae (ut plurimum) non notantur nisi in exitu aut periodis: Quartae aliquid substituunt sensui in meris destitutionibus: Quintae excitant attentionem sensus & advertentiam, atque una limitant subtilitatem rerum. De his autem singulis jam dicendum est.

XXXIX. INTER praerogativas instantiarum, ponemus loco decimo sexto instantias januae sive portae: Eo enim nomine eas appellamus, quae juvant actiones sensus immediatas. Inter sensus autem manifestum est partes primas tenere visum, quoad informationem; quare huic sensui praecipue auxilia conquirenda. Auxilia autem triplicia esse posse videntur: vel ut percipiat non visa; vel ut majore intervallo; vel ut exactius & distinctius.

PRIMI generis sunt (missis bif-oculis, & hujusmodi, quae valent tantum ad corrigendam & levandam infirmitatem visus non bene dispositi, atque ideo nihil amplius informant) ea, quae nuper inventa sunt perspicilla; quae latentes & invisibiles corporum minutias, & occultos schematissimos, & motus (aucta insigniter specierum magnitudine) demonstrant; quorum vi in pulce, musca, vermiculis, accurata corporis figura & lineamenta, necnon colores & motus prius non conspicui, non sine admiratione cernuntur. Quinetiam aiunt lineam rectam calamo vel penicillo descriptam, per hujusmodi perspicilla inaequalem admodum & tortuosam cerni: quia scilicet nec motus manus licet per regulam adjunctae, nec impressio atramenti aut coloris, revera aequalia existant; licet illae inaequalitates tam minutae sint, ut sine adjumento hujusmodi perspicillorum conspici nequeant. Etiam superstitiosam quandam observationem in hac re (ut sit in rebus novis & miris) addiderunt homines: viz. quod hujusmodi perspicilla opera naturae illustrent, artis dehonestent. Illud vero nihil aliud est, quam quod texturae naturales multo subtiliores sint quam artificiosae. Perspicillum enim illud ad minuta tantum valet; quale perspicillum si vidisset Democritus, exiluisset forte, & modum videndi atomum (quam ille invisibilem omnino affirmavit) inventum fuisse putasset. Verum incompetencia hujusmodi perspicillorum, praeterquam ad minutias tantum, (neque ad ipsas quoque, si fuerint in corpore majusculo) usum rei destruit. Si enim inventum extendi posset ad corpora majora, aut corporum majorum minutias; adeo ut textura panni lintei conspici posset tanquam rete; atque hoc modo minutiae latentes & inaequalitates gemmarum, liquorum, urinarum, sanguinis, vulnerum, & multarum aliarum rerum cerni possent; magnae proculdubio ex eo invento commoditates capi possent.

SECUNDI generis sunt illa altera perspicilla, quae memorabili conatu adinvenit Galilaeus: quorum ope, tanquam per scaphas aut naviculas, aperiri & exerceri possint propiora cum coelestibus commercia. Hinc enim constat galaxiam esse nodum sive coacervationem stellarum parvarum, plane numeratarum & distinctarum; de qua re apud antiquos tantum suspicio fuit. Hinc demonstrare videtur, quod spatia orbium (quos vocant) planetarum non sint plane vacua aliis stellis; sed quod coelum incipiat stellescere, antequam ad coelum ipsum stellatum ventum sit; licet stellis minoribus, quam ut sine perspicillis istis conspici possint. Hinc choreas illas stellarum parvarum circa planetam Jovis, (unde conjici possit, esse in motibus stellarum plura centra) intueri licet. Hinc inaequalitates luminosi & opaci in luna distinctius cernuntur & locantur; adeo ut fieri possit quaedam selenographia. Hinc maculae in sole; & id genus: Omnia certe inventa nobilia, quatenus fides hujusmodi demonstrationibus tuto adhiberi possit. Quae nobis ob hoc maxime suspectae sunt, quod in istis paucis sistatur experimentum, neque alia complura investigatu aequae digna eadem ratione inventa sint.

TERTII generis sunt bacilla illa ad terras mensurandas, astrolabia, & similia; quae sensum videndi non ampliant, sed rectificant & dirigunt. Quod si sint aliae instantiae, quae reliquos sensus juvent in ipsorum actionibus immediatis & individuis; tamen si ejusmodi sint, quae informationi ipsi nihil addant plus quam jam habetur; ad id, quod nunc agitur, non faciunt: itaque earum mentionem non fecimus.

XL. INTER praerogativas instantiarum ponemus loco decimo-septimo instantias citantes; sumpto vocabulo a foris civilibus, quia citant ea ut compareant,

pareant, quae prius non comparuerunt; quas etiam instantias evocantes appellare consuevimus: Eae deducunt non-sensibile ad sensibile.

SENSUM autem fugiunt res, vel propter distantiam objecti locati; vel propter interceptionem sensus per corpora media; vel quia objectum non est habile ad impressionem in sensu faciendam; vel quia deficit quantum in objecto pro feriendo sensu; vel quia tempus non est proportionatum ad actuandum sensum; vel quia objecti percussio non toleratur a sensu; vel quia objectum ante implevit & possedit sensum, ut novo motui non sit locus. Atque haec praecipue ad visum pertinent, & deinde ad tactum. Nam hi duo sensus sunt informativi ad largum, atque de communibus objectis; ubi reliqui tres non informant fere, nisi immediate & de propriis objectis.

IN primo genere non fit deductio ad sensibile, nisi rei, quae cerni non possit propter distantiam, adjiciatur aut substituatur alia res, quae sensum magis e longinquo provocare & ferire possit: veluti in significatione rerum per ignes, campanas, & similia.

IN secundo genere fit deductio, cum ea, quae interius propter interpositionem corporum latent, nec commode aperiri possunt, per ea quae sunt in superficie, aut ab interioribus effluunt, perducuntur ad sensum: ut status humanorum corporum per pulsus & urinas, & similia.

AT tertii & quarti generis deductiones ad plurima spectant, atque undique in rerum inquisitione sunt conquirendae. Hujus rei exempla sunt. Patet quod aër & spiritus, & hujusmodi res, quae sunt toto corpore tenues & subtiles, nec cerni nec tangi possint: Quare in inquisitione circa hujusmodi corpora deductionibus omnino est opus.

SIT itaque natura inquisita actio & motus spiritus, qui includitur in corporibus tangibilibus. Omne enim tangibile apud nos continet spiritum invisibilem & intactilem, eique obducitur, atque eum quasi vestit. Hinc fons triplex potens ille, & mirabilis processus spiritus in corpore tangibili. Spiritus enim in re tangibili emissus, corpora contrahit & deficcit: Detentus, corpora intenerat & colliquat: nec prorsus emissus nec prorsus detentus, informat, membrificat, assimilat, egerit, organizat, & similia. Atque haec omnia deducuntur ad sensibile per effectus conspicuos.

ET ENIM in omni corpore tangibili inanimato, spiritus inclusus primo multiplicat se, & tanquam depascit partes tangibiles eas, quae sunt maxime ad hoc faciles & praeparatae; easque digerit, & conficit, & vertit in spiritum, & deinde una evolat. Atque haec confectio & multiplicatio spiritus deducitur ad sensum per diminutionem ponderis. In omni enim deficcatione aliquid defluit de quanto; neque id ipsum ex spiritu tantum praeinexistente, sed ex corpore quod prius fuit tangibile, & noviter versum est: Spiritus enim non ponderat. Egressus autem sive emissio spiritus deducitur ad sensibile in rubigine metallorum, & aliis putrefactionibus ejus generis, quae sistunt se, antequam pervenerint ad rudimenta vitae; nam illae ad tertium genus processus pertinent. Etenim in corporibus magis compactis spiritus non invenit poros & meatus, per quos evolet: Itaque cogitur partes ipsas tangibiles protrudere & ante se agere, ita ut illae simul exeant; atque inde fit rubigo, & similia. At contractio partium tangibilium, postquam aliquid de spiritu fuerit emissum, (unde sequitur illa deficcatio) deducitur ad sensibile, tum per ipsam durtiem rei auctam, tum multo magis per scissuras, angustationes, corrugationes, & complicationes corporum, quae inde sequuntur. Etenim partes ligni defiliunt & angustantur; pelles corrugantur: neque id solum, sed (si subita fuerit emissio spiritus per calorem

ignis) tantum properant ad contractionem, ut se complicant & convolvant.

AT contra, ubi spiritus detinetur, & tamen dilatatur & excitatur per calorem aut ejus analogia; (id quod fit in corporibus magis solidis aut tenacibus) tum vero corpora emolliuntur, ut ferrum candens; fluunt ut metalla; liquefiunt, ut gummi, cera, & similia. Itaque contrariae illae operationes caloris (ut ex eo alia durefcent, alia liquefcent) facile reconciliantur; quia in illis, spiritus emittitur; in his, agitur & detinetur: quorum posterius est actio propria caloris & spiritus; prius, actio partium tangibilium tantum per occasionem spiritus emissi.

AST ubi spiritus nec detinetur prorsus, nec prorsus emittitur; sed tantum inter claustra sua tentat & experitur, atque nata est partes tangibiles obediens & sequaces in promptu; ita ut quo spiritus agit, eae simul sequantur: tum vero sequitur efformatio in corpus organicum, & membrificatio, & reliquae actiones vitales, tam in vegetabilibus quam in animalibus. Atque haec maxime deducuntur ad sensum, per notationes diligentes primorum inceptuum & rudimentorum, sive tentamentorum vitae in animalculis ex putrefactione natis; ut in ovis formicarum, vermibus, muscis, ranis post imbrem, &c. Requiritur autem ad vivificationem, & lenitas caloris, & lenitor corporis; ut spiritus nec per festinationem erumpat, nec per contumaciam partium coërceatur: quin potius ad cerae modum illas plicare & effingere possit.

RURSUS, differentia illa spiritus maxime nobilis, & ad plurima pertiens, (viz. spiritus abscissi; ramosi simpliciter; ramosi simul & cellulati: ex quibus prior est spiritus omnium corporum inanimatorum; secundus, vegetabilium; tertius, animalium:) per plurimas instantias deductorias tanquam sub oculos ponitur.

SIMILITER patet, quod subtiliores texturae & schematismi rerum (licet toto corpore visibilibus aut tangibilibus) nec cernantur, nec tangantur. Quare in his quoque per deductionem procedit informatio. At differentia schematiformorum maxime radicalis & primaria fumitur ex copia vel paucitate materiae, quae subit idem spatium sive dimensum. Reliqui enim schematismi (qui referuntur ad dissimilaritates partium, quae in eodem corpore continentur, & collocationes ac posituras earundem) prae illo altero sunt secundarii.

SIT itaque natura inquisita, expansio sive coitio materiae in corporibus respective: viz. quantum materiae impleat quantum dimensum in singulis. Etenim nil verius in natura, quam propositio illa gemella; ex nihilo nihil fieri: neque quicquam in nihilum redigi: verum quantum ipsum materiae sive summam totalem constare, nec augeri aut minui. Nec illud minus verum; Ex quanto illo materiae sub iisdem spatiis sive dimensionibus, pro diversitate corporum, plus & minus contineri; ut in aqua plus, in aëre minus: Adeo ut si quis asserat, aliquod contentum aquae in par contentum aëris verti posse, idem sit ac si dicat, aliquid posse redigi in nihilum: contra, si quis asserat, aliquod contentum aëris in par contentum aquae verti posse; idem sit ac si dicat, aliquid posse fieri ex nihilo. Atque ex copia ista & paucitate materiae, notiones illae densi & rari, quae varie & promiscue accipiuntur, proprie abstrahuntur. Assumenda est & assertio illa tertia, etiam satis certa: quod hoc, de quo loquimur, plus & minus materiae in corpore hoc vel illo, ad calculos (facta collatione) & proportionem exactas, aut exactis propinquas, reduci possit. Veluti si quis dicat
inesse

inesse in dato contento auri talem coacervationem materiae, ut opus habeat spiritus vini ad tale quantum materiae aequandum, spatio vices & semel majore, quam implet aurum; non erraverit.

COACERVATIO autem materiae, & rationes ejus deducuntur ad sensibile per pondus. Pondus enim respondet copiae materiae, quoad partes rei tangibilis: spiritus autem, & ejus quantum ex materia, non venit in computationem per pondus; levat enim pondus potius quam gravat. At nos hujus rei tabulam fecimus satis accuratam; in qua pondera & spatia singulorum metallorum, lapidum praecipuorum, lignorum, liquorum, oleorum, & plurimorum aliorum corporum, tam naturalium quam artificialium, excepimus: Rem polychrestam, tam ad lucem informationis, quam ad normam operationis; & quae multas res revelet omnino praeter expectatum. Neque illud pro minimo habendum est, quod demonstret omnem varietatem, quae in corporibus tangibilibus nobis notis versatur, (intelligimus autem corpora bene unita, nec plane spongiosa, & cava & magna ex parte aëre impleta) non ultra rationes partium viginti & unius excedere: tam finita scilicet est natura, aut saltem illa pars ejus, cujus usus ad nos maxime pertinet.

ETIAM diligentiae nostrae esse putavimus experiri, si forte capi possint rationes corporum non-tangibilium sive pneumaticorum, respectu corporum tangibilium. Id quod tali molitione aggressi sumus. Phialam vitream accepimus, quae unciam fortasse unam capere possit: parvitate vasis usi, ut minori cum calore posset fieri evaporatio sequens. Hanc phialam spiritu vini implevimus fere ad collum; eligentes spiritum vini, quod per tabulam priorem, eum esse ex corporibus tangibilibus (quae bene unita, nec cava sunt) rarissimum, & minimum continens materiae sub suo dimensio, observaverimus. Deinde pondus aquae cum phiala ipsa exacte notavimus. Postea vesicam accepimus, quae circa duas pintas contineret. Ex ea aërem omnem, quoad fieri potuit, expressimus, eo usque ut vesicae ambolatera essent contigua: Etiam prius vesicam oleo oblevimus cum fricatione leni, quo vesica esset clausior; ejus, siqua erat, porositate oleo obturata. Hanc vesicam circa os phialae, ore phialae intra os vesicae recepto, fortiter ligavimus; filo parum cerato, ut melius adhaeresceret & arctius ligaret. Tum demum phialam supra carbones arduentes in foculo collocavimus. At paulo post vapor sive aura spiritus vini per calorem dilatati, & in pneumaticum versi, vesicam paulatim sufflavit, eamque universam veli instar undequaque extendit. Id postquam factum fuit, continuo vitrum ab igne removimus, & super tapetem posuimus, ne frigore disrumperetur: Statim quoque in summitate vesicae foramen fecimus, ne vapor, cessante calore, in liquorem restitutus resideret, & rationes confunderet. Tum vero vesicam ipsam sustulimus, & rursus pondus excepimus spiritus vini, qui remanebat. Inde quantum consumptum fuisset in vaporem seu pneumaticum, computavimus; & facta collatione, quantum locum sive spatium illud corpus impleffet, quando esset spiritus vini in phiala, & rursus quantum spatium impleverit, postquam factum fuisset pneumaticum in vesica, rationes subduximus: ex quibus manifeste liquebat, corpus istud ita versum & mutatum expansionem centuplo majorem, quam antea habuisset, acquisivisse.

SIMILITER, sit natura inquisita calor aut frigus; ejus nempe gradus, ut a sensu non percipiantur ob debilitatem. Haec deducuntur ad sensum per vitrum calendare, quale superius descripsimus. Calor enim & frigus, ipsa non percipiuntur ad tactum: At calor aërem expandit, frigus contrahit.

Neque

Neque rursus illa expansio & contractio aëris percipitur ad visum: At aër ille expansus aquam deprimit; contractus, attollit; ac tum demum fit deductio ad visum, non ante, aut alias.

SIMILITER, fit natura inquisita mistura corporum; viz. quid habeant ex aqueo, quid ex oleoso, quid ex spiritu, quid ex cinere & salibus, & huiusmodi; vel etiam (in particulari) quid habeat lac butyri, quid coaguli, quid feri, & huiusmodi. Haec deducuntur ad sensum per artificiosas & peritas separationes, quatenus ad tangibilia. At natura spiritus in ipsis, licet immediate non percipiatur, tamen deprehenditur per varios motus & nixus corporum tangibilium, in ipso actu & processu separationis suae; atque etiam per acrimonias, corrosiones, & diversos colores, odores, & sapes eorundem corporum post separationem. Atque in hac parte, per distillationes atque artificiosas separationes, strenue sane ab hominibus elaboratum est; sed non multo felicius quam in caeteris experimentis, quae adhuc in usu sunt; modis nimirum prorsus palpatoriis, & viis caecis, & magis operose quam intelligenter; & (quod pessimum est) nulla cum imitatione aut aemulatione naturae, sed cum destructione (per calores vehementes, aut virtutes nimis validas) omnis subtilioris schematismi, in quo occultae rerum virtutes & consensus praecipue sitae sunt. Neque illud etiam, quod alias monuimus, hominibus in mentem aut observationem venire solet in huiusmodi separationibus; hoc est, plurimas qualitates in corporum vexationibus, tam per ignem quam alios modos, indi ab ipso igne, iisque corporibus, quae ad separationem adhibentur, quae in composito prius non fuerunt; unde mirae fallaciae. Neque enim scilicet vapor universus, qui ex aqua emittitur per ignem, vapor aut aër antea fuit in corpore aquae; sed factus est maxima ex parte per dilatationem aquae ex calore ignis.

SIMILITER, in genere omnes exquisitae probationes corporum, five naturalium five artificialium, per quas vera dignoscuntur ab adulterinis, meliora a vilioribus, huc referri debent: Deducunt enim non-sensibile ad sensibile. Sunt itaque diligenti cura undique conquiendae.

QUINTUM vero genus latitantis quod attinet; manifestum est actionem sensus transigi in motu, motum in tempore. Si igitur motus alicujus corporis sit vel tam tardus, vel tam velox, ut non sit proportionatus ad momenta, in quibus transigitur actio sensus; objectum omnino non percipitur: ut in motu indicis horologii, & rursus in motu pilae sclopeti. Atque motus, qui ob tarditatem non percipitur, facile & ordinario deducitur ad sensum per summas motus; qui vero ob velocitatem, adhuc non bene mensurari consuevit; sed tamen postulat inquisitio naturae, ut hoc fiat in aliquibus.

SEXTUM autem genus, ubi impeditur sensus propter nobilitatem objecti recipit deductionem; vel per elongationem majorem objecti a sensu; vel per hebetationem objecti per interpositionem medii talis, quod objectum debilitet, non annihilat; vel per admissionem & exceptionem objecti reflexi, ubi percussio directa sit nimis fortis; ut solis in pelvi aquae.

SEPTIMUM autem genus latitantis, ubi sensus ita oneratur objecto, ut novae admissioni non sit locus, non habet fere locum nisi in olfactu & odoribus; nec ad id, quod agitur, multum pertinet. Quare de deductionibus non-sensibilis ad sensibile haec dicta sint.

QUANDOQUE tamen deductio fit non ad sensum hominis, sed ad sensum alicujus alterius animalis, cujus sensus in aliquibus humanum excellit; ut nonnullorum odorum, ad sensum canis; lucis, quae in aëre non extrinsecus illuminato latenter existit, ad sensum felis, noctuae & huiusmodi animalium, quae

quae cernunt noctu. Recte enim notavit Telesius, etiam in aëre ipso inesse lucem quandam originalem, licet exilem & tenuem, & maxima ex parte oculis hominum aut plurimorum animalium non inservientem; quia illa animalia, ad quorum sensum hujusmodi lux est proportionata, cernant noctu; id quod vel sine luce fieri, vel per lucem internam, minus credibile est.

Atque illud utique notandum est; de destitutionibus sensuum, eorumque remediis, hic nos tractare. Nam fallaciae sensuum ad proprias inquisitiones de sensu & sensibili remittendae sunt; excepta illa magna fallacia sensuum, nimirum quod constituant lineas rerum ex analogia hominis, & non ex analogia universi; quae non corrigitur, nisi per rationem & philosophiam universalem.

XLI. INTER praerogativas instantiarum ponemus loco decimo-octavo instantias viae; quas etiam instantias itinerantes, & instantias articulatas, appellare consuevimus. Eae sunt, quae indicant naturae motus gradatim continuatos. Hoc autem genus instantiarum potius fugit observationem, quam sensum. Mira enim est hominum circa hanc rem indiligentia. Contemplantur siquidem naturam tantummodo desultorie & per periodos, & postquam corpora fuerint absoluta ac completa, & non in operatione sua. Quod si artificis alicujus ingenia & industriam explorare & contemplari quis cupe- ret; is non tantum materias rudes artis, atque deinde opera perfecta, conspiciere desideraret; sed potius praesens esse, cum artifex operatur, & opus suum promovet. Atque simile quiddam circa naturam faciendum est. Exempli gratia; si quis de vegetatione plantarum inquirat, ei inspiciendum est ab ipsa satione seminis alicujus, (id quod per extractionem, quasi singulis diebus, seminum, quae per biduum, triduum, quatrimum, & sic deinceps in terra manserunt, eorumque diligentem intuitum, facile fieri potest) quomodo & quando semen intumescere & turgere incipiat, & veluti spiritu impleri; deinde quomodo corticulam rumpere, & emittere fibras, cum latione nonnulla sui interim sursum, nisi terra fuerit admodum contumax; quomodo etiam emittat fibras, partim radicales deorsum, partim cauliculares sursum, aliquando serpendo per latera, si ex ea parte inveniatur terram apertam & magis facilem, & complura id genus. Similiter facere oportet circa exclusionem ovorum; ubi facile conspici dabitur processus vivificandi & organizandi, & quid, & quae partes fiant ex vitello, quid ex albumine ovi, & alia. Similis est ratio circa animalia ex putrefactione: nam circa animalia perfecta & terrestria, per exectiones foetuum ex utero, minus humanum esset ista inquirere; nisi forte per occasiones abortuum & venationum, & similibus. Omnino igitur vigilia quaedam servanda est circa naturam, ut quae melius se conspiciendam praebeat noctu, quam interdiu. Istae enim contemplationes tanquam nocturnae censerentur possint, ob lucernae parvitatem & perpetuationem.

QUIN & in inanimatis idem tentandum est: Id quod nos fecimus in inquirendis aperturis liquorum per ignem. Alius enim est modus aperturae in aqua, alius in vino, alius in aceto, alius in omphacio; longe alius in lacte, & oleo, & caeteris. Id quod facile cernere erat per ebullitionem super ignem lenem, & in vase vitreo, ubi omnia cerni perspicue possint. Verum haec brevius perstringimus; fusius & exactius de iis sermones habituri, cum ad inventionem latentis rerum processus ventum erit: Semper enim memoria tenendum est, nos hoc loco non res ipsas tractare, sed exempla tantum adducere.

XLII. INTER praerogativas instantiarum, ponemus loco decimo nono instantias supplementi, siue substitutionis; quas etiam instantias perfugii ap-

pellare consuevimus. Eae sunt, quae suppleant informationem, ubi sensus plane destituitur; atque idcirco ad eas confugimus, cum instantiae propriae haberi non possint. Dupliciter autem fit substitutio; aut per gradnationem, aut per analogia. Exempli gratia; non invenitur medium, quod inhibeat prorsus operationem magnetis in movendo ferrum; non aurum interpositum, non argentum, non lapis, non vitrum, lignum, aqua, oleum, pannus aut corpora fibrosa, aer, flamma, & caetera. Attamen per probationem exactam fortasse inveniri possit aliquod medium, quod hebetet virtutem ipsius plus quam aliquod aliud, comparative & in aliquo gradu; veluti quod non trahat magnes ferrum per tantam crassiciem auri, quam per par spatium aeris; aut per tantum argentum ignitum, quam per frigidum; & sic de similibus. Nam de his nos experimentum non fecimus: sed sufficit tamen, ut proponantur loco exempli. Similiter non invenitur hic apud nos corpus, quod non suscipiat calidum igni approximatum. Attamen longe citius suscipit calorem aer, quam lapis. Atque talis est substitutio, quae fit per gradus.

SUBSTITUTIO autem per analogia, utilis sane, sed minus certa est; atque idcirco cum iudicio quodam adhibenda. Ea fit, cum deducitur non-sensibile ad sensum; non per operationes sensibiles ipsius corporis insensibilis, sed per contemplationem corporis alicujus cognati sensibilis. Exempli gratia; si inquiratur de mistura spirituum, qui sunt corpora non-visibilia; videtur esse cognatio quaedam inter corpora & fomites, sive alimenta sua. Fomes autem flammae videtur esse oleum & pinguis, aeris, aqua, & aquea. Flammae enim multiplicant se super halitus olei, aer super vapores aquae. Videndum itaque de mistura aquae & olei, quae se manifestat ad sensum; quandoquidem mistura aeris & flammæ generis fugiat sensum. At oleum & aqua inter se per compositionem aut agitationem imperfecte admodum miscentur, eadem in herbis, & sanguine, & partibus animalium, accurate & delicate miscentur. Itaque simile quiddam fieri possit circa misturam flammæ & aërei generis in spiritualibus: quae per confusionem simplicem non bene sustinent misturam: eadem tamen in spiritibus plantarum & animalium misceri videntur; praesertim cum omnis spiritus animatus depascat humida utraque, aquea & pinguis, tanquam fomites suos.

SIMILITER, si non de perfectioribus misturis spiritualium, sed de compositione tantum inquiratur; nempe utrum facile inter se incorporentur; an potius (exempli gratia) sint aliqui venti & exhalationes, aut alia corpora spiritalia, quae non miscentur cum aëre communi, sed tantum haerent & natant in eo, in globulis & guttis, & potius franguntur ac comminuantur ab aëre, quam in ipsum recipiantur & incorporantur. Hoc in aëre communi & aliis spiritualibus, ob subtilitatem corporum, percipi ad sensum non potest; attamen imago quaedam hujus rei, quatenus fiat, concipi possit in liquoribus argenti vivi, olei, aquae; atque etiam in aëre & fractione ejus, quando dissipatur & ascendit in parvis portiunculis per aquam; atque etiam in fumis crassioribus, denique in pulvere excitato & haerente in aëre; in quibus omnibus non fit incorporatio. Atque repraesentatio praedicta in hoc subjecto non mala est, si illud primo diligenter inquisitum fuerit, utrum possit esse talis heterogenea inter spiritalia, qualis invenitur inter liquida: Nam tum demum haec simulacra per analogiam non incommode substituentur.

ATQUE de instantiis istis supplementi, quod diximus, informationem ab iis hauriendam esse, quando desint instantiae propriae, loco per fugii, nihilominus intelligi volumus, quod illae etiam magni sint usus, etiam cum propriae instantiae adsint; ad roborandam scilicet informationem una cum propriis.

priis. Verum de his exactius dicemus, quando ad adminicula inductionis tractanda sermo ordine dilabatur.

XLIII. INTER praerogativas instantiarum, ponemus loco vicesimo instantias persecantes; quas etiam instantias vellicantes appellare consuevimus, sed diversa ratione. Vellicantes enim eas appellamus, quia vellicant intellectum; persecantes, quia persecant naturam: unde etiam illas quandoque instantias Democriti nominamus. Eae sunt, quae de admirabili & exquisita subtilitate naturae intellectum submonent, ut excitetur & expurgetur ad attentionem, & observationem, & inquisitionem debitam. Exempli gratia; quod parum guttulae atramenti ad tot literas vel lineas extendatur; quod argentum exterius tantum inauratum, ad tantam longitudinem fili inaurati continuetur; quod pusillus vermiculus, qualis in cute invenitur, habeat in se spiritum simul & figuram dissimilarem partium; quod parum croci, etiam dolium aquae colore inficiat; quod parum zibethi aut aromatis, longe majus contentum aëris odore; quod exiguo suffitu tanta excitetur nubes fumi; quod sonorum tam accuratae differentiae, quales sint voces articulae, per aërem undequaque vehantur, atque per foramina & poros etiam ligni & aquae (licet admodum extenuatae) penetrent, quin etiam repercutiantur, idque tam distincte & velociter; quod lux & color etiam tanto ambitu & tam perneciter, per corpora solida vitri, aquae, & cum tanta & tam exquisita varietate imaginum permeent, etiam refringantur & reflectantur; quod magnetes per corpora omnigena, etiam maxime compacta, operetur: Sed (quod magis mirum est) quod in his omnibus, in medio adiaphoro (quale est aër) unius actio aliam non magnopere impediatur; nempe, quod eodem tempore per spatia aëris devehantur & visibilia tot imagines; & vocis articulae tot percussiones; & tot odores specificati, ut violae, rosae; etiam calor & frigus; & virtutes magneticae; omnia (inquam) simul, uno alterum non impediante; ac si singula haberent vias & meatus suos proprios separatos, neque unum in alterum impingeret aut incurreret.

SOLEMUS tamen utiliter hujusmodi instantiis persecantibus subjungere instantias, quas metas persecutionis appellare consuevimus: veluti, quod in iis, quae diximus, una actio in diverso genere aliam non perturbet aut impediatur; cum tamen in eodem genere una aliam domet & extinguit: veluti, lux solis, lucem cicindellae; sonitus bombardae, vocem; fortior odor, delicatior; intensior calor, remissior; lamina ferri interposita inter magnetem & aliud ferrum, operationem magnetis. Verum de his quoque inter adminicula inductionis erit proprius dicendi locus.

XLIV. ATQUE de instantiis, quae juvant sensum, jam dictum est; quae praecipui usus sunt ad partem informativam. Informatio enim incipit a sensu. At universum negotium definit in opera: Atque quemadmodum illud principium, ita hoc finis rei est. Sequentur itaque instantiae praecipui usus ad partem operativam. Eae genere duae sunt, numero septem: Quas universas, generali nomine, instantias practicas appellare consuevimus. Operativae autem partis vitia duo, totidemque dignitates instantiarum in genere. Aut enim fallit operatio, aut onerat nimis. Fallit operatio maxime (praesertim post diligentem naturarum inquisitionem) propter male determinatas & mensuratas corporum vires & actiones. Vires autem & actiones corporum circumseribuntur & mensurantur, aut per spatia loci, aut per momenta temporis, aut per unionem quanti, aut per praedominantiam virtutis: quae quatuor, nisi fuerint probe & diligenter pensitata, erunt fortasse scientiae speculatione quidem pulchrae, sed opere inactivae. Instantias vero quatuor itidem,

dem, quae huc referuntur, uno nomine instantias mathematicas vocamus, & instantias mensurae.

ONEROSA autem fit praxis, vel propter misturam rerum inutilium; vel propter multiplicationem instrumentorum; vel propter molem materiae & corporum, quae ad aliquod opus requiri contigerint. Itaque eae instantiae in pretio esse debent, quae aut dirigunt operativam ad ea quae maxime hominum intersunt; aut quae parcut instrumentis; aut quae parcut materiae five supellectili. Eas autem tres instantias, quae huc pertinent, uno nomine instantias propitias five benevolas vocamus. Itaque de his septem instantiis jam sigillatim dicemus: atque cum iis partem illam de praerogativis five dignitatibus instantiarum claudemus.

XLV. INTER praerogativas instantiarum, ponemus loco vicesimo primo instantias virgae, five radii; quas etiam instantias perlationis, vel de non ultra appellare consuevimus. Virtutes enim rerum & motus operantur & expediuntur per spatia, non indefinita aut fortuita, sed finita & certa; quae ut in singulis naturis inquisitis teneantur & notentur, plurimum interest practicae; non solum ad hoc ut non fallat, sed etiam ut magis sit aucta & potens. Etenim interdum datur virtutes producere, & distantias tanquam retrahere in propius; ut in perspicillis.

ATQUE plurimae virtutes operantur & afficiunt tantum per tactum manifestum; ut fit in percussione corporum, ubi alterum non summovet alterum, nisi impellens impulsus tangat. Etiam medicinae, quae exterius applicantur, ut unguenta, emplastra, non exercent vires suas, nisi per tactum corporis. Denique objecta sensuum, tactus & gustus, non feriunt, nisi contigua organis.

SUNT & aliae virtutes, quae operantur ad distantiam, verum valde exiguum, quarum paucae adhuc notatae sunt, cum tamen plures sint quam homines suspicentur; ut (capiendo exempla ex vulgatis) cum succinum aut gagates trahunt paleas; bullae approximatae solvunt bullas; medicinae nonnullae purgativae eliciunt humores ex alto, & huiusmodi. At virtus illa magnetica, per quam ferrum & magnes, vel magnetes, invicem coeunt, operatur intra orbem virtutis certum, sed parvum: Ubi contra, si sit aliqua virtus magnetica emanans ab ipsa terra (paulo nimirum interiore) super acum ferream, quatenus ad verticitatem, operatio fiat ad distantiam magnam.

RURSUS, si sit aliqua vis magnetica, quae operetur per consensum inter globum terrae & ponderosa, aut inter globum lunae & aquas maris, (quae maxime credibilis videtur in fluxibus & refluxibus semi-menstruis) aut inter coelum stellatum & planetas, per quam evocentur & attollantur ad sua apogaea; haec omnia operantur ad distantias admodum longinquas. Inveniuntur & quaedam inflammationes five conceptiones flammae, quae fiunt ad distantias bene magnas in aliquibus materiis; ut referunt de naphtha Babylonica. Calores etiam insinuant se per distantias amplas; quod etiam faciunt frigora: adeo ut habitantibus circa Canadam moles five massae glaciales, quae abruptuntur & natant per oceanum septentrionalem, & deferuntur per Atlanticum versus illas oras, percipiuntur & incutiant frigora e longinquo. Odores quoque (licet in his videatur semper esse quaedam emissio corporea) operantur ad distantias notabiles; ut evenire solet navigantibus juxta littora Floridae, aut etiam nonnulla Hispaniae, ubi sunt sylvae totae ex arboribus limonum, aurantiorum, & huiusmodi plantarum odoratarum, aut frutices roisamarini, majoranae, & similibus. Postremo radiationes lucis, & impressiones sonorum, operantur scilicet ad distantias spatiosas.

VERUM

VERUM haec omnia utcumque operentur ad distantias parvas five magnas, operantur certe ad finitas & naturae notas, ut sit quiddam non ultra; idque pro rationibus, aut molis seu quanti corporum; aut vigoris & debilitatis virtutum; aut favoribus & impedimentis mediorum; quae omnia in computationem venire & notari debent. Quinetiam mensurae motuum violentorum, (quos vocant) ut missilium, tormentorum, rotarum, & similia, cum hae quoque manifesto suos habeant limites certos, notandae sunt.

INVENIUNTUR etiam quidam motus & virtutes contrariae illis, quae operantur per tactum, & non ad distans; quae operantur scilicet ad distans, & non ad tactum; & rursus, quae operantur remissius ad distantiam minorem, & fortius ad distantiam majorem. Etenim visio non bene transigitur ad tactum, sed indiget medio & distantia. Licet meminerim, me audisse ex relatione cujusdam fide digni, quod ipse in curandis oculorum suorum cataractis (erat autem cura talis, ut immitteretur festuca quaedam parva argentea intra primam oculi tunicam, quae pelliculam illam cataractae removeret & truderet in angulum oculi) clarissime vidisset festucam illam supra ipsam pupillam moventem. Quod utcumque verum esse possit, manifestum est, majora corpora non bene aut distincte cerni, nisi in cuspide coni, coeuntibus radiis objecti ad nonnullam distantiam. Quin etiam in senibus oculus melius cernit, remoto objecto paulo longius quam propius. In missilibus autem certum est, percussionem non fieri tam fortem ad distantiam nimis parvam, quam paulo post. Haec itaque & similia in mensuris motuum quoad distantias notanda sunt.

EST & aliud genus mensurae localis motuum, quod non praetermittendum est. Illud vero pertinet ad motus non progressivos, sed sphaericos; hoc est, ad expansionem corporum in majorem sphaeram, aut contractionem in minorem. Inquirendum enim est inter mensuras istas motuum, quantam compressionem aut extensionem corpora (pro natura ipsorum) facile & libenter patiantur, & ad quem terminum reluctari incipiant, adeo ut ad extremum non ultra ferant, ut cum vesica inflata comprimitur, sustinet illa compressionem nonnullam aëris, sed si major fuerit, non patitur aër, sed rumpitur vesica.

AT nos hoc ipsum subtiliore experimento magis exacte probavimus. Accipimus enim campanulam ex metallo, leviores scilicet & tenuiores, quali ad excipiendum salem utimur; eamque in pelvim aquae immisimus, ita ut deportaret secum aërem, qui continebatur in concavo usque ad fundum pelvis. Locaveramus autem prius globulum in fundo pelvis, super quem campanula imponenda esset. Quare illud eveniebat, ut si globulus ille esset minusculus (pro ratione concavi) reciperet se aër in locum minorem, & contruderetur solum, non extruderetur. Quod si grandioris esset magnitudinis, quam ut aër libenter cederet, tum aër majoris pressurae impatiens, campanulam ex aliqua parte elevabat, & in bullis ascendeat.

ETIAM ad probandum qualem extensionem (non minus quam compressionem) pateretur aër, tale quippiam practicavimus. Ovum vitreum accipimus, cum parvo foramine in uno extremo ovi. Aërem per foramen exuctione forti attraximus, & statim digito foramen illud obturavimus; & ovum in aquam immerimus, & dein digitum removimus. Aër vero tensura illa per exuctionem facta tortus, & magis quam pro natura sua dilatatus, ideoque se recipere & contrahere nitens, (ita ut si ovum illud in aquam non fuisset immersum, aërem ipsum traxisset cum sibilo) aquam traxit ad tale quantum, quale sufficere posset ad hoc, ut aër antiquam recuperaret sphaeram five dimensionem.

ATQUE certum est, corpora tenuiora (quale est aër) pati contractionem nonnullam notabilem, ut dictum est: At corpora tangibilia (quale est aqua) multo aegrius, & ad minus spatium patiuntur compressionem: Qualem autem patiatur, talè experimento inquisivimus.

FERI fecimus globum ex plumbo cavum, qui duas circiter pintas viarias contineret; eumque satis per latera crassum, ut majorem vim sustineret. In illum aquam immisimus, per foramen alicubi factum; atque foramen illud, postquam globus aqua impletus fuisset, plumbo liquefacto obturavimus, ut globus deveniret plane consolidatus. Dein globum forti malleo ad duo latera adversa complanavimus: Ex quo necesse fuit aquam in minus contrahi, cum sphaera figurarum sit capacissima. Deinde, cum malleatio non amplius sufficeret, aegrius se recipiente aqua, molendino seu torculari usi sumus; ut tandem aqua impatiens pressuræ ulterioris, per solida plumbi (instar roris delicati) exstillaret. Postea, quantum spatii per eam compressionem imminutum foret, computavimus: Atque tantam compressionem passam esse aquam (sed violentia magna subactam) intelleximus.

AT solidiora, sicca, aut magis compacta, qualia sunt lapides & ligna, nec non metalla, multo adhuc minorem compressionem aut extensionem, & fere imperceptibilem ferunt; sed vel fractione, vel progressionem, vel aliis per tentationibus se liberant, ut in curvationibus ligni aut metalli, horologiis moventibus per complicationem laminae, missilibus, malleationibus, & innumeris aliis motibus, apparet. Atque haec omnia cum mensuris suis in indagatione naturae notanda & exploranda sunt; aut in certitudine sua, aut per aestimativas, aut per comparativas, prout dabitur copia.

XLVI. INTER praerogativas instantiarum ponemus loco vicesimo secundo instantias curriculi, quas etiam instantias ad aquam appellare consuevimus; sumpto vocabulo a clepsydris apud antiquos, in quas infundebatur aqua loco arenae. Eae mensurant naturam per momenta temporis, quemadmodum instantiae virgae per gradus spatii. Omnis enim motus sive actio naturalis transigitur in tempore; alius velocius, alius tardius, sed utcunque momentis certis, & naturae notis. Etiam illae actiones, quae subito videntur operari, & in ictu oculi, (ut loquimur) deprehenduntur recipere majus & minus quoad tempus.

PRIMO itaque videmus, restitutiones corporum coelestium fieri per tempora numerata; etiam fluxus & refluxus maris. Latio autem gravium versus terram, & levium versus ambitum coeli, fit per certa momenta, pro ratione corporis quod fertur, & medii. At velificationes navium, motus animalium, perlationes missilium, omnes fiunt itidem per tempora (quantum ad summas) numerabilia. Calorem vero quod attinet, videmus pueros per hyemem manus in flamma lavare; nec tamen uri; & joculatores vasa plena vino vel aqua, per motus agiles & aequales vertere deorsum, & sursum recuperare, non effuso liquore; & multa hujusmodi. Nec minus ipsae compressiones, & dilatationes, & eruptiones corporum fiunt, aliae velocius, aliae tardius, pro natura corporis & motus, sed per momenta certa. Quinetiam in explosione plurium bombardarum simul, quae exaudiuntur quandoque ad distantiam triginta milliarium, percipitur sonus prius ab iis, qui prope absunt a loco ubi fit sonitus, quam ab iis, qui longe. At in visu (cujus actio est perniciosissima) liquet etiam requiri ad eum actuandum momenta certa temporis; idque probatur ex iis, quae propter motus velocitatem non cernuntur; ut ex latione pilae ex sclopeto. Velocior enim est praetervolatio pilae, quam impressio speciei ejus, quae deferri poterat ad visum.

ATQUE

ATQUE hoc, cum similibus, nobis quandoque dubitationem peperit plane monstrosam; videlicet, utrum coeli fereni & stellati facies ad idem tempus cernatur, quando vere existit, an potius aliquanto post; & utrum non sit (quatenus ad visum coelestium) non minus tempus verum, & tempus visum, quam locus verus, & locus visus, qui notatur ab astronomis in paralaxibus. Adeo incredibile nobis videbatur, species sive radios corporum coelestium, per tam immensa spatia milliarium subito deferri posse ad visum; sed potius debere eas in tempore aliquo notabili delabi. Verum illa dubitatio (quoad majus aliquod intervallum temporis inter tempus verum & visum) postea plane evanuit; reputantibus nobis jacturam illam infinitam, & diminutionem quanti, quatenus ad apparentiam inter corpus stellae verum, & speciem visam, quae causatur a distantia; atque simul notantibus ad quantam distantiam (sexaginta scilicet ad minimum milliariorum) corpora, eaque tantum albicantia, subito hic apud nos cernantur; cum dubium non sit lucem coelestium, non tantum albedinis vividum colorem, verum etiam omnis flammae (quae apud nos nota est) lucem, quoad vigorem radiationis, multis partibus excedere; etiam immensa illa velocitas in ipso corpore, quae cernitur in motu diurno, (quae etiam viros graves ita obstupescit, ut mallent credere motum terrae) facit motum illum ejaculationis radiorum ab ipsis (licet celeritate, ut diximus, mirabilem) magis credibilem. Maxime vero omnium nos movit, quod si interponeretur intervallum temporis aliquod notabile inter veritatem & visum, foret ut species per nubes interim orientes, & similes medii perturbationes, interciperentur saepenumero, & confunderentur. Atque de mensuris temporum simplicibus haec dicta sint.

VERUM non solum quaerenda est mensura motuum & actionum simpliciter, sed multo magis comparative: Id enim eximii est usus, & ad plurima spectat. Atque videmus flammam alicujus tormenti ignei citius cerni, quam sonitus audiatur; licet necesse sit pilam prius aërem percutere, quam flamma, quae pone erat, exire potuerit; fieri hoc autem propter velociorem transactionem motus lucis quam soni. Videmus etiam species visibiles a visu citius excipi, quam dimitti; unde fit, quod nervi fidium digito impulsu, duplicentur aut triplicentur quoad speciem, quia species nova recipitur, antequam prior dimittatur; ex quo etiam fit, ut annuli rotati videantur globosi, & fax ardens noctu velociter portata, conspiciatur caudata. Etiam ex hoc fundamento inaequalitatis motuum quoad velocitatem, excogitavit Galilaeus causam fluxus & refluxus maris, rotante terra velocius, aquis tardius; ideoque accumulantis se aquis in sursum, & deinde per vires se remittentibus in deorsum; ut demonstratur in vase aquae incitatus movente. Sed hoc commentus est concessio non concessibili, (quod terra nempe moveatur;) ac etiam non bene informatus de oceani motu sexhorario.

AT exemplum hujus rei de qua agitur, videlicet de comparativis mensuris motuum, neque solum rei ipsius, sed & usus insignis ejus, (de quo paulo ante loquuti sumus) eminet in cuniculis subterraneis, in quibus collocatur pulvis pyrius; ubi immensae moles terrae, aedificiorum, & similitum, subvertuntur, & in altum jaciuntur, a pusilla quantitate pulveris pyrii. Cujus causa pro certo illa est, quod motus dilatationis pulveris qui impellit, multis partibus sit perniciosior, quam motus gravitatis per quem fieri possit aliqua resistentia; adeo ut primus motus perfunctus sit, antequam motus adversus inceperit; ut in principiis nullitas quaedam sit resistentiae.

Hinc

Hinc etiam fit, quod in omni missili ictus non tam robustus, quam acutus & celer, ad perlationem potissimum valeat. Neque etiam fieri potuisset, ut parva quantitas spiritus animalis in animalibus, praesertim in tam vastis corporibus, qualia sunt balaenae aut elephanti, tantam molem corpoream flecteret & regeret; nisi propter velocitatem motus spiritus, & hebetudinem corporeae molis, quatenus ad expediendam suam resistantiam.

DENIQUE, hoc unum ex praecipuis fundamentis est experimentorum magicorum, de quibus mox dicemus; ubi scilicet parva moles materiae longe maiorem superat, & in ordinem redigit: hoc inquam; si fieri possit anteverso motuum per velocitatem unius, antequam alter se expediat.

POSTREMO, hoc ipsum prius & posterius in omni actione naturali notari debet; veluti quod in infusione rhabarbari eliciatur purgativa vis prius, astringitiva post; simile quiddam etiam in infusione violarum in acetum experti sumus; ubi primo excipitur suavis & delicatus floris odor; post, pars floris magis terrea, quae odorem confundit. Itaque si infundantur violae per diem integrum, odor multo languidius excipitur, quod si infundantur per partem quartam horae tantum, & extrahantur; & (quia paucus est spiritus odoratus, qui subsistit in viola) infundantur post singulas quartas horae violae novae & recentes ad sexies; tum demum nobilitatur infusio, ita ut licet non manserint violae, utcunque renovatae, plus quam ad sesquihoram; tamen permanferit odor gratissimus, & viola ipsa non inferior, ad annum integrum. Notandum tamen est, quod non se colligat odor ad vires suas plenas, nisi post mensem ab infusione. In distillationibus vero aromatum maceratorum in spiritu vini patet, quod surgat primo phlegma aqueum & inutile, deinde aqua plus habens ex spiritu vini, deinde post aqua plus habens ex aromate. Atque hujus generis quamplurima inveniuntur in distillationibus notatu digna. Verum haec sufficiant ad exempla.

XLVII. INTER praerogativas instantiarum ponemus loco vicesimo tertio instantias quanti, quas etiam doses naturae (sumpto vocabulo a medicinis) vocare consuevimus. Eae sunt, quae mensurant virtutes per quanta corporum, & indicant quid quantum corporis faciat ad modum virtutis. Ac primo sunt quaedam virtutes, quae non subsistunt nisi in quanto cosmico, hoc est, tali quanto, quod habeat consensum cum configuratione & fabrica universi. Terra enim stat; partes ejus cadunt. Aquae in maribus fluunt & resluunt; in fluviis minime, nisi per ingressum maris. Deinde etiam omnes fere virtutes particulares secundum multum aut parum corporis operantur. Aquae largae non facile corrumpuntur; exiguae cito. Mustum & cervisia maturescunt longe citius, & fiunt potabilia in utribus parvis, quam in doliis magnis. Si herba ponatur in majore portione liquoris, fit infusio magis quam imbibitio: Si in minore, fit imbibitio magis quam infusio. Aliud igitur erga corpus humanum est balneum, aliud levis irroratio. Etiam parvi rores in aëre nunquam cadunt, sed dissipantur, & cum aëre incorporantur. Et videre est in anhelitu super gemmas, parum illud humoris, quasi nubeculam vento dissipatam, continuo solvi. Etiam frustum ejusdem magnetis non trahit tantum ferri, quantum magnes integer. Sunt etiam virtutes, in quibus parvitas quanti magis potest; ut in penetrationibus, stylus acutus citius penetrat, quam obtusus; adamas punctuatus sculpsit in vitro, & similia.

VERUM non hic morandum est in indefinitis, sed etiam de rationibus quanti corporis erga modum virtutis inquirendum. Proclive enim foret credere, quod rationes quanti rationes virtutis adaequarent; ut si pila plumbea
unius

unius unciae caderet in tali tempore, pila unciarum duarum deberet cadere duplo celerius, quod falsissimum est; nec eadem rationes in omni genere virtutum valent, sed longe diversae. Itaque haec mensurae ex rebus ipsis petendae sunt, & non ex verisimilitudine aut conjecturis.

DENIQUE in omni inquisitione naturae quantum corporis requiratur ad aliquod effectum, tanquam dosis, notandum; & cautiones de nimis & parum aspergendae.

XLVIII. INTER praerogativas instantiarum, ponemus loco vicesimo quarto instantias luctae; quas etiam instantias praedominantiae appellare consuevimus. Eae indicant praedominantiam & cessionem virtutum ad invicem; & quae ex illis sit fortior & vincat, quae infirmior & succumbat. Sunt enim motus & nixus corporum compositi, decompositi, & complicati, non minus quam corpora ipsa. Proponemus igitur primum species praecipuas motuum sive virtutum activarum; ut magis perspicua sit ipsarum comparatio in robore, & exinde demonstratio atque designatio instantiarum luctae & praedominantiae.

MOTUS primus sit motus antitypiae materiae, quae inest in singulis portionibus ejus; per quem plane annihilari non vult: ita ut nullum incendium, nullum pondus aut depressio, nulla violentia, nulla denique aetas aut diuturnitas temporis possit redigere aliquam vel minimam portionem materiae in nihilum, quin illa & sit aliquid, & loci aliquid occupet; & se, (in qualicunque necessitate ponatur) vel formam mutando vel locum, liberet; vel (si non detur copia) ut est, subsistat; neque unquam res eo deveniat, ut aut nihil sit, aut nullibi. Quem motum schola (quae semper fere & denominat & definit res, potius per effectus & incommoda, quam per causas interiores,) vel denotat per illud axioma, quod duo corpora non possint esse in uno loco; vel vocat motum, ne fiat penetratio dimensionum. Neque huius motus exempla proponi consentaneum est: Inest enim omni corpori.

SIT motus secundus, motus (quem appellamus) nexus; per quem corpora non patiuntur se ulla ex parte sui dirimi a contactu alterius corporis, ut quae mutuo nexu & contactu gaudeant: Quem motum schola vocat motum, ne detur vacuum: Veluti cum aqua attrahitur sursum exuctione, aut per fistulas; caro per ventosas; aut cum aqua sistitur, nec effluit in hydriis perforatis, nisi os hydriae ad immittendum aërem aperiatur; & innumera id genus.

SIT motus tertius, motus (quem appellamus) libertatis; per quem corpora se liberare nituntur a pressura aut tensura praeternaturali, & restituere se in dimensionem corpori suo conveniens. Cujus motus etiam innumera sunt exempla: Veluti (quatenus ad liberationem a pressura) aquae in natando, aëris in volando; aquae in remigando, aëris in undulationibus ventorum, laminae in horologiis. Nec ineleganter se ostendit motus aëris compressi in sclopetis ludicris puerorum, cum alnum aut simile quiddam excavant, & infarciunt frusto alicujus radice succulentae, vel similium, ad utrosque fines; deinde per embolum trudent radicem, vel hujusmodi farcimentum in foramen alterum: Unde emittitur & ejicitur radix cum sonitu ad foramen alterum, idque antequam tangatur a radice, aut farcimento citimo, aut embolo. Quatenus vero ad liberationem a tensura, ostendit se hic motus in aëre post exuctionem in ovis vitreis remanente; in chordis, in corio, & panno; resilientibus post tensuras suas, nisi tensurae illae per moram invaluerint, &c. Atque hunc motum schola sub nomine motus ex forma elementi innuit; satis quidem inscite, cum hic motus non tantum ad aërem, aquam, aut flammam pertineat, sed

ad omnem diversitatem consistentiae; ut ligni, ferri, plumbi, panni, membranae, &c. in quibus, singula corpora suae habent dimensionis modulum; & ab eo aegre ad spatium aliquod notabile abripiuntur. Verum quia motus iste libertatis omnium est maxime obvijs, & ad infinita spectans, consultum fuerit eum bene & perspicue distinguere. Quidam enim valde negliger confundunt hunc motum cum gemino illo motu antitypiae & nexus; liberationem scilicet a pressura, cum motu antitypiae; a tensura, cum motu nexus: ac si ideo cederent aut se dilatarent corpora compressa, ne sequeretur penetratio dimensionum; ideo resilirent & contraherent se corpora tensa, ne sequeretur vacuum. Atqui si aer compressus se vellet recipere in densitatem aquae, aut lignum in densitatem lapidis, nil opus foret penetratione dimensionum; & nihilominus longe major posset esse compressio illorum, quam illa ullo modo patiuntur. Eodem modo si aqua se dilatare vellet in raritatem aeris, aut lapis in raritatem ligni, non opus foret vacuo; & tamen longe major posset fieri extensio eorum, quam illa ullo modo patiuntur. Itaque non reducitur res ad penetrationem dimensionum & vacuum, nisi in ultimitatibus condensationis & rarefactionis; cum tamen isti motus longe citra eas sistant & versentur; neque aliud sint, quam desideria corporum conservandi se in consistentiis suis, (sive, si malint, in formis suis) nec ab iis recedendi subito, nisi per modos suaves, ac per consensum alterentur. At longe magis necessarium est, (quia multa secum trahit) ut intimetur hominibus motum violentum, (quem nos mechanicum; Democritus, qui in motibus suis primis expediendis etiam infra mediocres philosophos ponendus est, motum plagae vocavit) nil aliud esse quam motum libertatis, scilicet a compressione ad relaxationem. Etenim in omni sive simplici protrusione, sive volatu per aerem, non fit summotio aut latio localis, antequam partes corporis praeternaturaliter patiantur & comprimantur ab impellente. Tum vero partibus aliis alias per successionem trudentibus, fertur totum; nec solum progrediendo, sed etiam rotando simul; ut etiam hoc modo partes se liberare, aut magis ex aequo tolerare possint: Atque de hoc motu haecenus.

SIT motus quartus, motus cui nomen habetur motus hyles: Qui motus antitrophus est quodammodo motui, de quo diximus, libertatis. Etenim in motu libertatis corpora novum dimensum, sive novam sphaeram, sive novam dilatationem aut contractionem, (haec enim verborum varietas idem innuit) exhorrent, respuunt, fugiunt, & resilire ac veterem consistentiam recuperare totis viribus contendunt. At contra in hoc motu hyles, corpora novam sphaeram sive dimensum appetunt; atque ad illud libenter & propere, & quandoque valentissimo nixu (ut in pulvere pyrio) aspirant. Instrumenta autem huius motus, non sola certe, sed potentissima, aut saltem frequentissima, sunt calor & frigus. Exempli gratia: Aer si per tensuram (velut per exuctionem in ovis vitreis) dilatetur, magno laborat desiderio seipsum restituendi. At admoto calore, e contra appetit dilatari, & concupiscet novam sphaeram, & transit & migrat in illam libenter, tanquam in novam formam (ut loquuntur.) Nec post dilatationem nonnullam de reditu curat, nisi per admotionem frigidi ad eam invitetur; quae non reditus est, sed transmutatio repetita. Eodem modo & aqua, si per compressionem ardetur, recalcitrat; & vult fieri qualis fuit, scilicet latior. At si interveniat frigus intensum & continuatum, mutat se sponte sua & libenter in condensationem glaciei; atque si plane continuetur frigus, nec a teporibus interrumpatur,

rumpatur, (ut fit in speluncis & cavernis paulo profundioribus) vertitur in crystallum, aut materiam similem, nec unquam restituitur.

SIT motus quintus, motus continuationis: Intelligimus autem non continuationis simplicis & primariae, cum corpore aliquo altero; (nam ille est motus nexus) sed continuationis sui, in corpore certo. Certissimum enim est, quod corpora omnia solutionem continuitatis exhorreant; alia magis, alia minus, sed omnia aliquatenus. Nam ut in corporibus duris (veluti chalybis, vitri) reluctatio contra discontinuationem est maxime robusta & valida; ita etiam in liquoribus, ubi cessare aut languere saltem videtur motus ejusmodi, tamen non prorsus reperitur privatio ejus; sed plane inest ipsis in gradu tanquam infimo, & prodit se in experimentis plurimis; sicut in bullis, in rotunditate guttarum, in filis tenuioribus stillicidiorum, & in sequacitate corporum glutinosorum, & ejusmodi. Sed maxime omnium se ostendit appetitus iste, si discontinuatio tentetur usque ad fractiones minores. Nam in mortariis, post contusionem ad certum gradum, non amplius operatur pistillum: Aqua non subintrat rimas minores: Quin & ipse aër, non obstante subtilitate corporis ipsius, poros vasorum paulo solidiorum non pertransit subito, nec nisi per diuturnam insinuationem.

SIT motus sextus, motus quem nominamus motum ad lucrum, sive motum indigentiae. Is est, per quem corpora, quando versantur inter plane heterogenea & quasi inimica, si forte nanciscantur copiam aut commoditatem evitandi illa heterogenea, & se applicandi ad magis cognata; (licet illa ipsa cognata talia fuerint, quae non habeant arctum consensum cum ipsis) tamen statim ea amplectuntur, & tanquam potiora malunt; & lucri loco (unde vocabulum sumpsimus) hoc ponere videntur, tanquam talium corporum indiga. Exempli gratia; aurum, aut aliud metallum foliatum, non delectatur aëre circumfuso. Itaque si corpus aliquod tangibile & crassum nanciscatur, (ut digitum, papyrum, quidvis aliud) adhaeret statim, nec facile divellitur. Etiam papyrus, aut pannus, & hujusmodi, non bene se habent cum aëre, qui inseritur & commistus est in ipsorum poris. Itaque aquam aut liquorem libenter imbibunt, & aërem exterminant. Etiam saccharum, aut sponsia infusa in aquam aut vinum, licet pars ipsorum emineat, & longe attollatur supra vinum aut aquam, tamen aquam aut vinum paulatim & per gradus attrahunt in sursum.

UNDE optimus canon sumitur aperturae & solutionum corporum. Misis enim corrosivis & aquis fortibus, quae viam sibi aperiunt; si possit inveniri corpus proportionatum & magis consentiens & amicum corpori alicui solidi, quam illud, cum quo tanquam per necessitatem commiscetur; statim se aperit & relaxat corpus, & illud alterum intro recipit, priore excluso aut summoto. Neque operatur, aut potest, iste motus ad lucrum, solummodo ad tactum. Nam electrica operatio (de qua Gilbertus & alii post eum tantas excitarunt fabulas) non alia est quam corporis per frictionem levem excitati appetitus, qui aërem non bene tolerat, sed aliud tangibile mavult, si reperiat in propinquo.

SIT motus septimus, motus (quem appellamus) congregationis majoris; per quem corpora feruntur ad massas connaturalium suorum; gravia ad globum terrae; levia ad ambitum coeli. Hunc schola nomine motus naturalis insignivit, levi contemplatione; quia scilicet nil spectabile erat ab extra, quod eum motum cieret; (itaque rebus ipsis innatum atque insitum putavit:) aut forte quia non cessat. Nec mirum: semper enim praesto sunt coelum & terra; cum e contra causae & origines plurimorum ex reliquis motibus

motibus interdum absint, interdum adsint. Itaque hunc, quia non intermit- tit, sed caeteris intermittentibus statim occurrit, perpetuum & proprium; reliquos, ascititios posuit. Est autem iste motus revera satis infirmus & hebes, tanquam is qui (nisi sit moles corporis major) caeteris motibus, quan- diu operantur, cedat & succumbat. Atque cum hic motus hominum cogi- tationes ita impleverit, ut fere reliquos motus occultaverit; tamen parum est quod homines de eo sciunt, sed in multis circa illum erroribus versantur.

SIT motus octavus, motus congregationis minoris; per quem partes ho- mogeneae in corpore aliquo separant se ab heterogeneis, & coeunt inter sese; per quem etiam corpora integra ex similitudine substantiae se ample- ctuntur & fovant, & quandoque ad distantiam aliquam congregantur, at- trahuntur, & conveniunt: Veluti cum in lacte flos lactis post moram aliquam supernatat; in vino faeces & tartarum subsidunt. Neque enim haec fiunt per motum gravitatis & levitatis tantum, ut aliae partes summitatem petant, aliae ad imum vergant, sed multo magis per desiderium homogeneorum in- ter se coeundi & se uniendi. Differt autem iste motus a motu indigentiae, in duobus: Uno, quod in motu indigentiae sit stimulus major naturae ma- lignae & contrariae: At in hoc motu (si modo impedimenta & vincula ab- sint) uniuntur partes per amicitiam, licet absit natura aliena, quae litem mo- veat: Altero, quod arctior sit unio, & tanquam majore cum delectu. In illo enim, modo evitetur corpus inimicum, corpora etiam non admodum cognata concurrunt: At in hoc coeunt substantiae, germana plane simili- tudine devinctae; & conflantur tanquam in unum. Atque hic motus om- nibus corporibus compositis inest; & se facile conspiciendum in singulis da- ret, nisi ligaretur & fraenaretur per alios corporum appetitus & necessitates, quae istam coitionem disturbant.

LIGATUR autem motus iste plerumque tribus modis: Torpore cor- porum; fraeno corporis dominantis; & motu externo. Ad torporem cor- porum quod attinet; certum est inesse corporibus tangibilibus pignitiam quandam secundum magis & minus, & exhorrentiam motus localis: ut nisi excitentur, malint statu suo (prout sunt) esse contenta, quam in melius se expedire. Discutitur autem iste torpor triplici auxilio: aut per calorem, aut per virtutem alicujus cognati corporis eminentem, aut per motum vividum & potentem. Atque primo quoad auxilium caloris: hinc fit, quod calor pronuncietur esse illud, quod separet heterogenea, congreget homogenea: Quam definitionem Peripateticorum merito derisit Gilbertus; dicens, eam esse perinde ac si quis diceret ac definiret hominem illud esse, quod ferat triticum, & plantet vineas; esse enim definitionem tantum per effectus, eos- que particulares. Sed adhuc magis culpanda est illa definitio; quia etiam effectus illi (quales, quales sunt) non sunt ex proprietate caloris, sed tantum per accidens, (idem enim facit frigus, ut postea dicemus;) nempe ex desiderio partium homogenearum coeundi, adjuvante tantum calore ad discutiendum torporem, qui torpor desiderium illud antea ligaverat. Quoad vero auxi- lium virtutis inditae a corpore cognato; illud mirabiliter elucescit in mag- nete armato, qui excitat in ferro virtutem detinendi ferrum per similitudinem substantiae, discusso torpore ferri per virtutem magnetis. Quoad vero auxi- lium motus, conspicitur illud in sagittis ligneis, cuspidem etiam ligneam; quae altius penetrant in alia ligna, quam si fuissent armatae ferro, per similitudi- nem substantiae, discusso torpore ligni per motum celerem: de quibus duo- bus experimentis etiam in aphorismo de instantiis clandestinis diximus.

LIGATIO vero motus congregationis minoris, quae fit per fraenum corporis dominantis, conspicitur in solutione sanguinis & urinarum per frigus. Quamdiu enim repleta fuerint corpora illa spiritu agili, qui singulas eorum partes cujuscunque generis, ipse ut dominus totius ordinat & cohibet; tamdiu non coeunt heterogenea propter fraenum: sed postquam ille spiritus evaporaverit, aut suffocatus fuerit per frigus, tum solutae partes a fraeno, coeunt secundum desiderium suum naturale. Atque ideo fit, ut omnia corpora, quae continent spiritum acrem, (ut sales, & hujusmodi) durent & non solvantur, ob fraenum permanens & durabile spiritus dominantis & imperiosi.

LIGATIO vero motus congregationis minoris, quae fit per motum externum, maxime conspicitur in agitationibus corporum, per quas arceatur putrefactio. Omnis enim putrefactio fundatur in congregatione homogeneorum; unde paulatim fit corruptio prioris (quam vocant) formae, & generatio novae. Nam putrefactionem, quae sternit viam ad generationem novae formae, praecedat solutio veteris; quae est ipsa coitio ad homogeneam. Ea vero si non impedita fuerit, fit solutio simplex; sin occurrant varia quae obstant, sequuntur putrefactiones, quae sunt rudimenta generationis novae. Quod si (id quod nunc agitur) fiat agitatio frequens per motum externum; tum vero motus iste coitionis (qui est delicatus & mollis, & indiget quiete ab externis) disturbatur & cessat; ut fieri videmus in innumeris: veluti, cum quotidiana agitatio aut profluentia aquae arceat putrefactionem; venti arceant pestilentiam aëris; grana in granariis versa & agitata maneant pura; omnia denique agitata exterius non facile putrescant interius.

SUPEREST ut non omittatur coitio illa partium corporum, unde fit praecipue induratio & desiccatio. Postquam enim spiritus, aut humidum in spiritum versum, evolaverit in aliquo corpore porosiore, (ut in ligno, osse, membrana, & hujusmodi) tum partes crassiores majore nixu contrahuntur & coeunt, unde sequitur induratio aut desiccatio: quod existimamus fieri, non tam ob motum nexus, ne detur vacuum, quam per motum istum amicitiae & unionis.

AD coitionem vero ad distans quod attinet, ea infrequens est & rara: & tamen in pluribus inest, quam quibus observatur. Hujus simulacra sunt, cum bulla solvat bullam; medicamenta ex similitudine substantiae trahant humores; chorda in diversis fidibus ad unisonum moveat chordam; & hujusmodi. Etiam in spiritibus animalium hunc motum vigere existimamus, sed plane incognitum: At eminet certe in magnete & ferro excito. Cum autem de motibus magnetis loquimur, distinguendi plane sunt. Quatuor enim virtutes sive operationes sunt in magnete, quae non confundi, sed separari debent, licet admiratio hominum & stupor eas commiscuerit. Una, coitionis magnetis ad magnetem, vel ferri ad magnetem, vel ferri exciti ad ferrum. Secunda, verticitatis ejus ad septentriones & austrum, atque simul declinationis ejus. Tertia, penetrationis ejus per aurum, vitrum, lapidem, omnia. Quarta, communicationis virtutis ejus de lapide in ferrum, & de ferro in ferrum, absque communicatione substantiae. Verum hoc loco de prima virtute ejus tantum loquimur, videlicet coitionis. Insignis etiam est motus coitionis argenti vivi & auri; adeo ut aurum alliciat argentum vivum licet confectum in unguenta, atque operarii inter vapores argenti vivi soleant tenere in ore frustum auri ad colligendas emissiones argenti vivi, alias crania & ossa eorum invasuras; unde etiam frustum illud paulo post albescit. Atque de motu congregationis minoris haec dicta sint.

SIT motus nonus, motus magneticus, qui licet sit ex genere motus congregationis minoris, tamen si operetur ad distantias magnas, & super massas rerum magnas, inquisitionem meretur separatam; praesertim si nec incipiat a tactu, quemadmodum plurimi, nec perducatur actionem ad tactum, quemadmodum omnes motus congregativi; sed corpora tantum elevet, aut ea intumescere faciat, nec quicquam ultra. Nam si luna attollat aquas, aut turgescere aut intumescere faciat humida; aut coelum stellatum attrahat planetas versus sua apogaea; aut sol alliget astra veneris & mercurii, ne longius absint a corpore ejus, quam ad distantiam certam; videntur hi motus nec sub congregatione majore, nec sub congregatione minore bene collocari, sed esse tanquam congregativa media & imperfecta, ideoque speciem debere constituere propriam.

SIT motus decimus, motus fugae; motus scilicet motui congregationis minoris contrarius; per quem corpora ex antipathia fugiunt & fugant inimica, seque ab illis separant, aut cum illis miscere se recusant. Quamvis enim videri possit in aliquibus hic motus esse motus tantum per accidens, aut per consequens, respectu motus congregationis minoris, quia nequeunt coire homogenea, nisi heterogeneis exclusis & remotis: tamen ponendus est motus iste per se, & in speciem constituendus, quia in multis appetitus fugae cernitur magis principalis, quam appetitus coitionis.

EMINET autem hic motus insigniter in excretionibus animalium; nec minus etiam in sensuum nonnullorum odiosis objectis, praecipue in olfactu & gustu. Odor enim foetidus ita rejicitur ab olfactu, ut etiam inducat in os stomachi motum expulsionis per consensum; sapor amarus & horridus ita rejicitur a palato aut gutture, ut inducat per consensum capitis conquassationem & horrorem. Veruntamen etiam in aliis locum habet iste motus: Conspicitur enim in antiperistasis nonnullis; ut in aëris media regione, cujus frigora videntur esse rejectiones naturae frigidae ex confiniis coelestium; quemadmodum etiam videntur magni illi fervores & inflammationes, quae inveniuntur in locis subterraneis, esse rejectiones naturae calidae ab interioribus terrae. Calor enim & frigus, si fuerint in quanto minore, se invicem perimunt; sin fuerint in massis majoribus, & tanquam justis exercitiis, tum vero per conflictum se locis invicem summovent & ejiciunt. Etiam tradunt cinnamomum & odorifera sita juxta latrinas & loca foetida, diutius odorem retinere, quia recusant exire & commisceri cum foetidis. Certe argentum vivum, quod alias se re-uniret in corpus integrum, prohibetur per salivam hominis, aut axungiam porci, aut terebinthinam, & hujusmodi, ne partes ejus coëant, propter malum consensum quem habent cum hujusmodi corporibus; a quibus undique circumfusus se retrahunt: adeo ut fortior sit earum fuga ab istis interjacentibus, quam desiderium uniendi se cum partibus sui similibus; id quod vocant mortificationem argenti vivi. Etiam quod oleum cum aqua non misceatur, non tantum in causa est differentia levitatis; sed malus ipsorum consensus: ut videre est in spiritu vini, qui cum levior sit oleo, tamen se bene miscet cum aqua. At maxime omnium insignis est motus fugae in nitro, & hujusmodi corporibus crudis, quae flammam exhorrent; ut in pulvere pyrio, argento vivo, necnon in auro. Fuga vero ferri ab altero polo magnetis a Gilberto bene notatur non esse fuga propria, sed conformitas & coitio ad situm magis accommodatum.

SIT motus undecimus, motus assimilationis, sive multiplicationis sui, sive etiam generationis simplicis. Generationem autem simplicem dicimus non corporum integralium, ut in plantis, aut animalibus; sed corporum similium.

rium. Nempe per hunc motum corpora similia vertunt corpora alia affinia, aut saltem bene disposita & praeparata, in substantiam & naturam suam: ut flamma, quae super halitus & oleosa multiplicat se, & generat novam flammam; aer, qui super aquam & aquea multiplicat se, & generat novum aërem; spiritus vegetabilis & animalis, qui super tenuiores partes, tam aquei quam oleosi, in alimentis suis multiplicat se, & generat novum spiritum; partes solidae plantarum & animalium, veluti folium, flos, caro, os, & sic de caeteris, quae singulae ex succis alimentorum assimilant, & generant substantiam successivam & epiusiam. Neque enim quenquam cum Paracelso delirare juvet, qui (distillationibus suis scilicet occaecatus) nutritionem per separationem tantum fieri voluit; quodque in pane vel cibo lateat oculus, nasus, cerebrum, jecur; in succo terrae radix, folium, flos. Etenim sicut faber ex rudi massa lapidis vel ligni, per separationem & rejectionem superflui educit folium, florem, oculum, nasum, manum, pedem, & similia; ita Archaeum illum fabrum internum ex alimento per separationem & rejectionem educere singula membra & partes, asserit ille. Verum missis nugis certissimum est partes singulas tam similes quam organicas, in vegetabilibus & animalibus, succos alimentorum suorum fere communes, aut non multum diversos, primo attrahere cum nonnullo delectu, deinde assimilare, & vertere in naturam suam. Neque assimilatio ista, aut generatio simplex, fit solum in corporibus animatis; verum & inanimata ex hac re participant; veluti de flamma & aëre dictum est. Quinetiam spiritus emortuus, qui in omni tangibili animato continetur, id perpetuo agit, ut partes crassiores digerat & vertat in spiritum qui deinde exeat; unde fit diminutio ponderis & exsiccatio, ut alibi diximus. Neque etiam respuenda est in assimilatione, accretio illa, quam vulgo ab alimentatione distinguunt; veluti cum lutum inter lapillos concrevit, & vertitur in materiam lapideam; squamae circa dentes vertuntur in substantiam non minus duram, quam sunt dentes ipsi, &c. Sumus enim in ea opinione, inesse corporibus omnibus desiderium assimilandi, non minus quam coeundi ad homogenea; verum ligatur ista virtus, sicut & illa; licet non iisdem modis. Sed modos illos, necnon solutionem ab iisdem, omni diligentia inquirere oportet; quia pertinent ad senectutis refocillationem. Postremo videtur notatu dignum, quod in novem illis motibus, de quibus diximus, corpora tantum naturae suae conservationem appetere videntur; in hoc decimo autem propagationem.

SIT motus duodecimus motus excitationis; qui motus videtur esse ex genere assimilationis, atque eo nomine quandoque a nobis promiscue vocatur. Est enim motus diffusivus, & communicativus, & transitivus, & multiplicativus, sicut & ille; atque effectum (ut plurimum) consentiant, licet efficiendi modo & subiecto differant. Motus enim assimilationis procedit tanquam cum imperio & potestate; jubet enim & cogit assimilatum in assimilantem verti & mutari. At motus excitationis procedit tanquam arte & insinuatione, & furtim; & invitat tantum, & disponit excitatum ad naturam excitantis. Etiam motus assimilationis multiplicat & transformat corpora & substantias; veluti, plus fit flammae, plus aëris, plus spiritus, plus carnis. At in motu excitationis, multiplicantur & transeunt virtutes tantum; & plus fit calidi, plus magnetici, plus putridi. Eminent autem iste motus praecipue in calido & frigido. Neque enim calor diffundit se in calefaciendo per communicationem primi caloris; sed tantum per excitationem partium corporis ad motum illum, qui est forma calidi; de quo in vindemiatione prima de natura calidi diximus. Itaque longe tardius & difficilius excitatur

tur calor in lapide aut metallo, quam in aëre; ob inhabilitatem & impromptitudinem corporum illorum ad motum illum; ita ut verisimile sit, posse esse interius versus viscera terrae materias, quae calefieri prorsus respuant; quia ob condensationem majorem spiritu illo destituuntur, a quo motus iste excitationis plerumque incipit. Similiter magnes induit ferrum nova partium dispositione, & motu conformi; ipse autem nihil ex virtute perdit. Similiter fermentum panis, & flos cervisiae, & coagulum lactis, & nonnulla ex venenis, excitant & invitant motum in massa farinaria, aut cervisia, aut caseo, aut corpore humano successivum & continuatum; non tam ex vi excitantis, quam ex praedispositione & facili cessione excitati.

SIT motus decimus tertius, motus impressionis; qui motus est etiam ex genere motus assimilationis; estque ex diffusivis motibus subtilissimus. Nobis autem visum est eum in speciem propriam constituere, propter differentiam insignem quam habet erga priores duos. Motus enim assimilationis simplex corpora ipsa transformat; ita ut si tollas primum movens, nihil interfit ad ea quae sequuntur. Neque enim prima accensio in flammam, aut prima versio in aërem, aliquid facit ad flammam aut aërem, in generatione succedentem. Similiter, motus excitationis omnino manet, remoto primo movente, ad tempora bene diuturna; ut in corpore calefacto, remoto primo calore; in ferro excito, remoto magnete; in massa farinaria, remoto fermento. At motus impressionis, licet sit diffusivus & transitivus, tamen perpetuo pendere videtur ex primo movente; adeo ut sublato aut cessante illo, statim deficiat & pereat; itaque etiam momento, aut saltem exiguo tempore transigitur. Quare motus illos assimilationis & excitationis, motus generationis Jovis, quia generatio manet; hunc autem motum, motum generationis Saturni, quia natus statim devoratur & absorbetur, appellare consuevimus. Manifestat se vero hic motus in tribus; in lucis radiis; sonorum percussionibus; & magneticis, quatenus ad communicationem. Etenim amota luce, statim pereunt colores, & reliquae imagines ejus; amota percussione prima, & quassatione corporis inde facta, paulo post perit sonus. Licet enim soni etiam in medio per ventos tanquam per undas agentur: tamen diligentius notandum est, quod sonus non tam diu durat, quam fit resonatio. Etenim impulsam campanam, sonus ad bene magnum tempus continuari videtur; unde quis facile in errorem labatur, si existimet toto illo tempore sonum tanquam natum & haerere in aëre; quod falsissimum est. Etenim illa resonatio non est idem sonus numero, sed renovatur. Hoc autem manifestatur ex sedatione sive cohibitione corporis percussi. Si enim sistatur & detineatur campana fortiter, & fiat immobilis, statim perit sonus, nec resonat amplius: ut in chordis; si post primam percussionem tangatur chorda, vel digito, ut in lyra; vel calamo, ut in spinetis; statim definit resonatio. Magnete autem remoto, statim ferrum decedit. Luna autem a mari non potest removeri; nec terra a ponderoso dum cadit. Itaque de illis nullum fieri potest experimentum; sed ratio eadem est.

SIT motus decimus quartus, motus configurationis, aut situs; per quem corpora appetere videntur non coitionem aut separationem aliquam; sed situm, & collocationem, & configurationem cum aliis. Est autem iste motus valde abstrusus, nec bene inquisitus. Atque in quibusdam videtur quasi incausabilis; licet revera (ut existimamus) non ita sit. Etenim si quaeratur, cur potius coelum volvatur ab oriente in occidentem, quam ab occidente in orientem: aut cur vertatur circa polos positos juxta urfas, potius quam

quam circa orionem, aut ex alia aliqua parte coeli: videtur ista quaestio tanquam quaedam ecstasis; cum ista potius ab experientia, & ut positiva, recipi debeant. At in natura profecto sunt quaedam ultima & incausabilia; verum hoc ex illis non esse videtur. Etenim hoc fieri existimamus ex quadam harmonia & consensu mundi, qui adhuc non venit in observationem. Quod si recipiatur motus terrae ab occidente in orientem; eadem manent quaestiones. Nam & ipsa super aliquos polos movetur. Atque, cur tandem debeant isti poli collocari magis ubi sunt, quam alibi. Item verticitas, & directio, & declinatio magnetis ad hunc motum referuntur. Etiam inveniuntur in corporibus tam naturalibus quam artificialibus, praesertim consistentibus, & non fluidis, collocatio quaedam & positura partium, & tanquam villi & fibrae; quae diligenter investigandae sunt; utpote sine quarum inventionem corpora illa commode tractari aut regi non possunt. At circulationes illas in liquidis, per quas illa, dum pressa sint, antequam se liberare possunt, se invicem relevant, ut compressionem illam ex aequo tollerent, motui libertatis verius assignamus.

SIT motus decimus quintus, motus pertransitionis, sive motus secundum meatus; per quem virtutes corporum magis aut minus impediuntur, aut provehuntur a mediis ipsorum, pro natura corporum & virtutum operantium, atque etiam medii. Aliud enim medium luci convenit, aliud sono, aliud calori & frigori, aliud virtutibus magneticis, necnon aliis nonnullis respective.

SIT motus decimus sextus, motus regius (ita enim eum appellamus) sive politicus; per quem partes in corpore aliquo praedominantes & imperantes, reliquas partes fraenant, domant, subigunt, ordinant, & cogunt eas adunari, separari, consistere, moveri, collocari, non ex desideriis suis, sed prout in ordine sit, & conducat ad bene esse partis illius imperantis; adeo ut sit quasi regimen & politia quaedam, quam exercet pars regens in partes subditas. Eminent autem hic motus praecipue in spiritibus animalium, qui motus omnes partium reliquarum, quamdiu ipse in vigore est, contemperat. Invenitur autem in aliis corporibus in gradu quodam inferiore; quemadmodum dictum est de sanguine & urinis, quae non solvuntur, donec spiritus qui partes earum commiscebat & cohibebat, emissus fuerit aut suffocatus. Neque iste motus omnino spiritibus proprius est, licet in plerisque corporibus spiritus dominantur ob motum celerem, & penetrationem. Veruntamen in corporibus magis condensatis, nec spiritu vivido & vigente (qualis inest argento vivo & vitriolo) repletis, dominantur potius partes crassiores; adeo ut nisi fraenum & jugum hoc arte aliqua excutatur, de nova aliqua huiusmodi corporum transformatione minime sperandum sit. Neque vero quispiam nos oblitos esse existimet ejus quod nunc agitur, quia, cum ista series & distributio motuum ad nil aliud spectet, quam ut illorum praedominantia per instantias luctae melius inquiratur, jam inter motus ipsos praedominantiae mentionem faciamus. Non enim in descriptione motus istius regii, de praedominantia motuum aut virtutum tractamus, sed de praedominantia partium in corporibus. Haec enim ea est praedominantia, quae speciem istam motus peculiarem constituit.

SIT motus decimus septimus, motus rotationis spontaneus; per quem corpora motu gaudentia, & bene collocata, natura sua fruuntur, atque seipsa sequuntur, non aliud; & tanquam proprios petunt amplexus. Etenim videntur corpora aut movere sine termino; aut plane quiescere; aut ferri ad terminum, ubi pro natura sua aut rotent aut quiescant. Atque quae be-

ne collocata sunt, si motu gaudeant, movent per circulum : motu scilicet aeterno & infinito. Quae bene collocata sunt, & motum exhorrent, prorsus quiescunt. Quae non bene collocata sunt, movent in linea recta (tquam tramite brevissimo) ad consortia suorum connaturalium. Recipit autem motus iste rotationis differentias novem. Primam, centri sui, circa quod corpora movent : Secundam, polorum suorum, supra quos movent : Tertiam, circumferentiae sive ambitus sui, prout distant a centro : Quartam, incitationis suae, prout celerius aut tardius rotant : Quintam, consequutionis motus sui, veluti ab oriente in occidentem, aut ab occidente in orientem : Sextam, declinationis a circulo perfecto per spiras longius aut propius distantes a centro suo : Septimam, declinationis a circulo perfecto per spiras longius aut propius distantes a polis suis : Octavam, distantiae propioris aut longioris spirarum suarum ad invicem : Nonam & ultimam, variationis ipsorum polorum, si sint mobiles : quae ipsa ad rotationem non pertinet, nisi fiat circulariter. Atque iste motus communi & inveterata opinione habetur pro proprio coelestium. Attamen gravis de illo motu lis est inter nonnullos tam ex antiquis quam modernis, qui rotationem terrae attribuerunt. At multo fortasse justior movetur controversia, (si modo res non sit omnino extra controversiam) an motus videlicet iste (concesso quod terra stet) coeli finibus contineatur, an potius descendat, & communicetur aëri & aquis. Motum autem rotationis in missilibus, ut in spiculis, sagittis, pilis sclopetorum, & similibus, omnino ad motum libertatis rejicimus.

SIT motus decimus octavus, motus trepidationis, cui (ut ab astronomis intelligitur) non multum fidei adhibemus. Nobis autem, corporum naturalium appetitus ubique serio perscrutantibus, occurrit iste motus ; & constitui debere videtur in speciem. Est autem hic motus veluti aeternae cujusdam captivitatis. Videlicet ubi corpora non omnino pro natura sua bene locata, & tamen non prorsus male se habentia, perpetuo trepidant, & irrequiete se agunt, nec statu suo contenta, nec ulterius ausa progredi. Talis invenitur motus in corde & pulsibus animalium ; & necesse est ut sit in omnibus corporibus, quae statu ancipiti ita degunt inter commoda & incommoda, ut distracta liberare se tentent, & denuo repulsam patiantur, & tamen perpetuo experiantur.

SIT motus decimus nonus & postremus, motus ille cui vix nomen motus competit, & tamen est plane motus : Quem motum, motum decubitus, sive motum exhorrentiae motus, vocare licet. Per hunc motum terra stat mole sua, moventibus se extremis suis in medium ; non ad centrum imaginativum, sed ad unionem. Per hunc etiam appetitum omnia majorem in modum condensata motum exhorrent ; atque illis pro omni appetitu est non moveri ; & licet infinitis modis vellicentur & provocentur ad motum, tamen naturam suam (quoad possunt) tuentur. Quod si ad motum compellantur, tamen hoc agere semper videntur, ut quietem & statum suum recuperent, neque amplius moveant. Atque circa hoc certe se agilia praebent, & satis perneciter & rapide (ut pertaesa & impatientia omnis morae) contendunt. Hujus autem appetitus imago ex parte tantum cerni potest ; quia hic apud nos, ex subactione & concoctione coelestium, omne tangibile non tantum non condensatum est ad ultimitatem, sed etiam cum spiritu nonnullo miscetur.

PROPOSUIMUS itaque jam species, sive elementa simplicia motuum, appetituum, & virtutum activarum, quae sunt in natura maxime catholica : Neque parum scientiae naturalis sub illis adumbratum est. Non negamus tamen, & alias species fortasse addi posse ; atque istas ipsas divisiones secundum

dum veriores rerum venas transferri; denique in minorem numerum posse redigi. Neque tamen hoc de divisionibus aliquibus abstractis intelligimus: veluti si quis dicat; corpora appetere vel conservationem, vel exaltationem, vel propagationem, vel fruitionem naturae suae: aut si quis dicat, motus rerum tendere ad conservationem & bonum, vel universi, ut antitypiam & nexum; vel universitatum magnarum, ut motus congregationis majoris, rotationis, & exhorrentiae motus; vel formarum specialium, ut reliquos. Licet enim haec vera sint, tamen nisi terminentur in materia & fabrica secundum veras lineas, speculativa sunt, & minus utilia. Interim sufficient, & boni erunt usus, ad pensitandas praedominantias virtutum, & exquirendas instantias luctae; id quod nunc agitur.

ET ENIM ex his, quos proposuimus, motibus, alii prorsus sunt invincibiles; alii aliis sunt fortiores, & illos ligant, fraenant, disponunt; alii aliis longius jaculantur; alii alios tempore & celeritate praevertunt; alii alios fovent, roborant, ampliant, accelerant.

MOTUS antitypiae omnino est adamantinus & invincibilis: utrum vero motus nexus sit invincibilis, adhuc haeremus. Neque enim pro certo affirmaverimus, utrum detur vacuum, five coacervatum, five permistum. At de illo nobis constat; rationem illam, propter quam introductum est vacuum a Leucippo, & Democrito, (videlicet quod absque eo non possent eadem corpora complecti & implere majora & minora spatia) falsam esse. Est enim plane plica materiae complicantis & replicantis se per spatia inter certos fines absque interpositione vacui: Neque est in aëre, ex vacuo, his milies (tantum enim esse oportet) plus quam in auro. Id quod ex potentissimis corporum pneumaticorum virtutibus, (quae aliter tanquam pulveres minuti natarent in vacuo) & multis aliis demonstrationibus, nobis satis liquet. Reliqui vero motus regunt & reguntur invicem, pro rationibus vigoris, quanti, incitationis, ejaculationis, necnon tum auxiliorum, tum impedimentorum, quae occurrunt.

EXEMPLI gratia; magnes armatus nonnullus detinet & suspendit ferrum ad sexagecuplum pondus ipsius; eo usque dominatur motus congregationis minoris, super motum congregationis majoris; quod si majus fuerit pondus, succumbit. Vectis tanti roboris sublevabit tantum pondus; eo usque dominatur motus libertatis super motum congregationis majoris; si majus fuerit pondus, succumbit. Corium tensum ad tensuram talem non rumpitur; eo usque dominatur motus continuationis super motum tensurae; quod si ulterior fuerit tensura, rumpitur corium, & succumbit motus continuationis. Aqua per rimam perforationis talis effluit; eo usque dominatur motus congregationis majoris super motum continuationis; quod si minor fuerit rima, succumbit; & vincit motus continuationis. In pulvere sulphuris folius immissi in sclopetum cum pila, & admoto igne, non emittitur pila; in eo motus congregationis majoris vincit motum hyles. At in pulvere pyrio immisso vincit motus hyles in sulphure; adjutus motibus hyles & fugae in nitro. Et sic de caeteris. Etenim instantiae luctae (quae indicant praedominantiam virtutum, & secundum quas rationes & calculos praedominantur & succumbant) acri & sedula diligentia undique sunt conquirendae.

ETIAM modi & rationes ipsius succumbentiae motuum, diligenter sunt introspectiendae. Nempe, an omnino cessent, vel potius usque nitantur, sed ligentur. Etenim in corporibus hic apud nos nulla vera est quies, nec in integris, nec in partibus; sed tantum secundum apparentiam. Quies autem ista apparens, causatur aut per aequilibrium; aut per absolutam praedominantiam

nantiam motuum. Per aequilibrium, ut in bilancibus, quae stant, si aequa sint pondera. Per praedominantiam, ut in hydriis perforatis, ubi quiescit aqua, & detinetur a decasu per praedominantiam motus nexus. Notandum tamen est (ut diximus) quatenus nitantur motus illi succumbentes. Etenim si quis per luctam detineatur extensus in terra, brachiis & tibiis vinctis, aut aliter detentis; atque ille tamen totis viribus resurgere nitatur; non est minor nixus, licet non proficiat. Hujus autem rei conditio (scilicet utrum per praedominantiam motus succumbens quasi annihiletur; an potius continuetur nixus, licet non conspiciatur) quae latet in conflictibus, apparebit fortasse in concurrentiis. Exempli gratia; fiat experimentum in sclopetis, utrum sclopetus pro tanto spatio, quo emittat pilam in linea directa, sive (ut vulgo loquuntur) in puncto blanco, debiliorem edat percussione ejaculando in supra, ubi motus ictus est simplex, quam desuper, ubi motus gravitatis concurret cum ictu.

ETIAM canones praedominantiarum qui occurrunt, colligendi sunt. Veluti, quod quo communius est bonum quod appetitur, eo motus est fortior: ut motus nexus qui respicit communionem universi, fortior est motu gravitatis, qui respicit communionem densorum. Etiam, quod appetitus qui sunt boni privati, non praevalent plerunque contra appetitus boni magis publici; nisi in parvis quantis: Quae utinam obtinerent in civilibus.

XLIX. INTER praerogativas instantiarum ponemus loco vicesimo-quinto instantias innuentes; eas scilicet, quae commoda hominum innuunt aut designant. Etenim ipsum posse & ipsum scire, naturam humanam amplificat, non beant. Itaque decerpenda sunt ex universitate rerum ea quae ad usum vitae maxime faciunt. Verum de iis erit magis proprius dicendi locus, cum deductiones ad praxim tractabimus. Quinetiam in ipso opere interpretationis circa singula subjecta, locum semper chartae humanae, sive chartae optativae assignamus: Etenim & quaerere & optare non inepte, pars scientiae est.

L. INTER praerogativas instantiarum ponemus loco vicesimo-sexto instantias polychrestas. Eae sunt, quae pertinent ad varia, & saepius occurrunt; ideoque operae & novis probationibus haud parum parcunt. Atque de instrumentis ipsis atque ingeniationibus proprius erit dicendi locus, cum deductiones ad praxim & experimentandi modos tractabimus. Quin etiam quae adhuc cognita sunt, & in usum venerunt, in historiis particularibus singularium artium describentur. In praesenti autem subjungemus quaedam catholica circa ea pro exemplis tantum polychrestis.

OPERATUR igitur homo super corpora naturalia (praeter ipsam admotionem & amotionem corporum simplicem) septem praecipue modis: nempe, vel per exclusionem eorum quae impediunt & disturbant: vel per compressiones, extensiones, agitationes, & hujusmodi: vel per calorem & frigus: vel per moram in loco convenienti: vel per fraenum & regimen motus: vel per consensus speciales: vel per alternationem tempestitivam & debitam, atque seriem & successionem horum omnium; aut saltem nonnullorum ex illis.

AD primum igitur quod attinet; aer communis, qui undique praesto est & se ingerit, atque radii coelestium, multum turbant: Quae itaque ad illorum exclusionem faciunt, merito haberi possint pro polychrestis. Huc igitur pertinent materies & crassities vasorum, in quibus corpora ad operationem praeparata reponuntur. Similiter modi accurati obturationis vasorum, per consolidationem & lutum sapientiae, ut loquuntur chymici. Etiam

clausura

clausura per liquores in extimis utilissima res est: ut cum infundunt oleum super vinum aut succos herbarum; quod expandendo se in summitate instar operculi, optime ea conservat illaesa ab aëre. Neque pulveres res malae sunt; qui licet contineant aërem permistum, tamen vini aëris coacerati & circumfusi arcent; ut fit in conservatione uvarum & fructuum intra arenam & farinam. Etiam cera, mel, pix, & huiusmodi tenacia, recte obducuntur ad clausuram perfectiorem, & ad summovendum aërem & coelestia. Etiam nos experimentum quandoque fecimus, ponendo vas, necnon aliqua alia corpora intra argentum vivum, quod omnium longe densissimum est ex iis quae circumfundi possunt. Quinetiam specus & cavernae subterraneae magni usus sunt ad prohibendum insolationem & aërem istum apertum praedatorium; qualibus utuntur Germani septentrionales pro granariis. Necnon repositio corporum in fundo aquarum ad hoc spectat: ut memini me quippiam audisse de utribus vini demissis in profundum puteum, ad infrigidationem scilicet; sed casu & per neglectum ac oblivionem ibidem remanentibus per multos annos, & deinde extractis; unde vinum factum est non solum non vapidum aut emortuum, sed multo magis nobile ad gustum; per commixtionem partium suarum (ut videtur) magis exquisitam. Quod si postulet res, ut corpora demittantur ad fundum aquarum, veluti intra fluvios aut mare, neque tamen aquas tangant, nec in vasibus obturatis concludantur, sed aëre tantum circudentur; bonus est usus vasis illius, quod adhibitum est nonnunquam ad operandum subter aquis super navigia demersa, ut urinatores diutius manere possint sub aquis; & per vices ad tempus respirare. Illud huiusmodi erat: Conficiebatur dolium ex metallo concavum, quod demittebatur aequabiliter ad superficiem aquae, atque sic deportabat totum aërem, qui continebatur in dolo secum in fundum maris. Stabat autem super pedes tres, (instar tripodis) qui longitudinis erant aliquanto minoris statura hominis; ita ut urinator posset, cum anhelitus deficeret, immittere caput in cavum dolii, & respirare, & deinde opus continuare. Atque audivimus inventam esse jam machinam aliquam naviculae aut scaphae, quae homines subter aquis vehere possit ad spatia nonnulla. Verum sub tali vase, quale modo diximus, corpora quaevis facile suspendi possint; cuius causa hoc experimentum adduximus.

EST & alius usus diligentis & perfectae clausurae corporum: nempe, non solum ut prohibeatur aditus aëris per exterius (de quo jam dictum est) verum etiam ut cohibeatur exitus spiritus corporis, super quod fit operatio per interius. Necessesse est enim ut operanti circa corpora naturalia constet de summis suis: viz. quod nihil expirarit aut effluerit. Fiunt enim profundae alterationes in corporibus, quando natura prohibente annihilationem, ars prohibeat etiam deperditionem aut evolationem alicujus partis. Atque hac de re invaluit opinio falsa; (quae si vera esset, de ista conservatione summae certae absque diminutione esset fere desperandum:) viz. spiritus corporum, & aërem majori gradu caloris attenuatum, nullis vasorum claustris posse contineri, quin per poros vasorum subtiliores evolent. Atque in hanc opinionem adducti sunt homines per vulgata illa experimenta, poculi inversi super aquam cum candela aut charta inflammata; ex quo fit ut aqua sursum attrahatur: atque similiter ventosarum, quae super flammam calefactae trahunt carnes. Existimant enim in utroque experimento aërem attenuatum emitti, & inde quantum ipsius minui; ideoque aquam aut carnes per nexum succedere. Quod falsissimum est. Aër enim non quanto diminuitur, sed spatio contrahitur; neque incipit motus iste successionis aquae,

antequam fiat extinctio flammae, aut refrigeratio aëris: Adeo ut medici, quo fortius attrahant ventosae, ponant spongas frigidas aqua madefactas super ventosas. Itaque non est, cur homines multum sibi metuant de facili exitu aëris aut spirituum. Licet enim verum sit, etiam solidissima corpora habere suos poros, tamen aegre patitur aër aut spiritus comminutionem sui ad tantam subtilitatem; quemadmodum & aqua exire recusat per rimam minusculam.

De secundo vero modo ex septem praedictis illud inprimis notandum est, valere certe compressiones & huiusmodi violentias ad motum localem, atque alia id genus, potentissime; ut in machinis & missilibus: etiam ad destructionem corporis organici, atque earum virtutum, quae consistunt plane in motu. Omnis enim vita, immo etiam omnis flamma & ignitio, destruitur per compressiones; ut & omnis machina corrumpitur & confunditur per easdem. Etiam ad destructionem virtutum, quae consistunt in posituris, & dissimilaritate partium paulo crassiore; ut in coloribus: (neque enim idem color floris integri & contusi, neque succini integri & pulverizati.) Etiam in saporibus: (neque enim idem sapor pyri immaturi & ejusdem compressi ac subacti; nam manifesto dulcedinem majorem concipit.) Verum ad transformationes & alterationes nobiliores corporum similiarium non multum valent istae violentiae; quia corpora per eas non acquirunt consistentiam aliquam novam constantem & quiescentem, sed transitoriam & nitentem semper ad restitutionem & liberationem sui. Attamen non abs re foret, hujus rei facere experimenta aliqua diligentiora; ad hoc scilicet, utrum condensatio corporis bene similis (qualia sunt aër, aqua, oleum, & huiusmodi) aut rarefactio, similiter per violentiam indita, possint fieri constantes & fixae, & quasi mutatae in naturam. Id quod primo experiendum per moram simplicem; deinde per auxilia & consensus. Atque illud nobis in promptu fuisset, (si modo in mentem venisset) cum aquam (de qua alibi) per malleationes & pressoria condensavimus, antequam erumperet. Debueramus enim sphaeram complanatam per aliquot dies sibi permisisse, & tum demum aquam extraxisse; ut fieret experimentum, utrum statim impletura fuisset talem dimensionem, qualem habebat ante condensationem. Quod si non fecisset aut statim, aut certe paulo post; constans videlicet facta videri potuisset ista condensatio: Sin minus; apparuisset factam fuisse restitutionem, & compressionem fuisse transitoriam. Etiam simile quiddam faciendum erat circa extensionem aëris in ovis vitreis. Etenim debuerat fieri, post exuctionem fortem, subita & firma obturatio; deinde debuerant ova illa manere ita obturata per nonnullos dies; & tum demum experiendum fuisset, utrum aperto foramine attractus fuisset aër cum sibilo, aut etiam attracta fuisset tanta quantitas aquae post immersionem, quanta fuisset ab initio, si nulla adhibita fuisset mora. Probabile enim aut saltem dignum probatione est, haec fieri potuisse & posse; propterea quod in corporibus paulo magis dissimilibus similia efficiat mora temporis. Etenim baculum per compressionem curvatum post aliquod tempus non resilit: neque id imputandum est alicui deperditioni ex quanto ligni per moram; nam idem fiet in lamina ferri, (si augeatur mora) quae non est expirabilis. Quod si non succedat experimentum per moram simplicem; tamen non deferendum est negotium, sed auxilia alia adhibenda. Non enim parum lucri fit, si per violentias indita possint corporibus naturae fixae & constantes. Hae enim ratione aër possit verti in aquam per condensationes: & complura alia id genus. Dominus enim est homo motuum violentorum, magis quam caeterorum.

At tertius ex septem modis, refertur ad magnum illud organum, tam naturae quam artis, quoad operandum; videlicet calidum & frigidum. Atque in hac parte claudicat plane potentia humana, tanquam ex uno pede. Habemus enim calorem ignis, qui caloribus solis, (prout ad nos deferuntur) & caloribus animalium, quasi infinitis partibus potentior est & intensior. At deest frigus, nisi quale per tempestates hyemales, aut per cavernas, aut per circundationes nivis & glaciei, haberi potest: quod in comparatione aequari potest cum calore fortasse solis meridiano, in regione aliqua ex torridis aucto, insuper per reverberationes montium & parietum: Nam huiusmodi, utique tam calores quam frigora, ab animalibus ad tempus exiguum tolerari possunt. Nihili autem sunt fere prae calore fornacis ardentis, aut alicujus frigoris quod huic gradui respondeat. Itaque omnia hic apud nos vergunt ad rarefactionem & desiccationem, & consumptionem; nihil fere ad condensationem & intenerationem, nisi per misturas & modos quasi spurios. Quare instantiae frigoris omni diligentia sunt conquirendae: quales videntur inveniri in expositione corporum super turres quando gelat acriter: in cavernis subterraneis: circundationibus nivis & glaciei in locis profundioribus, & ad hoc excavatis: Demissione corporum in puteos: Sepulturis corporum in argento vivo & metallis; immersione corporum in aquis, quae vertunt ligna in lapides; defossione corporum in terra; (qualis fertur apud Chineses esse confectio porcellanae, ubi massae ad hoc factae dicuntur manere intra terram per quadraginta aut quinquaginta annos, & transmitti ad haereditatem, tanquam minerae quaedam artificiales) & huiusmodi. Quinetiam quae interveniunt in natura condensationes, factae per frigora, similiter sunt investigandae; ut causis eorum cognitis, transferri possint in artes. Quales cernuntur in exudatione marmoris & lapidum; in rorationibus super vitra per interius fenestrarum sub auroram, post gelu noctis; in originibus & collectionibus vaporum in aquas sub terra, unde saepe scaturiunt fontes; & quaecunque sunt huius generis.

INVENIUNTUR autem praeter illa quae sunt frigida ad tactum, quaedam alia potestate frigida, quae etiam condensant; veruntamen operari videntur super corpora animalium tantum, & vix ultra. Huius generis se ostendunt multa in medicinis & emplastris. Alia autem condensant carnes & partes tangibiles; qualia sunt medicamenta astringentia, atque etiam inspissantia; alia condensant spiritus, id quod maxime cernitur in soporiferis. Duplex autem est modus condensationis spirituum per medicamenta soporifera, sive provocantia somnum: Alter per sedationem motus; alter per fugam spirituum. Etenim viola, rosa sicca, lactuca, & huiusmodi benedicta sive benigna, per vapores suos amicos & moderate refrigerantes, invitant spiritus ut se uniant, & ipsorum acrem & inquietum motum compescunt. Etiam aqua rosacea apposita ad nares in deliquis animae, spiritus resolutos & nimium relaxatos se recipere facit, & tanquam alit: At opiata & eorum affinia spiritus plane fugant, ex qualitate sua maligna & inimica. Itaque si applicentur parti exteriori, statim aufugiunt spiritus ab illa parte, nec amplius libenter influunt: Sin sumantur interiori, vapores eorum ascendentes ad caput, spiritus in ventriculis cerebri contentos undequaque fugant; cumque se retrahant spiritus, neque in aliam partem effugere possint, per consequens coeunt & condensantur; & quandoque plane extinguuntur & suffocantur: Licet rursus eadem opiata moderate sumpta, per accidens secundarium, (videlicet condensationem illam quae a coitione succedit) confortent

tent spiritus, eosque reddant magis robustos, & retundant eorum inutiles & incensivos motus: ex quo ad curas morborum & vitae prolongationem haud parum conferant.

ETIAM praeparationes corporum ad excipiendum frigus non sunt omit-tendae; veluti quod aqua parum tepida facilius congelietur, quam omnino frigida & huiusmodi.

PRAETEREA, quia natura frigus tam parce suppeditat, faciendum est quemadmodum pharmacopolae solent; qui quando simplex aliquod haberi non possit, capiunt succedaneum ejus, & quid pro quo, ut vocant: Veluti lignum aloes pro xylobalsamo, cassiam pro cinnamomo. Simili modo diligen-ter circumspiciendum est, si quae sint succedanea frigoris; videlicet quibus modis fieri possint condensationes in corporibus aliter quam per frigus, quod illas efficit, ut opus suum proprium. Illae autem condensationes videntur intra quaternum numerum (quantum adhuc liquet) contineri. Quarum pri-ma videtur fieri per contrusionem simplicem; quae parum potest ad den-sitatem constantem, (resiliunt enim corpora;) sed nihilominus forte res auxi-liaris esse queat. Secunda fit per contractionem partium crassiorum in cor-pore aliquo post evolationem aut exitum partium tenuiorum, ut fit in indu-rationibus per ignem, & repetitis extinctionibus metallorum, & similibus. Tertia fit per coitionem partium homogenearum, quae sunt maxime solidae in corpore aliquo, atque antea fuerant distractae, & cum minus solidis com-mistae: Veluti in restitutione mercurii sublimati, qui in pulvere longe ma-jus occupat spatium, quam mercurius simplex; & similiter in omni repur-gatione metallorum a scoriis suis. Quarta fit per consensus, admovendo quae ex vi corporum occulta condensant, qui consensus adhuc raro se offen-dunt, quod mirum minime est, quoniam antequam inventio succedat for-marum & schematismorum, de inquisitione consensuum non multum speran-dum est. Certe quoad corpora animalium, dubium non est, quin sint com-plures medicinae tam interius quam exterius sumptae, quae condensant, tanquam per consensum, ut paulo ante diximus. Sed in inanimatis rara est huiusmodi operatio. Percrebuit sane, tam scriptis quam fama, narratio de arbore in una ex insulis sive Tercebris sive Canariis, (neque enim bene memi-ni,) quae perpetuo stillat; adeo ut inhabitantibus nonnullam commoditatem aquae praebat. Paracelsus autem ait, herbam vocatam Rorem solis meri-die & fervente sole rore impleri, cum aliae herbae undique sint siccae: At nos utramque narrationem fabulosam esse existimamus. Omnino autem illae instantiae nobilissimi forent usus & introspectione dignissimae, si essent verae. Etiam rores illos mellitos & instar mannae, qui super foliis quercus inveniuntur mense Maio, non existimamus fieri & densari a consensu aliquo sive a proprietate folii quercus; sed cum super aliis foliis pariter cadant, contineri scilicet & durare in foliis quercus, quia sunt bene unita, nec spon-giosa, ut plurima ex aliis.

CALOREM vero quod attinet; copia & potestas nimirum homini abunde adest; observatio autem & inquisitio deficit in nonnullis; iisque maxime ne-cessariis; utcunque Spagirici se venditent. Etenim caloris intensioris opi-ficia exquiruntur & conspiciuntur; remissioris vero, quae maxime in vias naturae incidunt, non tentantur, adeoque latent. Itaque videntur per vul-canos istos, qui in pretio sunt, spiritus corporum magnopere exaltari, ut in aquis fortibus, & nonnullis aliis oleis chymicis, partes tangibiles indurari, & emisso volatili, aliquando figi; partes homogeneas separari; etiam corpora heteroge-

heterogenea grosso modo incorporari & commisceri; maxime autem compages corporum compositorum & subtiliores schematissimos destrui & confundi. Debuerant autem opificia caloris lenioris tentari & exquiri; unde subtiliores misturae & schematissimi ordinati gigni possint & educi, ad exemplum naturae, & imitationem operum solis; quemadmodum in aphorismo de instantiis foederis quaedam adumbravimus. Opificia enim naturae transfiguntur per longe minores portiones, & posituras magis exquisitas & varias, quam opificia ignis, prout nunc adhibetur. Tum vero videatur homo revera auctus potestate, si per calores & potentias artificiales opera naturae possint specie repraesentari, virtute perfici, copia variari: Quibus addere oportet accelerationem temporis. Nam rubigo ferri longo tempore procedit, at versio in crocum martis subito; & similiter de aerugine & cerussa. Crysellum longo tempore conficitur, vitrum subito conflatur. Lapides longo tempore concrescunt, lateres subito coquuntur, &c. Interim (quod nunc agitur) omnes diversitates caloris cum effectibus suis respective diligenter & industrie undique sunt colligendae & exquirendae: Coelestium, per radios suos directos, reflexos, refractos, & unitos in speculis comburentibus: Fulguris, flammae, ignis carbonum; ignis ex diversis materiis; ignis aperti, conclusi, angustati & inundantis, denique per diversas fabricas fornacium qualificati; ignis flatu exciti, quieti & non exciti; ignis ad maiorem aut minorem distantiam remoti; ignis per varia media permeantis; calorum humidorum, ut balnei Mariae, fimi, caloris animalium per exterius, caloris animalium per interius, foeni conclusi; calorum aridorum, cineris, calcis, arenae tepidae; denique calorum cujuscvis generis cum gradibus eorum.

PRAECIPUE vero tentanda est inquisitio & inventio effectuum & opificiorum caloris accedentis & recedentis, graduatim & ordinatim, & periodice, & per debita spatia, & moras. Ista enim inaequalitas ordinata revera filia coeli est, & generationis mater: Neque a calore aut vehementi, aut praecipiti, aut subsultorio, aliquid magni expectandum est. Etenim & in vegetabilibus hoc manifestissimum est; atque etiam in uteris animalium magna est caloris inaequalitas, ex motu, somno, alimentationibus & passionibus foemellarum, quae uterum gestant; denique in ipsis matricibus terrae, iis nimirum in quibus metalla & fossilia efformantur, locum habet & viget ista inaequalitas. Quo magis notanda est inscitia aliquorum alchymistarum ex reformatis, qui per calores aequabiles lapidum, & hujusmodi, perpetuo uno tenore ardentium, se voti compotes fore existimarunt. Atque de opificiis & effectibus caloris haec dicta sint. Neque vero tempestivum est illa penitus scrutari, antequam rerum formae & corporum schematissimi ulterius investigati fuerint, & in lucem prodierint. Tum enim quaerenda & adoperanda, & aptanda sunt instrumenta, quando de exemplaribus constiterit.

QUARTUS modus operandi est per moram, quae certe & promus & condus naturae est, & quaedam dispensatrix. Moram appellamus, cum corpus aliquod sibi permittitur ad tempus notabile, munitum interim & defensum ab aliqua vi externa. Tum enim motus intestini se produnt & perficiunt, cum motus extranei & adventitii cessant. Opera autem aetatis sunt longe subtiliora quam ignis. Neque enim possit fieri talis clarificatio vini per ignem, qualis fit per moram; neque etiam incinerationes per ignem tam sunt exquisitae, quam resolutiones & consumptiones per saecula. Incorporationes etiam & missiones subitae & praecipitatae per ignem, longe inferiores sunt illis,

quae fiunt per moram. At dissimilares & varii schematismi, quos corpora per moras tentant, (quales sunt putredines) per ignem aut calorem vehementiorem destruantur. Illud interim non abs re fuerit notare; motus corporum penitus conclusorum habere nonnihil ex violento. Incarceratio enim illa impedit motus spontaneos corporis. Itaque mora in vase aperto plus facit ad separationes; in vase penitus clauso ad commistiones; in vase nonnihil clauso, sed subintrante aëre, ad putrefactiones; utcumque de opificiis & effectibus morae undique sunt diligenter conquirendae instantiae.

At regimen motus (quod est quintus ex modis operandi) non parum valet. Regimen autem motus vocamus, cum corpus aliud occurrens, corporis alterius motum spontaneum impedit, repellit, admittit, dirigit. Hoc vero plerumque in figuris & situ vasorum consistit. Etenim conus erectus juvat ad condensationem vaporum in alembicis; at conus inversus juvat ad defaecationem sacchari in vasis resupinatis. Aliquando autem sinuatio requiritur, & angustatio, & dilatatio per vices, & hujusmodi. Etiam omnis percolatio huc spectat; scilicet cum corpus occurrens, uni parti corporis alterius viam aperit, alteri obstruit. Neque semper percolatio aut aliud regimen motus fit per extra; sed etiam per corpus in corpore; ut cum lapilli immittuntur in aquas ad colligendam limositatem ipsarum; syrupi clarificantur cum albuminibus ovorum, ut crassiores partes adhaerescant, & postea separari possint. Etiam huic regimini motus satis leviter & inscite attribuit Telesius figuras animalium, ob rivulos scilicet & loculos matricis. Debuerat autem notare similem efformationem in testis ovorum, ubi non sunt rugae aut inaequalitas: At verum est regimen motus efformationes perficere in modulis & proplasticis.

OPERATIONES vero per consensus aut fugas (qui sextus modus est) latent saepenumero in profundo. Ista enim (quas vocant) proprietates occultae & specificae, & sympathiae & antipathiae, sunt magna ex parte corruptelae philosophiae. Neque de consensibus rerum inveniendis multum sperandum est ante inventionem formarum & schematismorum simplicium. Consensus enim nil aliud est quam symmetria formarum & schematismorum ad invicem.

Atqui majores & magis catholici rerum consensus non prorsus obscuri sunt. Itaque ab iis ordiendum: Eorum prima & summa diversitas ea est; ut quaedam corpora copia & raritate materiae admodum discrepent, schematismis consentiant; alia contra, copia & raritate materiae consentiant, schematismis discrepent. Nam non male notatum est a chymicis in principiorum suorum triade, sulphur & mercurium quasi per universitatem rerum permeare: (Nam de sale inepta ratio est, sed introducta, ut possit comprehendere corpora terrea, sicca, & fixa.) At certe in illis duobus videtur consensus quidam naturae ex maxime catholicis conspici. Etenim consentiunt sulphur; oleum & exhalatio pinguis; flamma; & fortasse, corpus stellae: Ex altera parte consentiunt mercurius; aqua & vapores aquei; aër; & fortasse aether purus & interstellaris. Attamen istae quaterniones geminae, sive magnae rerum tribus, (utraque intra ordines suos) copia materiae atque densitate immensum differunt, sed schematismo valde conveniunt; ut in plurimis se produnt. At contra metalla diversa copia & densitate multum conveniunt, (praesertim respectu vegetabilium, &c.) sed schematismo multifariam differunt; & similiter vegetabilia & animalia diversa schematismis quasi infinitis variantur; sed intra copiam materiae, sive densitatem paucorum graduum continentur.

SEQUITUR

SEQUITUR consensus maxime post priorem catholicus, videlicet corporum principalium & fomitum suorum; videlicet menstruum & alimentorum. Itaque exquirendum, sub quibus climatibus, & in qua tellure, & ad quam profunditatem, metalla singula generentur; & similiter de gemmis, five ex rupibus, five inter mineras natis: In qua gleba terrae, arbores singulae, & frutices, & herbae potissimum proveniant, & tanquam gaudeant; & insimul quae impinguationes, five per stercorationes cujuscunque generis, five per cretam, arenam maris, cineres, &c. maxime juvent; & quae sint ex his pro varietate glebarum magis aptae & auxiliares. Etiam insitio & inoculatio arborum & plantarum, earumque ratio; quae scilicet plantae super quas feliciter inferantur, &c. multum pendet de consensu. In qua parte non injucundum foret experimentum, quod noviter audivimus esse tentatum de insitione arborum sylvestrium, (quae hucusque in arboribus hortensibus fieri consuevit,) unde folia & glandes majorem in modum amplificantur, & arbores fiunt magis umbrosae. Similiter alimenta animalium respective notanda sunt in genere & cum negativis. Neque enim carnivora sustinent herbis nutrir; unde etiam ordo Folietanorum (licet voluntas humana plus possit quam animantium caeterorum super corpus suum) post experientiam factam, (ut aiunt) tanquam ab humana natura non tolerabilis; fere evanuit. Etiam materiae diversae putrefactionum, unde animalcula generantur, notandae sunt.

ATQUE consensus corporum principalium erga subordinata sua (tales enim ii possint censer, quos notavimus) satis in aperto sunt. Quibus addi possunt sensuum consensus erga objecta sua. Qui consensus cum manifestissimi sint; bene notati, & acriter excussi, etiam aliis consensibus, qui latent, magnam praebere possint lucem.

AT interiores corporum consensus & fugae, five amicitiae & lites, (taedet enim nos fere vocabulorum sympathiae & antipathiae, propter superstitiones & inania) aut falso ascriptae, aut fabulis conspersae, aut per neglectum, raras admodum sunt. Etenim si quis asserat, inter vineam & brassicam esse dissidium, quia juxta fata minus laete proveniunt; praesto ratio est, quod utraque planta succulenta sit, & depraedatrix, unde altera alteram defraudat. Si quis asserat esse consensum & amicitiam inter segetes & cyaneum, aut papaver sylvestre, quia herbae illae fere non proveniunt nisi in arvis cultis: debuit is potius asserere, dissidium esse inter ea, quia papaver & cyaneus emittuntur & creantur ex tali succo terrae, qualem segetes reliquerint & repudiaverint; adeo ut satio segetum terram praeparet ad eorum proventum. Atque hujusmodi falsarum ascriptionum magnus est numerus. Quoad fabulas vero, illae omnino sunt exterminandae: Restat tenuis certe copia eorum consensuum, qui certo probati sunt experimento; quales sunt magnetis & ferri, atque auri & argenti vivi, & similia. At in experimentis chymicis circa metalla inveniuntur & alii nonnulli observatione digni. Maxima vero frequentia eorum (ut in tanta paucitate) invenitur in medicinis nonnullis, quae ex proprietatibus suis occultis (quas vocant) & specificis, respiciunt aut membra, aut humores, aut morbos, aut quandoque naturas individuales. Neque omittendi sunt consensus inter motus & affectus lunae, & passiones corporum inferiorum, prout ex experimentis agriculturae, nauticae, & medicinae, aut alias cum delectu severo & sincero colligi & recipi possint. Verum instantiae universae consensuum secretio-

rum

rum quo magis sunt infrequentes, eo majori cum diligentia sunt inquirendae, per traditiones, & narrationes fidas & probas; modo hoc fiat absque ulla levitate aut credulitate, sed fide anxia & quasi dubitabunda. Restat consensus corporum modo operandi, tanquam inartificialis, sed usu polychrestus, qui nullo modo omittendus est, sed sedula observatione investigandus. Is est coitio sive unio corporum proclivis, aut difficilis, per compositionem sive appositionem simplicem. Etenim corpora nonnulla facile & libenter commiscuntur & incorporantur: alia autem aegre & perversè. Veluti pulveres melius incorporantur cum aquis; calces & cineres cum oleis; & sic de similibus. Neque tantum sunt colligendae instantiae propensionis, aut aversionis corporum erga misturam, sed etiam collocationis partium, & distributionis, & digestionis, postquam commista sint; denique & praedominantiae post misturam transactam.

SUPEREST ultimo loco ex modis septem operandi septimus & postremus; operatio scilicet per alternationem, & vicissitudines priorum sex: de quo antequam in singulos illos paulo altius fuerit inquisitum, tempestivum non foret exempla proponere. Series autem sive catena hujusmodi alternationis, prout ad singula effecta accommodari possit, res est & cognitu maxime difficilis, & ad opera maxime valida. Summa autem detinet & occupat homines impatientia hujusmodi, tam inquisitionis quam praxeos; cum tamen sit instar fili labyrinthi, quoad opera majora: Atque haec sufficiant ad exemplum polychrestii.

LI. INTER praerogativas instantiarum ponemus loco vicesimo septimo atque ultimo instantias magicas. Hoc nomine illas appellamus, in quibus materia, aut efficiens, tenuis aut parva est, pro magnitudine operis & effectus qui sequitur; adeo ut etiam si fuerint vulgares, tamen sint instar miraculi, aliae primo intuitu, aliae etiam attentius contemplanti. Has vero natura ex sese subministrat parce; quid vero factura sit sinu excusso, & post inventionem formarum, & processuum, & schematismorum, futuris temporibus apparebit. At ista effecta magica (quantum adhuc conjicimus) fiunt tribus modis: Aut per multiplicationem sui; ut in igne, & venenis, quae vocant specifica; necnon in motibus, qui transeunt & fortificantur de rota in rotam; aut per excitationem sive invitationem in altero, ut in magnete, qui excit acus innumeras, virtute nullatenus deperdita aut diminuta; aut in fermento, & hujusmodi; aut per anteverisionem motus, ut dictum est de pulvere pyrio, & bombardis, & cuniculis: quorum priores duo modi indagationem consensuum requirunt; tertius, mensurae motuum. Utrum vero sit aliquis modus mutandi corpora per minima (ut vocant) & transponendi subtiliores materiae schematismos, (id quod ad omnimodas corporum transformationes pertinet; ut ars brevi tempore illud facere possit, quod natura per multas ambages molitur) de eo nulla haecenus nobis constant indicia. Quemadmodum autem in solidis & veris aspiramus ad ultima & summa; ita vana & tumida perpetuo odimus, & quantum in nobis est, profligamus.

LII. ATQUE de dignitatibus sive praerogativis instantiarum haec dicta sint. Illud vero monendum, nos in hoc nostro organo tractare logicam, non philosophiam. Sed cum logica nostra doceat intellectum, & erudiat ad hoc, ut non tenuibus mentis quasi claviculis, rerum abstracta captet & prenses, (ut logica vulgaris;) sed naturam revera persequatur, & corporum virtutes & actus,

actus, eorumque leges in materia determinatas inveniat; ita ut non solum ex natura mentis sed ex natura rerum quoque haec scientia emanet: mirum non est, si ubique naturalibus contemplationibus & experimentis, ad exempla artis nostrae, conspersa fuerit & illustrata. Sunt autem (ut ex iis quae dicta sunt patet) praerogativae instantiarum numero viginti septem: Nominibus: instantiae solitariae: instantiae migrantes: instantiae ostensivae: instantiae clandestinae: instantiae constitutivae: instantiae conformes: instantiae monadicae: instantiae deviantes: instantiae limitanae: instantiae potestatis: instantiae comitatus & hostiles: Instantiae subjunctivae: instantiae foederis: instantiae crucis: instantiae divortii: instantiae januae: instantiae citantes: instantiae viae: instantiae supplementi; instantiae persecantes: instantiae virgae: instantiae curriculi: doses naturae: instantiae luctae: instantiae innuentes; instantiae polychrestae: instantiae magicae. Usus autem harum instantiarum, in quo instantias vulgares excellunt, versatur in genere, aut circa partem informativam, aut circa operativam, aut circa utramque. Atque quoad informativam, juvant illae aut sensum, aut intellectum: Sensum, ut quinque instantiae lampadis: Intellectum: aut accelerando exclusivam formae, ut solitariae; aut angustando & propius indicando affirmativam formae, ut migrantes, ostensivae, comitatus, cum subjunctivis: aut erigendo intellectum, & ducendo ad genera & naturas communes: idque aut immediate, ut clandestinae, monadicae, foederis: aut gradu proximo, ut constitutivae: aut gradu infimo, ut conformes: aut rectificando intellectum a consuetis, ut deviantes: aut ducendo ad formam magnam, five fabricam universi, ut limitanae: aut cavendo de formis & causis falsis, ut crucis & divortii. Quod vero ad operativam attinet; illae practicam aut designant, aut mensurant, aut sublevant. Designant aut ostendendo a quibus incipiendum, ne actum agamus, ut instantiae potestatis: aut ad quid aspirandum, si detur facultas, ut innuentes. Mensurant quatuor illae mathematicae: sublevant polychrestae & magicae.

RURSUM ex istis instantiis viginti septem, nonnullarum (ut superius diximus de aliquibus) facienda est collectio jam ab initio, nec expectanda particularis inquisitio naturarum. Cujus generis sunt instantiae conformes, monadicae, deviantes, limitanae, potestatis, januae, innuentes, polychrestae, magicae. Hae enim aut auxiliantur & medentur intellectui & sensui; aut instruunt praxin, in genere. Reliquae tum demum conquirendae sunt, cum conficiemus tabulas comparentiae ad opus interpretis circa aliquam naturam particularem. Sunt enim instantiae praerogativis istis insignitae & donatae, animae instar inter vulgares instantias comparentiae: Et ut ab initio diximus, paucae illarum sunt vice multarum. Quocirca cum tabulas conficiemus, illae omni studio sunt investigandae, & in tabulas referendae. Erit etiam earum mentio necessaria in iis quae sequuntur. Praeponendus itaque erat earum tractatus. Nunc vero ad adminicula & rectificationes inductionis, & deinceps ad concreta, & latentes processus, & latentes schematismos, & reliqua, quae aphorismo, vicesimo primo ordine proposuimus, pergendum; ut tandem (tanquam curatores probi & fideles) tradamus hominibus fortunas suas, emancipato intellectu, & facto tanquam majore; unde necesse est sequi emendationem status hominis, & ampliationem potestatis ejus super naturam. Homo enim per lapsum & de statu innocentiae decidit, & de regno in creaturas. Utraque autem res etiam in hac vita nonnulla ex parte

reparari potest; prior per religionem & fidem, posterior per artes & scientias. Neque enim per maledictionem facta est creatura prorsus & ad extremum rebellis: Sed in virtute illius diplomatis, in sudore vultus comedens panem tuum, per labores varios, (non per disputationes certe, aut per otiosas ceremonias magicas;) tandem & aliqua ex parte ad panem homini praebedum, id est, ad usum vitae humanae subigitur.

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